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In This Issue

This issue launches the *AHR*'s second century of publication. Fittingly, perhaps, the editors have taken the occasion to make a few changes in the journal. We have adopted a new typeface that we hope is more readable. And we have rearranged some of the introductory matter. The biographies of article authors, for instance, can now be found at the end of their essays, and henceforth this column will appear next to the articles it introduces. More substantively, we have rewritten the *AHR*'s guidelines for submitting articles and reviewing books. These had not been revised since 1970. Dissatisfaction with those guidelines and a sense that uncertainty exists about the processes of publishing an article and reviewing a book in the *AHR* prompted the revision. The new guidelines immediately follow this overview of the issue.

The issue itself features the AHA Presidential Address, three articles that explore modern medical history from different analytical angles, an *AHR Forum* assessing the legacy of Renaissance historian Hans Baron, and the usual array of book reviews.

Presidential Address

John H. Coatsworth challenges us to think about the complex relationship between improvements in human physical well-being (or welfare) and the advances in economic productivity and political organization that have made them possible. He insightfully reviews the economic historians and their collaborators from other disciplines who have developed new methods for assessing trends in health, nutrition, and life expectancy of human populations. Their work leads him to argue that productivity advances and urbanization have often coincided with or led to stagnation or decline in living standards. Coatsworth then surveys recent quantitative work on the origins of the relative economic backwardness of many less developed countries in the contemporary world. He contends that the gap between them and the developed countries dates only from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the economies of the North Atlantic region grew slowly but irreversibly while those of the rest of the world did not. Finally, after reviewing studies in economic history on the twentieth-century improvements in human physical well-being, Coatsworth forthrightly concludes that while these gains would

have been impossible without economic growth, their achievement required the massive government regulation and spending that are the hallmarks of the modern welfare state.

Articles

Colin Jones uses advertiser-newsheets known as the *Affiches* to explore the worlds of medical consumerism and entrepreneurism in the last decades of the *ancien régime*. In a clever and compelling analysis, he describes a buoyant market for health goods and services that was exploited not only by the denizens of a Parisian “Quack Street” but also by individuals well ensconced within the *ancien régime*’s medical establishment. Jones’s reading of these newsheets leads him to argue that the prerevolutionary press served as a vehicle for consumer and entrepreneur self-awareness. He finds in their pages a nascent political consciousness that raises questions about the idea of a Habermasian “bourgeois public sphere.” Jones contends that the newsheets reveal a public sphere that connects economic and cultural developments in ways that are more in keeping with Habermas’s original formulation than some recent usages of the German thinker’s concept. By arguing for the strong market buoyancy of the *ancien régime* economy, the cultural dynamism of a significant sector of the professional bourgeoisie, and the political temper of the prerevolutionary press, Jones directly challenges revisionist thinking about the origins of the French Revolution.

Steven M. Stowe looks at the case narratives of physicians in the mid-nineteenth-century American South to examine how ordinary, rural medical doctors’ sense of their calling derived from the work routine itself. Highlighting one particularly evocative and revealing story that involves illness and death in a doctor’s own family, he recovers tales of medical work that demonstrate how such stories expressed the struggles of doctors to comprehend sickness, give care to their communities, and define themselves as worthy professionals. Stowe offers a creative reading of these professional narratives that analyzes their variety, form, and limitations as well as their distance from contemporary medical literature. In arguing for the close bond between medical storytelling and medical practice, he defines key ways in which these physicians conceived of and acted upon the intricate connection between personal and professional identity. Stowe’s argument raises larger questions about the changing character of professionalism and the meaning of different professional regimes.

Margaret H. Darrow explores the relationship between gender and war by investigating the rhetoric that both lauded and criticized French women who volunteered to nurse wounded soldiers during World War I. She finds in that rhetoric an explanation for why women’s contributions to the French war effort have been so universally forgotten. Surveying a variety of pre-war and wartime publications, Darrow found volunteer nursing hailed as the best possible feminine contribution to the war yet also subjected to consistent denigration. The same

publications that extolled nurses as angels of mercy also attacked them for being ambitious, frivolous, and sexual. The image of the nurse never entirely overcame the polar opposition of "woman" and "war" that Darrow argues was embedded in French culture. Instead, as women, nurses remained under suspicion as fundamentally hostile to the masculine war effort. Darrow also found that in their wartime writings and memoirs, French volunteer nurses struggled to allay this suspicion and to define themselves as the female equivalent of trench fighters. To disarm their critics, however, they constantly reaffirmed the gender hierarchy and the preeminent male claim to war experience. By testifying to their own insignificance before masculine sacrifice, the nurses wrote themselves out of the war story.

AHR Forum

The *Forum* is an assessment of Hans Baron's influential studies of the Italian Renaissance. From a variety of specific perspectives, three authors examine the efforts of this singular historian to remake our understanding of a critical period in Western history. In doing so, they provoke questions about the dating and character of modernity, the changing forms and findings of intellectual history, and the role of individual scholars in forcing us to reinterpret the past.

Ronald Witt begins the *Forum* with a review of the major criticism of Baron's most important work, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*. Labeling it the most controversial book on Renaissance history to appear in the twentieth century, he argues that, despite a rich variety of criticism, its basic thesis remains intact forty years after publication. In the book, Baron had argued that a major shift in the nature of Italian humanism occurred in the years immediately after 1400. The humanism of Petrarch and of his immediate disciples that placed humanistic studies within a Christian context had been replaced by a secular humanism stressing the importance of civil life and political participation. Baron called the new movement "civic humanism." Witt contends that although Baron's identification of the cause of the shift needs modification, recent scholarship remains divided on alternative explanations. From the standpoint of understanding the Renaissance, he concludes, the *Crisis* remains critical for all attempts to understand the development of Italian humanism.

John M. Najemy examines Baron's ambivalent portrayal of Machiavelli. He argues that Baron tended to see Machiavelli simultaneously as the cynical debunker and the faithful heir of civic humanism. Najemy explains that, by the mid-1950s, Baron had come to consider civic humanism and Florentine republicanism as early chapters of a much longer history of European political liberty, a story in which Machiavelli and his generation played a crucial role. This conclusion led Baron to modify his earlier negative view of Machiavelli. He tried to bring the Florentine theorist under the umbrella of civic humanism by underscoring the radical differences between *The Prince* and the *Discourses* and thus revealing the fundamentally republican character of the *Discourses*. However, Baron's inability to come

to terms with Machiavelli's harsh criticism of early fifteenth-century commentators such as Leonardo Bruni ultimately prevented him from fully reconciling Machiavelli with civic humanism.

Craig Kallendorf evaluates Baron's work on Petrarch. He critiques Baron's evolutionary method and belief that Petrarch's life passed through distinct phases clearly visible in his writing. According to Kallendorf, Baron believed that Petrarch's political views evolved from pro-republican to pro-imperial and that his *Secretum* expresses the development of his intellectual interests during the middle period (1347–1353). Kallendorf contends that Baron's approach has the merit of confirming that Petrarch's inner life has a history and that this history is inextricably bound to the political and cultural developments of the day. However, he argues, the same method blinded Baron to the literary and rhetorical aspects of Petrarch's work as well as to some of the nuances of his thought. Kallendorf concludes by surmising that scholars will continue to ask some of the same questions that Baron asked but will do so from methodological perspectives that someone of his generation simply could not have anticipated.

Werner Gundersheimer concludes the *Forum* by noting the principal themes of the three essays and then offering his own comments on the overarching assumptions and decisive strategies that shaped Baron's approach to research and interpretation. He stresses the relationship between Baron's formation as a scholar, his professional career after his emigration from Germany, and the evolution of his influential book. While recognizing and offering explanations for aspects of Baron's synthesis that have been challenged over the years, Gundersheimer upholds Baron as one of the most influential historians of the Italian Renaissance in this century.

Submitting Articles to the *AHR*

The editors of the *AHR*, like editors of other historical journals, seek articles that are new in content and interpretation and make a fresh contribution to historical knowledge. Our principal consideration in determining whether an article should be published is its appropriateness to the distinctive audience of the *AHR*. Because our readers embrace all fields of history and are located throughout the world, the *AHR* has a responsibility to publish essays that reach beyond the specialties that have enlivened yet also fragmented the discipline in recent years. Consequently, the editors seek manuscripts that can engage the common interests of as many historians as possible.

We realize that the historical scholarship likely to interest a large and diverse readership can be written in many ways. The editors try to identify those essays that demonstrate an author's command of a specific subject. An essay should also have the potential to communicate its implications to scholars working in other fields. Manuscripts that have an appeal outside their particular specialty may well have a very specific subject matter. Or they may effectively demonstrate a methodology that other scholars might find useful even though the subject matter of the essay itself is not directly in their field. Manuscripts likely to engage common concerns may also be explicit discussions of historical methodology or review essays that analyze current trends in particular fields of historical inquiry.

Given our mandate to engage the interests of the entire discipline, we also seek an array of articles that collectively addresses the spatial, temporal, and thematic dimensions of contemporary historical inquiry. Over the century since its creation, the *AHR* has published essays primarily on the history of the United States and Western Europe because these articles form the bulk of our submissions. Although we welcome such manuscripts, the editors have also actively encouraged, and continue to encourage, the submission of manuscripts on Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. We now also renew our commitment to understanding the past broadly not just in terms of geography but also in terms of time and periods. In an era when academic and popular conceptions of history seem to be more and more

presentist and most manuscripts sent to the *AHR* examine the modern world, we invite the submission of manuscripts in ancient, medieval, and early modern history. Thematically, an earlier concentration on political history has been broadened in the *AHR* (as elsewhere in the discipline) with a diverse array of topics. Over the last ten years, intellectual history and historiography have obtained a more prominent place in our pages, as have women's history and the history of race relations in America and the modern world. The editors hope that work on these topics will continue to be submitted, as well as essays that extend these inquiries into topics such as cultural history, gender history, and the history of ethnicity.

As we strive to fulfill our mandate to a diverse readership with a balanced presentation of fields and subjects, the editors construct the article section by applying these standards to the approximately 250 manuscripts that are submitted to the *AHR* each year. The vast majority of these essays are unsolicited, but we do on occasion commission articles on particular topics as well as review essays and commentaries for *AHR Forums*. We are able to publish approximately one tenth of the manuscripts we receive. These articles are selected through a rigorous review process. Every manuscript is evaluated by the *AHR* staff. Those with the greatest promise are sent to members of the *AHR* Board of Editors for further review. Upon recommendation by board members, essays are then sent to specialists for a final, anonymous review. All reviews are designed not only to evaluate the manuscript's suitability for publication in the *AHR* but also to help authors clarify their argument and explain its broader implications. Approximately one third of the manuscripts experience this entire evaluation process. Those that we select to publish then often undergo a final round of revision and reevaluation. As a consequence of our evaluation methods, every article published in the *AHR* has been reviewed by at least six scholars, and often more. However, the editors are committed to a timely reviewing process. We do not maintain a lengthy backlog of articles, and we try to reach a decision about each manuscript within six months of its submission. Though the process is rigorous, most authors are pleased with the results of these procedures, and many of their articles later win prizes.

As a final guide to publishing articles in the *AHR*, the editors would like to repeat the advice our predecessors printed on these pages twenty-five years ago: "The *AHR* does not stand at the top of a pyramid of scholarly prestige, automatically to be tried first by an ambitious author before he moves on to a 'lesser' journal. Rather, the *AHR*, with certain other general periodicals, has another purpose than the specialized journals, defined—in both a limiting and a liberating sense—by its readership. It is concerned with

large, persistent themes and genuine, broadly interesting innovation; it is a vehicle for general scholarly communication or for specialized studies that transcend the normal boundaries or expectations of their fields. It therefore stands as testimony, however fragmented and isolated the various fields of history sometimes seem, to the essential unity of the profession.”*

*R. K. Webb, *et al.*, “Articles for the *AHR*: An Editorial,” *AHR*, 75 (October 1970): 1580.

Book Reviewing in the *AHR*

Reviewing books is a primary responsibility of the *AHR*. The editors seek to be as comprehensive as possible, but we cannot review every book published in history and kindred disciplines. Our goal is to be as fair and thorough as we can in surveying and reporting on the most important contemporary historical scholarship. We realize that decisions about which books to review are inevitably judgments about what we consider to be the leading scholarship on the past. We also recognize that notions of importance across disciplines are inherently subjective and constantly changing. Furthermore, we know the significance to our colleagues of being reviewed and reviewing in this journal. However, as editors of a journal devoted to all fields of history, we have a responsibility to determine which books are of relevance to the discipline as a whole. Toward that end, we consider reviews a vital part of conversations about history, to which we want to include as many significant voices across the boundaries of specialized fields as possible. And we periodically reevaluate our procedures to ensure that our decision-making process is in accord with our best understanding of the needs and interests of the professional historians who are our primary audience.

Book reviewing in the *AHR* also operates under particular constraints. The sheer volume of books is one determinant in the reviewing process. At present, the *AHR* receives over 3,500 books a year; we have the resources to publish about 1,000 reviews each year or approximately 200 per issue. Equally important, the books we receive are not evenly distributed among the discipline's fields. Far more books are sent to us about the United States than about any other subject. General works in history and studies of modern Europe are the next most numerous, followed by volumes analyzing Asian, Medieval, Ancient, Latin American, and African history. Though the distribution of books by field in many ways simply represents the realities of historical publication, we are trying to address the submission deficiencies in certain fields by actively soliciting books from publishers that normally do not send us copies. The result, we hope, will be greater coverage of Asian, Latin American, and African history; success, however, will also increase our work load and the demands for space on our pages. In addition to the number and distribution of books, there are staff constraints on book

reviewing. The book reviews are managed by an assistant editor, a staff of seven graduate students, and a group of specialist consultants. They strain to keep up with the flow of books and to apply uniform standards across the many fields of historical inquiry.

The *AHR*'s book reviewing procedures are designed to fulfill our goals within these constraints. The most important decision we make is whether to commission a review of a book or to list it at the back of a volume with other books not reviewed. We make that determination by deciding whether or not a particular book fits one or more of the following criteria: generally, a reviewed book should be based on primary research, grounded in the historiography of its subject, employ a significant methodological technique, or, if written from the perspective of another discipline, inform historical discussions on an important topic. We do on occasion review particularly important works of synthesis.

There are also categories of books that we simply do not have the space to review. These include compilations of documents and bibliographies, collections of personal and state papers, second editions and reprints, collections of previously published essays, and textbooks, which we review only in exceptional cases. Perhaps the most troublesome issue for us is raised by collections of essays. These volumes often contain important scholarship on critical questions. Yet they are very difficult to review within limited space because of the uneven quality of many collections, the sheer number of essays in a particular volume, and the dated character of some compilations. In addition, collections often include articles previously published or on subjects about which an author has published a monograph. We evaluate each collection and commission reviews of those that seem the most significant. Books not reviewed are listed in sections in each volume for collected essays, documents and bibliographies, and other books received. In all of these categories, decisions are made on a book-by-book basis.

Once a book has been slated for review, a reviewer is selected from our extensive files of scholars active in the various fields of history and related disciplines. To maintain the integrity and quality of its reviews, the *AHR* has long followed a set of established standards for reviewers. The primary qualification is the publication of one major monograph, although we do occasionally use as reviewers persons in fields in which articles are the principal vehicle for presenting their work and who have published at least three major articles in significant journals. Our intent is to ensure that reviewers have experienced the peer-review process themselves and understand the production of a historical monograph. We also generally require that reviewers have earned a Ph.D. or its equivalent such as a J.D. or Th.D. We exclude from consideration persons acknowledged by the author or those who have assisted in the publication of a book in some fashion. At

present, there are about 9,000 reviewers in our files. They are listed in a computerized data bank containing information on their degrees, publications, fields of expertise, foreign languages, and current employment and address. These files are constantly updated by the *AHR* staff, and we periodically solicit information from new reviewers. Membership in the AHA is neither a requirement nor a guarantee of selection as a reviewer. In that regard, it is important to note also that the fact that a person's name is in our reviewer file does not ensure that she or he will be asked to review for the *AHR*. Invitations to review are based on staff judgments about the appropriate match between book and reviewer.

Finally, *AHR* staff members determine the length of a review and, once it has been turned in, edit it for style. We expect reviewers to write thoughtful and engaging critiques that explain the basic argument of a book, assess its strengths and weaknesses, and place the book in its historiographical context. And we would like them to do so in a way that addresses readers outside the bounds of their particular specialty. We do not dictate the content of reviews, but we do delete passages that are, in our judgment, *ad hominem* attacks on an author. Reviews range in size from 500 to 1,200 words; the average review is about 800 words. The editors recognize the difficulties of writing a carefully constructed yet instructive review in so few words. But we think the virtues of presenting an informed and informative survey of leading scholarship in as many fields of historical inquiry as possible outweighs the difficulties of writing the reviews. Indeed, we believe that crafting such reviews is a major, if often underestimated, contribution that countless numbers of our colleagues make to the discipline each year. We also try to overcome the inherent limits of the small reviews by regularly publishing review essays on a set of books about a particular topic. These essays are intended to be broad analyses of critical issues in the discipline. Some of them are submitted directly to us, others are specifically commissioned by us. The review essays range from 5,000 to 8,000 words.

These procedures and policies grow out of the editors' conviction that book reviews are vital to the life of the historical profession. We are convinced that reviews are a crucial element in the continuing dialogue within our discipline and between history and other disciplines. We not only devote over half our pages to them, we also believe that overseeing their production and dissemination is one of our major contributions to historical scholarship.*

*For a similar statement about the importance of book reviews, see Steven M. Stowe, "Thinking about Reviews," *Journal of American History*, 78 (September 1991): 591-95.



JOHN H. COATSWORTH

Presidential Address

Welfare

JOHN H. COATSWORTH

THE HISTORY OF WELFARE, of change over time in human physical and spiritual well-being, encompasses most of the research and teaching that historians do. Whatever the explicit object of their research may be, historians can scarcely avoid finding evidence of the changes that have affected, for good or for ill, the health or happiness of their human subjects. Judgments about the welfare implications of historical research can be found embedded in the structure and language of virtually all historical narratives, even when their authors try, as many historians still do, to avoid making explicit the theoretical and ethical commitments that inform their work.

In contemporary political debate in the United States and several other developed countries, a curious linguistic inversion has loaded the term "welfare" with negative connotations. For most of this century, welfare has referred to the efforts of modern governments to improve the living standards of individuals or family groups whose incomes would otherwise fall below a level deemed minimal by policymakers and their constituents. In a somewhat broader definition, the term has also come to include governmental programs in education, health, housing, culture, old age and unemployment insurance, the environment, and the like. Too much welfare, we now hear, threatens our "civilization."

Historians have much to contribute to the study of the relationship between welfare and civilization. I will address only one aspect of this immensely complex and fascinating field of research, that is, the relationship between improvements in human physical well-being (or welfare) and the advances in economic productivity and political organization that have made them possible. At the same time, I hope to suggest that research on the material conditions of life faced by human populations in the past can contribute to our understanding of many other historical questions.

In the past decade or so, historians have begun to make systematic use of various measures of physical well-being pioneered in the natural and human sciences to reexamine longstanding interpretations of historical change. Skeletal remains from prehistoric to more recent times are yielding masses of evidence on life expectancy, nutrition levels, the incidence of chronic disease, labor-related physical stress, and trauma injuries among diverse populations in many regions of the globe. Analysis of the refuse generated by human settlements has yielded additional information on nutrition and diet as well as the evolution of food products and food-producing

technologies. For eras with written records, historians are now using data on height, body mass, and other physical characteristics along with demographic and epidemiological information to revise much of the received wisdom on a stunning array of historical issues.

This revisionism extends back in time to the dawn of what, for lack of a better term, we refer to as complex societies. The transition from the precarious nomadism of hunting and gathering to the more settled and secure life of sedentary agriculture and pastoralism marked a great advance for humankind. In the Old World, this transition first occurred in the millennium between 9000 and 8000 BC, shortly after the last ice age, following the disappearance of the megafauna that had made hunting so productive. In the New World, the transition occurred 4,000 years later in Mesoamerica and the Andes, perhaps in part because the more favorable ratio of people to resources made hunting and gathering productive for a much longer time. With the diffusion of new productive techniques, there followed a long era in which the earth's human population increased more rapidly than ever before (though still quite slowly by modern standards), human society became more complex, and the first great city-based territorial empires arose. Historians still refer to these societies as "civilizations" to denote their distinct achievements in art, religion, science, and law making.¹

Not until recently, however, did we come to know much about the great price our common ancestors paid to achieve these advances in technology, social organization, and high culture. Bioarchaeologists have linked the agricultural transition to a significant decline in nutrition and to increases in disease, mortality, overwork, and violence in areas where skeletal remains make it possible to compare human welfare before and after the change. These results seem to hold whether the transition occurred gradually over a long time or was forced by conquest (as in parts of the New World). Civilization, we now know, stunted growth, spread disease, shortened life spans, and set people to killing and maiming each other on an unprecedented scale.²

Moreover, we now know that until relatively recently—until the twentieth century in most parts of the world—the cities where science and high culture achieved so much were such unhealthy places with such high mortality rates that none came close to reproducing, let alone expanding, its population by natural increase. The populations of cities as diverse as ancient Teotihuacan and industrial London grew in population only by luring or forcing people to move in from elsewhere. Advances in technology and organization associated with the rise of city-based empires increased the productivity of agriculture and the surpluses available for urban elites and their retainers, but the dense populations that settled in the wake of these advances sooner or later outstripped the growth of agricultural productivity and suffered from increased risk of disease due to overcrowding, poor sanitation,

¹ The classic work on the Neolithic Revolution in this tradition was by V. Gordon Child, *Man Makes Himself* (London, 1941).

² See, for example, Mark N. Cohen, *Health and the Rise of Civilization* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); for a New World example, see Clark S. Larsen, ed., "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition," *Anthropological Papers*, 68 (1990).

overwork, and malnutrition. These afflictions persisted nearly everywhere until the twentieth century.³

The Maya civilization in its "Classic" era from roughly 300 to 900 AD was once thought to have mysteriously escaped this ancient logic. The Classic Maya civilization of southern Mexico and northern Central America consisted of a series of splendid ceremonial centers ruled over by peace-loving priests who spent much of their time on astronomy, mathematics, and designing complex hieroglyphs to record their discoveries and confound archaeologists. The rest of the people earned their living by means of a relatively primitive slash-and-burn agriculture that yielded only enough to support themselves and their scientists. They came together for religious festivals and donated their time in the off-season to hauling rock for pyramids, but they built no cities because they could not have supported a large non-agricultural population. Nor did they engage in such other modern pastimes as trade, class struggle, or slaughtering their neighbors.⁴

This romantic vision of the Maya has crumbled over the past fifteen years. We now know that the Classic Mayan ceremonial centers were actually cities with populations as large as 80,000. To feed them, the Maya exploited the ecological resources of the regions they dominated with techniques more advanced and productive than previously thought. Ruled by warrior kings, they traded with places as far away as the Valley of Mexico and the Pacific coast of South America, and suffered from class divisions so sharp that the differences in nutritional levels between elite and commoner can be measured in the heights of the skeletons they left behind. Warfare was endemic. In short, the Maya were as civilized as any other civilization.⁵

The progress of our species out of these ancient cycles of rise and decline and into an era of sustained increase in levels of physical well-being is the unique achievement of the twentieth century. This conclusion has emerged in part from studies that use historical data on the height of adult populations to gauge levels of nutrition in human populations over the past three centuries. While the height attained by any given individual is affected by genetic and other idiosyncrasies, the average height of population groups is determined mainly by net nutrition in childhood, especially early childhood, and in adolescence.⁶ Chronic malnutrition of pre-modern populations kept adult heights well below modern levels through the nineteenth century in all countries and until quite recently in many less developed regions.⁷

³ For an excellent summary of the literature, see Rebecca Storey, *Life and Death in the Ancient City of Teotihuacan: A Modern Paleodemographic Synthesis* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1992), 35–42.

⁴ This view of Maya civilization was most forcefully asserted and long defended by J. E. S. Thompson, who "[u]ntil his death in 1975 . . . dominated modern Maya studies by sheer force of intellect and personality," as Michael D. Coe put it in *Breaking the Maya Code* (London, 1992), 123.

⁵ For a highly readable account of a major site, see William L. Fash, *Scribes, Warriors, and Kings: The City of Copán and the Ancient Maya* (London, 1991).

⁶ Net nutrition refers to the balance between nutrition "inputs" and the physical demands of work, illness, and the like. Higher levels of nutrition are required when work is more arduous and sickness strikes.

⁷ See the Nobel Prize lecture of Robert William Fogel, "Economic Growth, Population Theory, and Physiology: The Bearing of Long-Term Processes on the Making of Economic Policy," *American Economic Review*, 84 (1994): 372. For an excellent survey of this field, see Richard Steckel, "Stature and the Standard of Living," *Journal of Economic Literature* (forthcoming).

Life expectancy provides another summary measure of the physical welfare of human populations. From prehistoric times until recently, low life expectancy was due mainly to the effects of chronic malnutrition, which made most people susceptible to the diseases that killed them at relatively early ages, especially in early childhood. Life expectancy in the cities of early modern Europe, such as Amsterdam, Geneva, and London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was probably not much higher than that of the ancient empires (though Rome was an especially deadly place).⁸ Lasting improvements in life expectancy did not even occur in the developed world until well into the twentieth century.⁹

During the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, welfare stagnated or fell for decades. As in the ancient world, increases in productivity and the rise of cities did not lead to improvements in levels of physical well-being. In the United States, where scarce labor and abundant resources had produced an unusually well-fed population, the average height of the native-born U.S. male population stagnated from 1780 to 1830 and then fell by nearly five centimeters to a low point in the 1880s. The U.S. population did not recover the average stature it had achieved by the late eighteenth century until the 1920s. Life expectancy fell for a half-century after 1790 and then stagnated until near the end of the century.

One may wonder, given what we now know, why sensible people would choose to settle down in agricultural villages, move to cities, or pursue industrial development. The evidence suggests that choice had little to do with these processes. These great transitions seem to have occurred at times when older ways of life had become untenable or unattractive: the exhaustion of readily available wild sources of food, the promise of security or salvation in towns, the dearth of land or jobs in agriculture.¹⁰ Whether pushed or pulled, by lord or by market, most of those who joined these trends faced few alternatives. Even those whose individual role history has traditionally celebrated, from monarchs to moguls, pushed mainly at the margins of these trends. Their creativity rarely pushed beyond the context of their times.

The striking contrasts I have cited between technological and even cultural achievement, on the one hand, and changes in levels of physical welfare, on the other, contradict once-cherished assumptions. But productivity advance has never translated immediately or automatically into improvements in living standards any more than it has guaranteed spiritual comfort.

IT IS NONETHELESS TRUE that significant advances in physical welfare cannot occur in economies that fail to grow. Without an increase in the output of goods and services *per capita*, that is, without economic growth, the ancient afflictions of our species cannot be wished away. Growth in productivity is not a sufficient condition for improvements in welfare, but it is a necessary one.

⁸ Storey, *Life and Death*, chap. 1; see also Jan de Vries, *European Industrialization, 1500–1800* (London, 1984).

⁹ Robert William Fogel, "Egalitarianism: The Economic Revolution of the Twentieth Century" (Simon Kuznets Memorial Lectures, Yale University, unpublished, 1992), 25.

¹⁰ For the Neolithic Revolution, this view is associated with Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth* (Chicago, 1965).

Scholarly efforts to quantify and measure the differences in productivity across time periods and between nations have a long history, but the modern origin of such efforts may be found in the work of Simon Kuznets and his collaborators in the 1950s.¹¹ Since then, economic historians have devoted much of their time, energy, and skills at furious debate to producing ever more reasonable estimates of aggregate productivity in the ever more distant past. These efforts have concentrated on the economies of the North Atlantic region, where most of the world's quantitative economic historians reside, but in the past two decades work on other regions has also advanced rapidly. Despite a daunting array of obstacles, including poor and missing data as well as serious conceptual and technical complexities, increasingly robust estimates of economic performance now exist for many countries as far back as the eighteenth century. A few brave souls have even produced calculations, full of plausible extrapolations and conjectures, for as far back as the early Roman Empire.¹²

Among the most interesting results of such efforts is the discovery that the gap in productivity between what are today the less developed regions and the more advanced economies is of relatively recent origin. The per capita output of the developed economies now averages about four times that of the less developed world.¹³ This gap probably did not exist before about 1700, by which time most of the West European economies had probably attained a level of per capita income not much above that of the Roman Empire (minus Egypt, which was poorer) in the first century AD.¹⁴

The modern-day division of the globe between rich nations and poor thus originated in the eighteenth century, when a small number of North Atlantic economies began to grow slowly but irreversibly while most of the rest of the world did not. By the mid to late nineteenth century, the gap between "core" and "periphery" had already reached its modern dimensions in most areas. By that time, rising exports of minerals and agricultural products were producing sustained productivity advances in much of the less developed world. Catching up, however, would have required that the poorer countries attain higher growth rates than those achieved by their richer trading partners. Most failed to do so. Over the course of the twentieth century, economic growth rates in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America have enabled these regions more or less to keep pace with the North Atlantic economies, growing faster in some periods and more slowly in others, but no region has managed to close the gap significantly. In the case of the African

¹¹ Simon Kuznets, "Economic Growth and Income Inequality," *American Economic Review*, 45, no. 1 (1955): 1–28.

¹² Raymond Goldsmith, "An Estimate of the Size and Structure of the National Product of the Early Roman Empire," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 30 (1984): 263–88.

¹³ This ratio is based on Angus Maddison's sample of forty-three countries in "Explaining the Economic Performance of Nations, 1820–1989," in *Convergence of Productivity: Cross-National Studies of Historical Evidence*, William J. Baumol, Richard R. Nelson, and Edward N. Wolff, eds. (New York, 1994), 20–61. Maddison's estimates have the advantage that they are adjusted to purchasing power parity; unadjusted estimates that tend to understate the income of less developed countries, typically by using exchange rates to convert local-currency estimates into dollars, give ratios of 1 : 8 or more.

¹⁴ For an interesting survey of the literature and some rough guesses, see Paul Bairoch, *Economics and World History* (New York, 1993), chap. 9. For the comparison with Rome, see Goldsmith, "Estimate of the Size and Structure"; life expectancy in Rome was lower than in early modern Europe, but Goldsmith's other comparisons suggest rough comparability.

continent, growth rates in this century have consistently fallen below those of the rest of the world, so the African gap has nearly doubled in the past hundred years.¹⁵

These long-term regional trends coincided with growing disparities within most world regions.¹⁶ The per capita income spread between the world's richest nation and its poorest could not have been much greater than 4 to 1 in 1820. By 1989, it was 39 to 1.¹⁷ A few of the nineteenth century's poor nations have grown rapidly and gone far toward catching up, while others have fallen even further behind. In the past half-century, for example, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan have developed rapidly, while others, such as much of Africa and parts of Latin America and Asia, have fallen further behind.¹⁸ At the end of the twentieth century, the world's production and productivity, and thus the essential building blocks for improvements in human welfare, are more unequally distributed across the globe than ever before.

EVEN IN THOSE ECONOMIES where productivity has improved over the past century or two, the benefits of growth have spread unevenly across the populations that made them possible. Variations in the distribution of goods and services within societies explain how some productivity advances have translated into rapid improvements in physical welfare, while others made little difference or even accompanied notable declines in living standards.

Patterns of income distribution have usually followed (and sometimes exacerbated or otherwise transformed) existing social and cultural cleavages. For example, class divisions within human societies as diverse as ancient Mexico and nineteenth-century Britain were so sharp that they determined access to basic nutrients and thus physical stature as well as life expectancy. Among ancient Mesoamericans, ruling elites of nobles, priests, and warriors controlled access to food, particularly scarce sources of protein. Declining agricultural productivity in eras of urban overpopulation appear to have provoked elites to codify and enforce sumptuary laws that reserved the consumption of certain foodstuffs to themselves. Widening physical differences between commoners and elites coincided with the periods of upheaval, perhaps open class warfare, that seem to have preceded the destruction or abandonment of urban centers and the disintegration of states and empires.¹⁹

Similar differences between social strata were characteristic of most industrializing societies until relatively recently. In England in 1800, for example, the adult male members of the titled nobility stood a full five inches taller than the

¹⁵ This and the following paragraph is largely based on Maddison, "Explaining the Economic Performance of Nations," 22–27.

¹⁶ Gabriel Tortella, however, shows convergence in twentieth-century Europe between southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, and Spain) and the north (England and France), in "Patterns of Economic Retardation and Recovery in South-Western Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Economic History Review*, 47, no. 1 (1994): 1–21.

¹⁷ Maddison, "Explaining the Economic Performance of Nations," 23–30.

¹⁸ Smaller, though still significant, disparities in economic performance occurred among the developed economies, some of which, such as Germany or Italy, have grown faster than others, such as Great Britain or the United States. See Maddison, "Explaining the Economic Performance of Nations," 22–23.

¹⁹ See the essays in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill, eds. (Tucson, Ariz., 1988).

population as a whole.²⁰ Income became even more concentrated during industrial revolutions in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere in part because the salaries of scarce, highly skilled or educated labor rose rapidly while the wages of the more abundant unskilled labor force stagnated until after the turn of the twentieth century.²¹ In the Third World, the shocks associated with the onset of export-led growth included waves of usurpation of peasant lands, often coinciding with the construction of railroads that raised land values and thus provided incentives for aristocratic land grabbing. Proletarianization of labor forces everywhere and mass immigration to some areas of the New World increased the supply of unskilled workers and depressed wages.²²

Gender, ethnic, and age differences also mattered. In pre-modern times, during periods of prolonged pressure on food supplies, the fact that women often suffered more than men can be measured in the growing gap between the heights of the two sexes. In the modern era, the persistence of customs and institutions that inhibit the occupational mobility of major portions of the modern labor force, including female majorities nearly everywhere, has worked to preserve inherited inequalities unrelated to productivity in the distribution of income and wealth throughout the globe.

In many societies, ethnic minorities (or oppressed majorities) have poorer diets, suffer more from disease and overwork, and live shorter lives than favored groups. In the ancient world, the forced migrations of subject peoples to imperial capitals and densely populated work sites tended to increase mortality from disease compounded by chronic malnutrition. Indigenous peoples in the Americas still suffer from nutrition levels so low that in many countries they are visibly shorter than the "Europeans" for whom they work. In Cholula, Mexico, inhabitants whose lifestyle marks them as indigenous are no taller today than the inhabitants of the region in the pre-Hispanic era.²³

Institutional mechanisms that have historically turned the output and labor of distinct ethnic or social groups into the uncompensated property rights of others through serfdom or slavery have generally tended to concentrate income in fewer hands. Periods of rapid growth in slave plantation agriculture in Latin America as well as the United States coincided with an intensification of labor, diminished net nutrition, and harsher slave codes, thus exacerbating existing inequalities.

The most vulnerable populations, historically, have been poor children. High infant and child mortality rates, more than any other factor, account for the failure of the world's cities to maintain or expand their populations by natural increase until recently. In the southern United States, slave children, often fed separately, appear to have been deliberately undernourished by their owners.²⁴

²⁰ This difference declined, mainly in the twentieth century, to barely one inch today. See Fogel, "Egalitarianism," 29.

²¹ See Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Globalization, Convergence, and History" (National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 5259, 1995), 24–26.

²² As Williamson put it, "In the New World, unskilled labor lost and landowners gained from [the forces that raised growth rates relative to the developed world]," "Globalization, Convergence, and History," 24.

²³ Carlos Arturo Giordano Sánchez Verín, "La alimentación como reflejo del desarrollo físico en dos comunidades rurales de México: Cholula e Ixtenco" (unpublished paper, 1994).

²⁴ Richard Steckel, "A Dreadful Childhood: The Excess Mortality of American Slaves," *Social Science History*, 46, no. 3 (1986): 427–65.

Just as economic growth has never guaranteed automatic and instantaneous improvements in the physical welfare of populations, effective productive effort has never ensured commensurate returns to those individuals who make them. The significance of the gap between private gain (or loss) and social benefit (or cost) from economic activity has propelled an entire subfield of economic history to explore the institutional determinants of productivity advance.²⁵ Institutional changes that reduce this gap contributed, and continue to contribute, to stimulating economic growth. The modernization of legal, judicial, and regulatory systems, the abolition of caste distinctions and of slavery later on in the nineteenth century, the end of mercantilist trade monopolies and the development of freer international trade regimes, the growth of capital markets that facilitated vast flows of capital and technology across international boundaries, and a host of less dramatic changes have contributed enormously to productivity advance throughout the world. Most of the historical work on these modern achievements has focused appropriately on institutional changes that improved returns to entrepreneurs and innovators; it has produced major breakthroughs in our understanding of the institutional requisites for economic growth.

A similar approach to the history of distributional regimes would no doubt yield comparable insights into the ways institutional changes have affected welfare as well as productivity.²⁶ Human societies distribute property rights and other entitlements in so many different ways and with such exquisite attention to detail that it is easy to lose sight of their long-term effects. Economic forces have played a major role in determining the distribution of wealth and income in most societies, even pre-modern ones, but they work within institutional constraints whose effects economic historians have not always studied systematically.

Simon Kuznets noticed four decades ago that income distribution in the developed countries had become *less* equal in the early stages of economic growth but *more* equal thereafter. He hypothesized a similar trajectory for the less developed regions. The evidence of the past half-century confirms his hypothesis for some countries but not for others. The trend toward greater equality in Western Europe has slowed in the past decade or so. In the United States, it has been reversed. A few of the fast-growing East Asian countries have become more equal; most of Latin America has not. And in most of Eastern Europe, relatively egalitarian systems have been replaced by regimes that recall Karl Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation." These trends have implications for the welfare and productivity of vast populations.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY has witnessed unprecedented improvements in the welfare of human populations, finally translating the increased productivity of the industrial age into measurable achievements in nutrition, health, and thus life expectancy. Without greater productivity, little could have been accomplished to improve living

²⁵ Among the pioneers of this approach, Douglas North stands out. See, for example, "Institutions," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5, no. 1 (1991): 97-112.

²⁶ This point is made cogently by Alexander James Field, "Do Legal Systems Matter?" *Explorations in Economic History*, 28 (1991): 1-35.

standards. At the same time, as the examples I have cited amply demonstrate, human societies have frequently found it difficult or even impossible to convert productivity advance into improvements in physical well-being. Resolving this dilemma, economic historians are now discovering, awaited the discovery of an appropriate and effective mechanism for addressing it. That mechanism, deployed with increasing impact over the past century, is the "welfare state."

Precedents for effective government intervention may be found in earlier times, of course. The history of famine relief is a good example. Widespread hunger due to weather-related harvest failures has killed countless millions from prehistoric times until today. Until recently, famines were treated by historians as evidence of humanity's victimization by a recurrently irritable Mother Nature. We now know that most historic famines were man-made, produced not by Mother Nature but by earthly officials of the other sex who simply failed to move available food supplies to stricken areas. Famines ended in England only after food riots in the late 1750s pushed the government back toward Tudor-Stuart "paternalism" by intervening more vigorously in the grain market during periods of scarcity.²⁷ In India, as Amartya Sen showed in a classic study, British colonial authorities could have saved millions during the 1943 Bengal famine with relatively little effort. It was not the Green Revolution that put an end to famine in India, it was better understanding of how famines work and an independent government that gave higher priority to preventing or stopping them.²⁸ Contemporary famines occur mainly in countries without effective governments.

Poor relief also originated long before the twentieth century, as did free primary and even secondary schooling in some countries, efforts to make urban places more habitable, early pension schemes mainly for war veterans and their families throughout the Western Hemisphere and northwestern Europe, the first steps toward developing modern research centers in science, medicine, and technology in the industrializing countries, and so on. Nearly all of these undertakings helped to improve living standards, but even taken together their effects were limited by the relatively small scale of the resources assigned to them and by constraints on the effective regulatory activity of governments.

The remarkable improvements in physical well-being we have experienced over the course of this century were achieved mainly as a result of massive growth in government spending and regulation. Late in the nineteenth century, governments in Europe and North America began to translate medical and technical knowledge into efforts that made cities less deadly places to live. Aggressive regulation of housing conditions and public health programs ranging from quarantines to immunizations reduced disease. Subsidized housing programs for workers and the poor, vigorous efforts to clean up air, water, and food supplies, and investments in other urban amenities became commonplace.

In the post-World War II era, if not before, income-maintenance schemes, including direct subsidies or transfer payments to the unemployed, the indigent, veterans, and the elderly, expanded enormously throughout the North Atlantic

²⁷ See Fogel, "Egalitarianism," 9.

²⁸ Amartya Sen, "Starvation and Exchange Entitlements: A General Approach and Its Application to the Great Bengal Famine," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1 (1977): 33-39.

region. In the developed countries, national health systems providing “free” medical care for all citizens became commonplace, except in the United States. Mass educational systems, pioneered in the United States, had already proved effective in virtually eliminating illiteracy and extending primary, and in some countries secondary, schooling to most citizens of the developed regions. In the 1950s and 1960s, most developed countries extended these systems to accommodate growing numbers of post-secondary students.

Much of the less developed world moved more slowly. Most of the Latin American countries resembled Mexico, a country that did not reach the 1800 U.S. literacy level of 80 percent until the 1980s. Improvements in urban living conditions, including better sanitation and the development of public health efforts, especially after World War II, lowered death rates sufficiently to push population growth up along with stature and life expectancy. Similar achievements were recorded in most of Asia and Eastern Europe, though much of sub-Saharan Africa again lagged behind.

In assessing these trends in human welfare, economic historians have made many important contributions to our understanding of the relationship between productivity and physical well-being. Three are of particular significance. First, the recent work has pointed to the impact of greater equality on income distribution to improvements in physical welfare. Second, improvements in the physical welfare of populations have been shown to raise the productivity of entire economies. Finally, much work over the past two decades has also demonstrated that education, and investment in “human capital” more generally, raises both productivity and living standards.

Studies of the relationship between stature and a measure of the degree of equality or inequality in the distribution of income (the Gini index) tend to the conclusion that greater equality has historically yielded higher average nutrition levels. The population of colonial British North America, for example, reached an average stature well above the level that the colonies’ per capita income would have permitted in a society where income was more concentrated. Growing inequality during the nineteenth century probably contributed, along with urbanization, to making Americans shorter.²⁹ In the twentieth century, increases in equality have helped to propel rising standards of living, particularly when the beneficiaries have included the lowest income earners.

The contribution of better health and nutrition to increasing productivity has only recently been recognized. In Great Britain, as late as 1800, with average life expectancy at birth hovering at about thirty-five years, as much as 20 percent of the British adult population was so undernourished as to be physically unable to work or indeed to do anything more strenuous than a few hours of easy strolling each day. As health improved, a larger portion of the British population acquired the stamina to work regularly with increasing intensity and to do so over longer productive lives. In this century, higher wages made for better diets, while the British government programs that made city living more healthy also lowered the nutritional needs of urban populations because they reduced the energy that had to be expended

²⁹ For a summary of this discussion, see Steckel, “Stature and the Standard of Living” (forthcoming).

warding off disease. In his Nobel Prize lecture, Robert Fogel estimated that 30 percent of the entire increase in the productivity of the British economy between 1790 and 1980 was due to improvements in gross nutrition.³⁰

Finally, rising investments in human resources around the world have contributed both to improved welfare and to rising productivity. Since education induces greater mobility, both occupational and geographic, and at higher levels also provides training in specific skills, investment in education has historically raised incomes by increasing the productivity of those who get it. Cost-benefit analyses by governments and international agencies, as well as a growing number of historical studies, have shown consistently high welfare and productivity effects associated with investing in human resources.³¹

Of course, a major portion of the resources deployed by twentieth-century governments has aimed at destroying rather than nourishing or otherwise protecting human life. Some efforts to reduce inequality and improve well-being have not proved effective in achieving their objectives, while others have pursued laudable goals without due regard for efficiency or possible macroeconomic imbalances. Waste, corruption, and profligacy have appeared in nearly every epoch of human history (though inflation is a largely twentieth-century scourge). In short, some portion of what modern governments do has actually undermined the economic growth on which their accomplishments critically depend. Despite such problems, we now know that what distinguishes modern civilization from earlier epochs is a result in great part of the effectiveness of public programs (throughout the developed world and a growing portion of the less developed regions of the globe) in improving living standards and prolonging life itself.

THE PROGRESS OUR AGE HAS WITNESSED in raising standards of physical well-being stands in sharp contrast to the twentieth century's record of unprecedented civil strife and international violence. More people have lost their lives in episodes of collective violence in this century than in any other epoch in human history. It is tempting to treat war and welfare as distinct and unrelated phenomena, to condemn one and praise the other as though they pertained to different planets. For purposes of analytical focus or coherent narrative, such an approach might well make sense. For understanding the history of human welfare, it does not.

History has favored a tiny minority of the earth's people with institutions capable of accommodating the aspirations of our species to a better life, to children that survive, grow taller, and live longer. Culture and tradition move us to hope that democratic institutions, in addition to economic growth, will prove equally effective elsewhere in the globe, but the crucial tests of this hypothesis await the next century in most countries. Indeed, as recent trends suggest, we in the developed world may be facing tests of our own.

³⁰ Fogel, "Economic Growth," 383; see also Steckel, "Stature and the Standard of Living," for a discussion of the U.S. case.

³¹ For a recent historical study, noteworthy for its sophistication and balance, see Clara Eugenia Nuñez, *La fuente de la riqueza: Educación y desarrollo económico en la España contemporánea* (Madrid, 1992).

The history of welfare can, I think, prove helpful in assessing the social, political, and cultural alternatives facing diverse societies, particularly in periods of change and transition. Knowledge about the economic past can be useful for understanding the changing contexts, and thus the meaning and significance, of human thought and expression in history. Nothing in the historical record that I know tells us unequivocally that people who live longer, eat better, get sick less often, and spend more years in school experience greater happiness in life than their short-lived, chronically undernourished, disease-ridden, and generally illiterate ancestors.³² On the other hand, since the material conditions of life do seem to exert such a measurably powerful influence on human behavior, it would be foolhardy to ignore them.

³² The history of migratory flows across international boundaries does suggest, nonetheless, a widespread preference for higher living standards.

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The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution

COLIN JONES

Q.: What is the only thing which connects all classes?

A.: The post.

Beffroy de Reigny

ON FEBRUARY 15, 1772, Antoine Clesse, surgeon-herniotomist at Metz, placed an advertisement in his local newspaper, the *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*. He announced he had “bandages and trusses for all sorts of descents and ruptures.” He was in addition, he noted, a qualified dentist and could clean, polish, and level teeth on request.¹

This article is in memory of Richard Cobb. A version of this article has been my “road” paper for several years. I would like to thank audiences for helpful comments on the topic at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London; the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford University; the French Historical Studies Conference at the University of Delaware; and the University of Exeter, San Francisco University, University of California–San Diego, University of Chicago, and University of Wisconsin–Madison. The number of individuals who have actively helped in the crafting of the present article is too large to list, but I would like to mention Andrew Aisenberg, Jonathan Barry, John Bender, Laurence Brockliss, Jack Censer, Elizabeth Eisenstein, Dena Goodman, Daniel Gordon, Lynn Hunt, Josephine McDonagh, Mary Louise Roberts, and the graduate students at Stanford University (notably Stephanie Brown, Dan Coleman, Corey Olds, Mary Salzmänn, Alyssa Sepinwall, J. B. Shank, Jutta Sperling, and Molly Watson), who forced me to rethink its premises in my time as visiting professor at Stanford in 1993–1994. I also wish to express my gratitude for funding to cover research visits to Paris, which was provided by the British Academy, the Nuffield Foundation, and the University of Exeter Research Fund.

¹ *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, February 15, 1772. The present article has been researched in the Bibliothèque Nationale’s voluminous holdings of prerevolutionary newspapers. The advertiser-newspapers on which the study is based changed title on numerous occasions in their lifetime. For this reason, I will refer to all these newspapers generically as “*Affiches de [place-name]*” and for full name changes and other details send the reader to Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600–1789*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1991), the most comprehensive bibliographical guide (hereafter, *DJ*). The *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés* is found in *DJ*, nos. 69–70.

The *Affiches* have been, as we shall see, neglected and underrated by historians. Apart from a sprinkling of articles, mainly by antiquarians, the field has been almost wholly left to scholars with a background in literature, whose work is of the highest caliber. See in particular, besides *DJ*, collected works organized and edited by Jean Sgard, notably *Etudes sur la presse au XVIII^e siècle: III* (Lyon, 1978); *Le journalisme d’ancien régime: Questions et propositions* (Lyon, 1982); and *La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle* (Grenoble, 1983). See, too, his “La multiplication des périodiques,” in Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., *Histoire de l’édition française: II; Le livre triomphant, 1660–1830* (Paris, 1984). For pre-1789 perspectives, see Pierre Rétat, ed., *La révolution du journal, 1789–1794* (Paris, 1989). The outstanding articles of Gilles Feyel are also highly recommended: see “Médecins, empiriques et charlatans dans la presse provinciale à la fin du XVIII^e siècle,” *Le corps et la santé: Actes du 110^e Congrès National des sociétés savantes [Montpellier, 1985]: Section d’histoire moderne et*

This is a fairly typical example of a medical advertisement drawn from France's provincial press in the last half-century of the *ancien régime*. It may appear a long and tortuous way from such a trivial notation on herniary trusses to a problem that has long held a place of affection in the historical imagination, namely, the origins of the French Revolution. But it is my ambition in this article to try to make that link. In this quest, I have taken heart, derived a metaphor, and devised a pun from Arthur O. Lovejoy's classic *The Great Chain of Being*, with its emphasis on the continuity of forms from the very lowest to the highest.²

When we think of *ancien régime* society and chains, we may think, for example, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and man born free but in chains. We may think of Jean-Paul Marat's *Chains of Slavery*. Or we may recall the famous remonstrance made before the Paris Parlement in 1776 by royal Advocate-General Séguier:

The clergy, the nobility, the sovereign courts, the subaltern courts, the officers attached to these courts, the universities, the academies, the finance bodies, the trade companies, all present, in all parts of the state, existing bodies that may be regarded as links in a great chain, the first link of which is in the hands of Your Majesty, as head and sovereign administrator of everything that composes the body of the nation.³

In all these cases, the chains linking the body of society together are seen as vertically disposed, underpinning a hierarchical society. The "Chain of Buying" is, by contrast, horizontally disposed: grounded in human sociability and exchange, it posits an open and relatively egalitarian social organization and undergirds a commercial society.

To make my case, I need to drive a coach and horses through the existing historiographical consensus in three areas: the medical professions, the provincial press, and the origins of the French Revolution. Medical practitioners are, first of all, normally represented—as is the case with most of the *ancien régime* professions—as a staid, deferential, and backward-looking group. Their social ambitions, it is held, were limited: like other members of the bourgeoisie, they lived "humdrum, unexciting lives" and sought, above all, incorporation into a nobility whose social ascendancy they respected rather than contested.⁴ The tripartite, corporative, and hierarchical division of medical practitioners into physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries was being contested in some respects by 1789—notably

contemporaine (Paris, 1985); "La presse provinciale française dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle: Géographie d'une nouvelle fonction urbaine," in *La ville et l'innovation* (Paris, 1987); "La presse provinciale au XVIII^e siècle: Géographie d'un réseau," *Revue historique* (1984); and "La presse provinciale sous l'ancien régime," in Sgard, *La presse provinciale*.

For general background, compare Claude Bellanger, et al., eds., *Histoire générale de la presse française: I; Des origines à 1814* (Paris, 1984); and Claude Labrosse, et al., *L'instrument périodique: La fonction de la presse au XVIII^e siècle* (Lyon, 1985). On newspaper advertising more generally, see the sparkling essay by Christopher Todd, "French Advertising in the Eighteenth Century," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 266 (1989).

² Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

³ Cited in Emile Lousse, *La société d'ancien régime: Organisation et représentation corporatives* (Louvain, 1952), 133.

⁴ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1989)—an authoritative distillation of existing historiographical consensus: see p. 25 for the humdrum lives. For a fuller account of the historiography of the medical profession—and a revision of it—see Laurence W. B. Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, forthcoming).

by the dynamic group of elite surgeons—but it stayed in place.⁵ Even though historians have detected the processes of professionalization at work, these are usually viewed as taking place under the aegis of the state. The Royal Society of Medicine, chartered by the crown in 1778, for example, launched a ferocious attack on all varieties of informal and unlicensed medicine, which it branded charlatanism, and endeavored to use the power of the state to develop medical policing over society as a whole.⁶

If medical practitioners are viewed as essentially undynamic, the same is often said, second, of the provincial press. In a 1985 article comparing the French and the English press during the eighteenth century, for example, Jack Censer and others concluded that while England's press was a faithful reflection of a dynamic commercial society, France's bore the hallmarks of a traditionalist and hidebound society still riven by the corporative distinctions and the hierarchy of taste characteristic of a society of orders. The main state-backed journal, the *Gazette de France*, cut a pale, ponderous, pathetic, and apolitical figure when set against *The Spectator* or the *North Briton*. The authors thus sacrificed the French provincial press on the altar of France's alleged social and economic backwardness.⁷ More recently, it is true, Jack Censer has revised this view somewhat: his recent synthesis provides a balanced view of the entire array of press outlets in *ancien régime* France. Yet if one sees here in embryo something of the vitality that the works of Jeremy Popkin and others have located in the revolutionary press, Censer has still to swim against the historiographical stream, which, as he admits, has tended to view provincial newspapers as unpolitical or "literary," totally separate from the analysis of the *ancien régime*, and contributing, on balance, little to the destabilization of the French monarchy.⁸

Third, there also has been a shift of the historiographical consensus away from the search for social or economic origins of the French Revolution, toward a highlighting of cultural and ideological forces.⁹ Symptomatic of the issues involved

⁵ See especially Toby Gelfand, *Professionalizing Modern Medicine: Paris Surgeons and Medical Science and Institutions in the Eighteenth Century* (Westport, Conn., 1980); and Matthew Ramsey, *Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770–1830: The Social World of Medical Practice* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁶ Caroline Hannaway, "Medicine, Public Welfare and the State in Eighteenth-Century France: The Société Royale de Médecine" (PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1974); Jean-Pierre Desai, *et al.*, *Médecins, climat et épidémies à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1972); Charles C. Gillispie, *Science and Polity in Old Regime France* (Princeton, N.J., 1980).

⁷ Stephen Botein, Jack Censer, and Harriet Ritvo, "La presse périodique et la société anglaise et française au XVIII^e siècle: Une approche comparative," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 32 (1985).

⁸ Jack R. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (London, 1994), see chap. 2 for an analysis of the provincial press consonant in some respects with the analysis offered here. For general disparagement of pre-1789 French periodicals, from an otherwise authoritative source, see the comments on the provincial press in Bellanger, *Histoire générale de la presse*, 329: "sécheresse de ton, . . . style académique, . . . prudence," etc. For post-1789 developments, compare Jeremy Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789–99* (Durham, N.C., 1990); and for the Francophone press, Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution: Jean Luzac's "Gazette de Leyde"* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989) (see the comment on the Affiches on p. 47). It is noticeable that the essays in Jack Censer and Jeremy Popkin, eds., *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), which present a fine and nuanced account of the contribution of the press to the burgeoning political culture, totally neglect the Affiches that are the focus of the present article.

⁹ Most prominently in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, N.C.,

has been the use made of Jürgen Habermas's book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.¹⁰ His notion of a sphere of open, rational debate and discussion between private individuals, developing within the interstices of the absolute state, remains an attractive one for scholars, who have retained Habermas's "bourgeois public sphere" and his stress on the importance of public opinion in the late Enlightenment. But they have effectively cut the German scholar off at the knees by denying the validity of his attempts to link these developments to the growth of capitalist relations of production. This rejection chimes with the wider views of "revisionist" scholars of the French Revolution, in free flight from the allegedly Marxist economic interpretation of the eighteenth century, which in their eyes accorded too much dynamism to the bourgeoisie, now held to be composed of "zombies" (Simon Schama) or "indeterminate social mutants" (Colin Lucas). Robert Darnton speaks for most when he declares that Habermas "cannot be taken as a guide to eighteenth-century France." The result has been widespread use of the notion of the "bourgeois public sphere," in the context of a belief in the weakness before 1789 of the French bourgeoisie, especially the professions.¹¹

I would like to contest these established viewpoints. To do this, I will be drawing on a corpus of newspaper materials—the provincial *Affiches*—that historians have largely neglected. If, like most scholars of the eighteenth century at the moment, I draw on Habermas, it will be in the spirit (if not always according to the letter)¹² of his attempt to encompass both economic and cultural dimensions in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere, and I will reject the "de-economized" version of Habermasian theory currently in fashion. By focusing on the kind of newspaper advertiser in which herniotomist Clesse appeared and trying to identify some of the links in the chain between a herniary truss and, say, the overthrow of French monarchy, I hope to provide a way of looking at Old Regime France that brings the bourgeoisie back into the picture—back, indeed, into the bourgeois public sphere.

1991); and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990).

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

¹¹ Robert Darnton, *New York Review of Books* (October 24, 1991): 34. Good introductions to the value scholars have derived from Habermas include Keith Michael Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas," in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); and Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Towards a Synthesis of Recent Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory*, 31 (1992). I have attempted to revive the search for social and economic origins of the French Revolution, in the spirit of the present article; see Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," Colin Lucas, ed., *Rewriting the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991). (See 72 n. for the "mutants" and "zombies.") For a recent discussion of issues involved, see the round table in *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992), devoted to "The Public Sphere in the Eighteenth Century" (contributions by David Bell, Daniel Gordon, and Sarah Maza).

¹² Habermas says little about the newspapers in question, and his comment on Old Regime advertisers generally (p. 22) does not fit the schema here proposed. As I note later, the forces of aggressive commercialism only enter the Habermasian schema fairly late, from the 1820s: see *Structural Transformation*, chap. 20. I have not thought it worthwhile being systematic about references to Habermas. This is an article about the public sphere, not Habermas.

THE AFFICHES, which developed from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, were essentially and primarily advertisers.¹³ They had a variety of titles but tended to have the phrase "Annonces, affiches et avis divers" in their headings, although this was often shortened, either officially or informally, to the word *Affiches* plus the name of their place of publication (thus *Affiches de Lyon*, *Affiches de Poitou*, etc.). They normally appeared weekly and were based on subscription purchase rather than bookshop sale. Their annual cost was usually between 6 livres and 7 livres, 10 sols—a little less than a week's wages for an urban artisan—and most were four or eight-page issues whose double-columned pages were packed full of small ads. As time went on, however, they came to devote increasing space to letters, articles, and sundry news items.

Such newspapers constituted an armchair version of earlier types of advertisement. The word *affiche* denotes a wall poster, and many of the types of information contained within the *Affiches* had previously taken this form—and indeed continued to do so in many locations. There had been previous attempts to establish advertiser newssheets—notably by Théophraste Renaudot, credited as the founder of France's first newspaper, the *Gazette*, in 1631, and creator of the *Bureau d'adresse*, an institution that was a precocious version of a labor exchange and market for services. The *Bureau d'adresse* failed, however, as did similar projects in 1703 and 1716–1717. The *Gazette* and other national newspapers carried advertisements successfully.¹⁴ The *Affiches* emerged from the early 1750s out of a move to take the advertising arm of the *Gazette* and make it a separate enterprise, with outlets throughout France.¹⁵ The arrangement was based on the strict understanding that the *Gazette* would have a monopoly on all political matters, which would be beyond the purview of the *Affiches*. There were initial difficulties in establishing a network, and for a while the most prosperous such newssheets were the two produced in Paris, both (infuriatingly) with the same title—*Annonces, affiches et avis divers*—but distinguishable by their formats: while the *Affiches de Paris*, aimed at an essentially metropolitan audience, rarely surpassed the small-ad form, the so-called *Affiches de province* served a more regional readership and developed a strong literary and cultural dimension. By 1775, roughly a score of provincial *Affiches* were in existence, and by 1789, forty-four towns could boast one. At that time, they formed over half the newspaper titles whose production was based in France. Indeed, to a considerable degree, they were the French provincial press prior to 1789. Their existence allows the French press to be compared—myths of English superiority notwithstanding—with England, which in the late eighteenth century could boast roughly fifty provincial titles.¹⁶

¹³ For the sketch that follows, see the works cited in note 1. See also the item-by-item coverage of individual newspapers in *DJ* (esp. nos. 6–72).

¹⁴ Todd, "French Advertising," esp. 523–26.

¹⁵ For these operations, see esp. Feyel, "La presse provinciale" (1984 and 1987 versions); Gilles Feyel, *La gazette en province à travers ses réimpressions (1631–1752)* (Amsterdam, 1982); and Feyel, "La 'gazette' au début de la guerre de sept ans: Son administration, sa diffusion (1751–8)," in *La diffusion et la lecture des journaux de langue française sous l'ancien régime* (Amsterdam, 1987). See also, for the Paris operations, *DJ*, nos. 47–49, 57.

¹⁶ Compare Jeremy Black, "'Calculated upon a Very Extensive and Useful Plan': The English Provincial Press in the Eighteenth Century," in J. Isaac, ed., *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (Winchester, 1990), 63; thirty-five existed in the 1770s, around fifty in 1782. See, too,

The heartland of the *Affiches* was France's exceptionally dense urban network. Although moderately sized towns (Sens, Auxerre) might boast one, the newspaper was most firmly based in big and medium-sized cities: roughly two-thirds of France's fifty biggest cities had one, and the papers were present in all but four of the thirty-two of France's administrative units (*généralités*). They were earliest and most firmly rooted in the big commercial cities of France's booming periphery—notably Rouen, Marseille, Bordeaux, and Lyon—where a wealthy mercantile patriciate dominated local society: 70 percent of the towns with an *Affiches* also had a chamber of commerce or a mercantile magistracy. They were also located in towns that had strong administrative functions and that contained a large number of bourgeois and noble *rentiers* with private incomes. Characteristically, they did better in business cities than in parliamentary ones, for their appeal seemed less obvious to the high Robe and Sword nobility than to those not inhabiting the peaks of the social landscape.¹⁷

We lack hard data on subscription lists, but it would seem that the circulation of most of the *Affiches* hovered between 200 and 750. The network as a whole—forty-odd papers—may thus have produced between 8,000 and 30,000 subscribers.¹⁸ To achieve even an approximation of a figure for readership, we need to apply a multiplier, to take into account reading within families, in reading rooms, coffee-houses, and the like. As the editor of the *Affiches de la Franche-Comté* ruefully noted in 1769, his product was more widely read than subscribed to.¹⁹ Jeremy Popkin has proposed a multiplier of ten for newspapers produced in the revolutionary decade; the only *ancien régime* newssheet to venture an opinion—the *Journal de Champagne* in 1784—suggested four readers to every copy. If we use these two figures as markers, it does not seem implausible to hypothesize a readership of between 50,000 and 200,000, and maybe many more.²⁰

Readers appear to have come from the most solid groups within the urban milieu. The physician Baumès in 1802 recalled how in the 1780s he and his friends in Nîmes would read and discuss the local *Affiches*: he characterized this group as enjoying “a happy mediocrity—that is to say [it consisted of] young lawyers and physicians and merchants of the second rank.”²¹ This may well be fairly typical: the social constituency of the *Affiches* was probably not so much the “notables,” who formed the backbone of the provincial academies analyzed by Daniel Roche and on whom historians have concentrated so much attention in recent years. The realm of

Jonathan Barry, “The Press and the Politics of Culture in Bristol, 1660–1775,” in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester, 1991).

¹⁷ For all details on the network, see Feyel, “La presse provinciale” (1984, 1987).

¹⁸ Sgard, “La presse provinciale,” 64, plumps for a total provincial subscription of 30,000. See, for example, Censer, *French Press*, 218. We lack figures for the biggest of the provincial *Affiches*, which hobbles our estimates. The Paris-based *Affiches de province* enjoyed a readership of around 3,000 in 1780, according to D. A. Azam, “Le ministre des affaires étrangères et la presse à la fin de l’ancien régime,” *Cahiers de la presse*, 1 (1938).

¹⁹ M. Vogne, *La presse périodique en Franche-Comté des origines à 1870*, 3 vols. (Besançon, 1977–78), 1: 18 (DJ, no. 25).

²⁰ Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, 84; *Journal de Champagne* (DJ, no. 71), “Prospectus,” 1784. For other circulation figures, compare Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, 19, 83–85, 87–88, and following; Sgard, DJ, *passim*.

²¹ Jean-Baptiste-Théodore Baumès, cited in J. Chevalier Lavaure, *Les journaux à Nîmes à la fin de l’ancien régime* (Nîmes, 1980), 14.

"happy mediocrity" in which the consumerism of the *Affiches* flourished was composed, rather, of merchants, traders, businessmen, and the middling professions—much the kind of social constituency characterized in England as "the middling sort."²²

This did not, of course, mean that other groups were excluded. The *Affiches* were emphatically not house magazines for a handful of cognoscenti, and inclusivity was fundamental to their operations. Artisans and shopkeepers used the *Affiches* to increase the number of their clients, and many advertisements were targeted at domestic servants. At the other end of the spectrum, nobles *were* among the newspapers' patrons—as indeed one would expect of individuals among the most zealous adepts of Enlightenment consumerism. Issues contained advertisements for heraldry, and coverage of genealogy and high-class fashion was a staple item.²³

To a considerable degree, however, social rank based on the status hierarchies of the *ancien régime* was immaterial to the *Affiches*, whose cultural and economic functions revolved around the consumer, assumed a unitary economic subject, and predicated a hierarchy of wealth and taste, not birth or privilege. One suspects that much of the invocation of the nobility in the *Affiches* was less a reference to actual readers than a marketing strategy aimed at lending tone to the mundane nature of their columns. Those who took a subscription to the *Affiches* were buying into a world of consumption, not corporative status. The comment of Beffroy de Reigny, journalist of the bizarre and eccentric, cited epigraphically at the beginning of this article, stresses the cross-class orientation of subscriber newsheets. "Swift and inexpensive means of communications," noted the editor of the *Journal de Languedoc*, "newspapers ceaselessly circulate among all classes of society."²⁴

The market-oriented, bourgeois status of the readership of the *Affiches* is borne out by the flavor of their contents. Without even thinking about it, the *Affiches* talked business. The *Affiches de Toulouse* prided itself on carrying "all notices that can influence trade and interest businessmen." "Everything that concerns trade and that bears the traits of utility will be gratefully received," announced the editor of

²² For the "notables," see Daniel Roche, *Le siècle des lumières en province: Académies et académiciens provinciaux* (Paris, 1978). Roche's most recent synthesis—*La France des lumières* (Paris, 1993)—is, however, particularly strong on the "middling sort" as well as the "middle man," and it provides a useful context for the present article. (See my review, "The Postmaster as Hero," *Times Literary Supplement*, March 31, 1995.) For England, see Jonathan Barry, "Identité urbaine et classes moyennes dans l'Angleterre moderne," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 48 (1993); and Barry and Christopher Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, 1994).

²³ *Journal de Languedoc*, "Prospectus," January 1787 (*DJ*, no. 660). Consumerism is a growth area in eighteenth-century French studies. The pioneering Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), has been followed in particular by Annik Pardaillhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (London, 1991); and Roche's *La France des lumières* and *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1994). See, too, Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); Jennifer M. Jones, "The Taste for Fashion and Frivolity: Gender, Clothing and the Commercial Culture of the Old Régime" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1991); and C. Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution revived," esp. 88–93.

²⁴ Louis-Abel Beffroy de Reigny is cited in Michel Gilot and Marie-Françoise Luna, "Mots-forces, mots-problèmes: L'ambiguïté de 1788," in Rétat, *La révolution du journal*, 67; *Journal de Languedoc*, "Prospectus," 1787.

the *Affiches de Lyon*.²⁵ Merchants and manufacturers would doubtless have welcomed the large number of consumers that the *Affiches* allowed them to reach. They would also appreciate, as a means of reducing business risk, the hard economic and international information that, as we shall see, the newssheets provided.²⁶ Characteristically, the *Annales de la Franche-Comté* placed a "Poem in Praise of Trade" on the first page of its first issue. "The fatherland [*la patrie*]," declared the editor of the *Affiches du Beauvaisis*, "owes a great deal to trade, and the rank of merchant is one of the noblest, because it is one of the most useful." "We write mainly for merchants and farmers," announced the editors of the *Annales de Picardie*; while the editor of the *Affiches de Toulouse* invoked the aid of "famous lawyers, generous defenders of the fatherland [soldiers], magnificent merchants, savants, writers, artists of every sort, industrious and watchful farmers, and tender mothers."²⁷ Most editors did in fact hail from these backgrounds, as did many regular contributors.²⁸ The bulk of the obituaries the *Affiches* carried were dedicated to these bourgeois groups, too: for every high noble in the obituary section of the *Affiches de Paris*, for example, there were three artisans or shopkeepers and six merchants, *rentiers*, and members of the professions.²⁹

The principle of inclusiveness on which the *Affiches* were based extended to women, who lacked a French-based newspaper specifically aimed at them through most of the period in which the *Affiches* boomed, following the closure of the *Journal des dames* in 1778. The "tender mothers" evoked by the *Affiches de Toulouse* would doubtless be a target for the huge amount of commodities aimed at children (clothes, toys, books). A good deal of advertisement for domestic commodities of all sorts, as well as books and cosmetics, was similarly oriented around what was assumed to be female taste. Some editors evinced a slight anxiety lest female readership might lessen the seriousness of their enterprise: the editor of the *Affiches de Beauvaisis* claimed that the *Poésies fugitives* he often included were destined for "the Ladies"; others justified quizzes, anagrams, and light verse on much the same grounds.³⁰ Such embarrassment and their requisite domesticity notwithstanding, the *Affiches* comprised one sector of the bourgeois public sphere in which women were firmly planted.

²⁵ M. T. Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse et l'information à Toulouse des origines à 1789* (Toulouse, 1969), 136–37 (for Toulouse); Bellanger, *La presse*, 367 (for Lyon). See *DJ*, nos. 66–67 (Toulouse) and 34 (Lyon).

²⁶ This point is highlighted, for England, in John Brewer, "Commercialization and Politics," in Neil McKendrick, et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982). Compare Hilton Root, "Institutions, Interest Groups and Authority in Ancien Régime France," *French History*, 6 (1992).

²⁷ Vogne, *La presse périodique*, 1: 16; *Affiches du Beauvaisis* (*DJ*, no. 15), July 27, 1788; *Affiches de Picardie* (*DJ*, no. 54), "Prospectus," January 1774; Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 151 (*Affiches de Toulouse* [*DJ*, nos. 66–67]; the tender mothers were those who breastfed their babies).

²⁸ See *DJ*, *passim*, for editors. Local *Affiches* could rely on the sterling services of local savants in providing copy: for instance, the surgeon Claude-Nicolas Le Cat in Rouen and the physician Nicolas in Grenoble.

²⁹ Botein, et al., "La presse périodique," 230.

³⁰ *Affiches de Beauvaisis*, January 1, 1786; Nina Rattner Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France: "Le Journal des Dames"* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and, more generally, Evelyn Sullerot, *Histoire de la presse féminine en France des origines à 1848* (Paris, 1966).

THEIR COMMON ORIGINS IMPRINTED on the Affiches a roughly similar format and set of advertising headings, the latter often laid out in the same sequence.³¹ Most Affiches began with small ads for property sales and leases—a popular section. They went on to examine the sale of offices within the state bureaucracy, which offered career opportunities and means of social ascent to the aspiring social climber. This was a regional but sometimes a national market, too: the Normandy Affiches, for example, carried an advertisement for the sale of the (ennobling) post of municipal alderman (*capitoul*) in Toulouse.³² There were many ads, too, under the heading of movable property, an enormous profusion of consumer objects to be found: jewelry, gold, silver, furniture, decorations, carriages, horses, fashionable clothing, and everything that polite society might seem to require, as well as much that it probably did not but that reached required levels of novelty and modishness: tame monkeys, stain removers, razor strops, billiard tables, indoor fireworks, waterproof shoes, hot-water bottles, water closets, bidets, and (a great deal of) horse manure.³³

High culture as well as domestic artifacts were here in abundance, too: under the heading “Variétés” were details of local plays, concerts, and other artistic spectacles. Items of local news were profuse: local marriages, obituary notices, ceremonials and great funerals, public municipal meetings and signal events, philanthropic gestures, historical anecdotes, and archaeological finds relating to the region. Books were here in abundance: new titles were announced and sometimes reviewed or excerpted—advertisements often went on to mention that all titles were available from a local bookseller (who invariably was the editor of the local Affiches). Details of legal proceedings were also included: select royal decrees, edicts of local parlements, court reporting. Some Affiches even carried special legal supplements, highlighting titillating details of recent causes célèbres.³⁴

There was economic information here, too. A regular feature was the announcement of up-to-the-minute details on the price of grain in local markets, share and other prices, building contracts available, the arrival of shipping (in major ports), sales and auctions. Bringing up the rear in this section was a booming market in lost-and-found objects. The local Affiches was the place to look, had you been

³¹ More flexibility appeared toward the end of the Old Regime, as many Affiches accepted literary and cultural material. Small ads were sometimes confined to a supplement. It seems that bound copies in libraries today are often shorn of this advertising material. For this problem, see Feyel, “La presse provinciale” (1987), 110, n. 23.

³² *Annonces affiches et avis divers de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, 1762 (DJ, no. 45). Similarly in 1770, the *Affiches de Bordeaux* in a single year contained advertisements for the sale of the post of *secrétaire du roi* based in Metz (March 22, 1770) and Rennes (December 29, 1770) (DJ, no. 16).

³³ See, among others, by way of sampling: *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, July 20, 1771 (DJ, nos. 69–70) (razor strops); November 9, 1771 (waterproof shoes); *Affiches de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, December 19, 1763 (hot-water bottles); *Affiches de Provence* (DJ, no. 57), February 15, 1778 (horse manure).

³⁴ The *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés* and the *Affiches de Toulouse* both contained these supplements. See, too, R. Gérard, *Un journal de province sous la Révolution: Le Journal de Marseille de Ferréol de Beugeard (1781–97)* (Paris, 1964), esp. 9. Unfortunately, the Bibliothèque Nationale holdings of the Affiches invariably do not contain these legal supplements. On the cause célèbre, see Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The “Causes Célèbres” of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Lindsay B. Wilson, *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment: The Debate over “Maladies des Femmes”* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), esp. chap. 3. It should be noted that the existence of a medium of diffusion of causes célèbres through the Affiches, not mentioned by Maza, considerably strengthens her claim about the wide circulation of the *mémoire judiciaire*.

careless enough to misplace, say, a parrot, an umbrella, or a Negro slave: fifteen lost umbrellas surfaced in the *Affiches de Normandie* in 1773 alone, while the *Affiches de Bordeaux* in 1771 carried details of the escaped Congolese slave doubtless wandering through claret country—readers would recognize him from the fact that he was branded Vincent (the name of the master, not the slave).³⁵

Michael Sonenscher has justly characterized the world of work in the late eighteenth century as a “bazaar economy,”³⁶ and to scan the headings of the *Affiches* is to suspect that these newspapers formed a dynamic outpost of that world. The lost-and-found columns tailed into the section of the papers containing small ads relating to personal quests, notably employment. Some advertisers looked for traveling companions, and there were the occasional offers of marriage.³⁷ Masters seeking workers tried the *Affiches*. More numerous were individuals seeking work: domestic servants from the higher echelons, teachers, and skilled workers. The foothills of the professions were also represented: priests seeking a lowly benefice, feudal lawyers, and specialists in heraldic research seeking clients. (Expertise in “feudal reaction” was a marketable commodity.)³⁸

As time went on, the *Affiches* came to contain more article-length pieces on matters of literary or wider cultural importance. Anything smacking of politics remained formally beyond their purview, and editors often fell over themselves in their determination not to appear contentious. “I would like, if it is at all possible,” commented the editor of the *Affiches de Bourges*, with all the pluckiness of a defiant doormat, “not to displease anyone.”³⁹ The *Gazette* remained the locus for, in Habermasian language, the “representational” rituals of absolute monarchy (that is, courtly behavior affirming status through show and display before an admiring audience); the sonorous relation of official “fact” contrasted strikingly with the pluralistic, stereophonic anonymity of the *Affiches*’ million small ads. Editors were increasingly keen to use their newspapers to combine “the pleasing” (*l’agréable*) with “the useful” (*l’utile*). Although social utility had the edge (“the useful,” noted the *Affiches de Lyon*, “must always prevail over the pleasing”), the pleasing played an important role in widening horizons and stimulating imaginations.⁴⁰ Culture and trade thus came commodified and textualized, in ad-sized pieces. The combination of social utility with cultural interests, modeled on contemporary “commercial nations” such as England and Holland, was destined to “open a more certain channel so as to allow my compatriots”—this is the editor of the *Affiches de la Haute*

³⁵ *Affiches de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, 1773 (umbrellas); *Affiches de Bordeaux* (DJ, no. 16), February 14, 1771 (escaped slave). For the parrot, Gérard, *Un journal de province*, 76.

³⁶ Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge, 1989), 22–27.

³⁷ For an example of a marriage offer, which seems to be a joke: *Affiches de l’Orléanais* (DJ, no. 46), December 7, 1764. One in the *Affiches de province*, May 22, 1771, was formally censored.

³⁸ The domestic servants were the most numerous. For other examples, see *Affiches de Toulouse*, June 18, 1788 (priest); *Affiches de l’Orléanais*, December 20, 1782 (feudal lawyer); *Affiches du Dauphiné* (DJ, no. 21), December 12, 1786 (heraldic expert).

³⁹ Cited in DJ, no. 17.

⁴⁰ M. Gasc, “La naissance de la presse périodique à Lyon: Les *Affiches* de Lyon, annonces et avis divers,” in *Etudes sur la presse*, 67 (compare DJ, no. 34). For the “representational” dimension of court rituals, see Habermas’s discussion in *Structural Transformation*, 6–8.

Normandie speaking—"to communicate reciprocally among themselves their needs and their thoughts."⁴¹

The initial forum for such aspirations may have been the locality in which the *Affiches* was centered. This often showed that the spirit of the *Affiches* was to a large extent the spirit of the parish pump. From what we know about their business history, parochialism was an endless problem: lack of capital, shortages of copy, consumer suspicion—even resistance—squabbles with the censors, petty local rivalries, fights over status precedence, and ruinous lawsuits.⁴² Nevertheless, to flip through the pages of these newspapers is to gain a sense not of closed, introverted communities but rather of a localism abutting onto something much broader. Editors viewed themselves as engaged in a kind of *mission civilisatrice*, culturally and commercially reaching out into parts of the region—*le pays*—hitherto cut off from the mainstream. The editor of the *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, recalling that poster *affiches* could only be seen in one place at one time, noted their vast inferiority to his newspaper, whose aim was "in some sense to make of this province a single town."⁴³

Changes in title expressed this growing aspiration: though named initially after a town or city, many *Affiches* altered their title to include their surrounding region. Thus the *Affiches de Toulouse* became the *Affiches de Toulouse et du Haut-Languedoc*; the *Affiches de Metz* (after a number of changes), the *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*; while in the nation's capital from 1779, the *Affiches de Paris* assumed the title *Journal général de France*. Indeed, in the 1780s, a great many of the papers dropped the title "Affiches" altogether for the more respectable, literary-sounding "Journal" (which they, moreover, increasingly resembled). In order to live up to this aspiration, the most successful papers created a network of distribution centers around their provinces. Subscriptions and sales were organized through neighboring small-town outlets—which often doubled as local post offices or else served as distribution centers for tobacco, salt, or proprietary medicines. Editors also aimed to secure among their subscribers rural notables—seigneurs and seigneuses, parish priests—to relay their efforts.⁴⁴

The local and regional patriotism of the *Affiches* was only a link in an even grander chain. Theirs was not the obscurantist regionalism of feudal law, historical prescription, and topological privilege but rather what we might call a "neo-provincialism," saturated in Enlightenment values of openness and transparency. The editor of the *Journal de Languedoc* in 1787 invoked "the reciprocal commerce"

⁴¹ A. Dubuc, "Les 'Annonces, affiches et avis divers de la Haute et Basse Normandie': Premier journal normand (1762–84)," *Actes du 81^e Congrès National des sociétés savantes [Caen 1956]: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 1956), 243–44.

⁴² Monographic treatments of individual newspapers give a good flavor of the problems: see esp. Dubuc, "Les 'Annonces, affiches et avis divers de la Haute et Basse Normandie,'" 249; Gérard, *Un journal de province, passim*; and Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, esp. 147–49.

⁴³ *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, "Prospectus," January 1764. (This phrase was in fact much cited in other *Affiches*).

⁴⁴ For example, the *Affiches de l'Orléanais* in 1764 had distribution points in nine locations, directed by five booksellers, two notaries, and a postmaster; the *Affiches du Beauvaisis* (*DJ*, no. 15) in 1787 was in ten localities (six booksellers, one librarian's, one lawyer's, one surgeon's, one apothecary's); and the *Affiches du Dauphiné* in 1774 was available from postmasters in seventeen localities. For the latter newspaper, see René Favier, "Les 'Affiches' et la diffusion de l'innovation en Dauphiné à la fin du XVIII^e siècle (1774–89)," *Annales du Midi*, 97 (1985).

that his newspaper represented “between Languedoc and the other provinces of the kingdom and also foreign countries.” Although the good of all humanity was seen as being at stake, particular concern focused on the regional, then national, frameworks. For the *Affiches*, there was no clash of interest between town, region, and nation: all were harmonious links in the grand design of—as the *Affiches de l’Orléanais* put it—“communication and commerce of minds.”⁴⁵ The great interest editors showed in improved means of material communication—postal services, canals, stagecoach routes and schedules, engineering ventures, ballooning—highlighted the metaphysic of mobility at the heart of the *Affiches* project. Any of the journals, however humble it might be, was therefore engaged in “exciting emulation and contributing to the happiness that derives from commerce, arts and letters.” This made the newssheet “the depository of some of the fruits of the activity and genius of the French nation,” a “rich storehouse” of the nation’s genius.⁴⁶

France was viewed as being composed not, as the legists would have it, of a vertically arranged assemblage of myriad corporative bodies but rather of the fraternal, horizontally disposed ranks of fellow citizens (*concitoyens*) and compatriots (*compatriotes*), forming up in “neo-provincialist” battalions. In the wondrous economy of fulfilled reciprocal needs, which the *Affiches* prided themselves on engendering, getting and gaining extended to the goods and services of writers, artists, and the liberal professions. The choice products of merchants and manufacturers—France’s capitalist bourgeoisie, if one wants to call them that—were here, but so were the intellectual offshoots and the skills and expertise of writers, middlemen, and professionals. Revisionist historians have often tended to separate France’s capitalist bourgeoisie from the other groups within the bourgeoisie, many of whom also maintained a foot in the market. Yet it is clear that from the vantage point of the *Affiches*, such a division makes little sense. Where historians have tended to see disjuncture and conflict, the *Affiches* register linkages, overlaps of interests, and languages of mutual reinforcement: thus the *Affiches de province* compared the Republic of Letters to “a major trading city [in which] all writers . . . enjoy civic rights.”⁴⁷ Commerce in words as well as things was a defining characteristic of the *Affiches*. They overlooked their profit-oriented organization to conceive of themselves playing an altruistic role in the diffusion of Enlightened ideas and in the infusion of opinion with Enlightenment values. By means of publicity, they acted as relays for the book trade, other press outlets, the world of academies, and even masonic lodges, reaching parts of the French nation that these institutions could not reach by themselves and that lay beyond the normal constituency of other, more literary, and more respectable press organs. They constituted, as the editor of the *Affiches de Limoges* rather grandiloquently put it, “a kind of confraternity, a sort of academy spread out throughout the kingdom.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Journal de l’Orléanais*, “Discours préliminaire,” January 1783. Compare the fine article by Claude Labrosse, “La région dans la presse régionale,” in Sgard, *La presse provinciale*.

⁴⁶ *Journal de l’Orléanais*, “Avertissement,” January 6, 1769; Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 145 (*Affiches de Toulouse*).

⁴⁷ *Affiches de province*, “Avertissement,” 1761. The analytical disaggregation of the bourgeoisie into “capitalist” and “intellectual” wings has been a *topos* in revisionist scholarship since the appearance of its Ur-text, Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1964).

⁴⁸ Cited in Feyel, “La presse provinciale,” 40 (*DJ*, no. 460).

The Affiches thus prided themselves on a uniquely efficacious capillarity within the bourgeois public sphere. Their nurturing of “a reciprocal commerce in enlightenment” (“un commerce réciproque de lumières”)⁴⁹ tied in closely with their belief in the enlightening and civilizing powers of trade: *la lumière du commerce* and *le commerce des lumières* were two sides of the same coin. By holding the savant, the expert, and the consumer in the same altruistic basket, they aimed to produce satisfaction for the needs of all. Exchange was viewed as bringing both profit and pleasure, as well as bringing into being reciprocal relations of interdependence. Citizen was linked to citizen by “a mutual communication of enlightenment and assistance.”⁵⁰ Happiness fostered profits, just as profits facilitated happiness: the development of national wealth and the accumulation of collective felicity formed part of the same grand design. The *Affiches de Picardie* spoke warmly of “a commerce of friendship between citizens, [made] by bringing them reciprocal benefits.” The *Affiches de Poitou* evoked “a kind of correspondence of services and feelings: [the Affiches] is the means of communication between citizens that is the most swift, the most general and the least costly: it instructs at the same time as those who wish to buy and those who wish to sell find their wherewithal.”⁵¹ Through the Affiches, therefore, a novel and cogent cultural circuitry was being assembled, a “Great Chain of Buying” (and selling) was being forged, which valorized even as it helped to create a commercial society.⁵²

In the “Great Chain of Buying,” the market held few terrors. Editors were happy marketeers to a man. In their pages, the market was presented as anodyne, socially desirable, even lovable; within it, speculation, famine, greed, and want seemed to find no place. It answered human needs without pain or neurosis and in so doing celebrated new conceptions of virtue and happiness. The hidden hand of this market even wrote itself: there is little “writerliness” in the Affiches, which proclaimed a kind of degree zero of literarity. The writer was depreciated. Editors prided themselves on being merely the amanuenses of anonymous and transcendent forces, and, as “simple secretaries,” they wrote as if under dictation from those forces.⁵³ “We only point with our finger,” noted the editor of the *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, “what others are doing.”⁵⁴

The methods by which copy was obtained underscored this editorial rather than authorial function. The Affiches relied on their subscribers for most of their copy. These included local officials of the government. The provincial *intendants* were among the most assiduous of readers of the Affiches; they were, after all, their censors. They also utilized the Affiches to publish government measures, pet schemes to animate the local economy, or other *faits divers*: the government, the editor of the *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés* announced in 1781, drew to the reader's

⁴⁹ *Journal du Languedoc*, “Prospectus,” January 1787.

⁵⁰ Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 171 (citation from 1777).

⁵¹ Bellanger, *Histoire de la presse*, 399–400 (citing the *Affiches de Picardie* [DJ, no. 54]); Jean Sgard, “La presse provinciale et les Lumières,” in Sgard, *La presse provinciale*, 55 (citing the *Affiches du Poitou*, 1772 [DJ, no. 55]).

⁵² Compare Sgard, “La presse provinciale et les Lumières,” 53.

⁵³ Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 144 (“simple secretaries”). Compare Jack Censer, “La presse vue par elle-même: Le prospectus et le lecteur révolutionnaire,” in Rétat, *La révolution du journal*, 121.

⁵⁴ *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, “Avertissement,” February 1, 1765.

attention . . . the start of horse racing at Vincennes.⁵⁵ In addition, the establishment contract of each *Affiches* required it to send a copy of each issue to all the other *Affiches* throughout France. This practice supplied members of the network with an endless supply of potential copy. Wholesale lifting of material was an accepted way of putting a number together: roughly one-third of the contents of the *Affiches du Dauphiné* derived from this source.⁵⁶ Each *Affiches* was thus to a certain extent the press office of all the others—and indeed of all their sundry contributors. “You never SAY anything,” commented a critic of the *Courrier d’Avignon* irately, “You only repeat.”⁵⁷ Precisely. By this echo-chamber mechanism, the parish pump spoke to the world, and the world to the parish pump—and public opinion was formed.

The role of the notion of “public opinion” in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere has been underlined in recent years by Keith Baker and others. Yet the tendency has been to view this essentially as a discursive construct lacking a plausible social referent. The *Affiches* provide a rather different—and perhaps more authentically Habermasian—perspective. The anonymity, aliterarity, stereo-phony, and the very “innocence” of the genre notwithstanding, we see within the *Affiches* public opinion being formed as if by drip-feed and the simultaneous construction of a new community of citizen-consumers. The *Affiches* was an organ, noted the editor of the *Affiches de province*, “formed, so to speak, by those who read it.” The public discursively invoked in the *Affiches* was identical to their largely bourgeois—both male and female—readership, rooted in the ranks of “happy mediocrity.” The open-endedness and interactiveness that characterized the genre made it at once a laboratory for experiments in individual subjectivity—and in collective class consciousness.⁵⁸

By bringing producers and consumers of goods and services together in mutually beneficial markets and exchanges, by encouraging information flows regarding market decisions, and by establishing new links that transcended geographical localism, social particularism, gender exclusivity, and occupational restrictiveness, the *Affiches* played a considerable role as agents of the commercialization of *ancien régime* society.⁵⁹ They activated and simultaneously legitimated market exchange; they both boosted demand and fashioned the reader as a consumer. The Great Chain of Buying was grounded in the social and cultural capillarity of the small ad, which conjoined the private and the public, the economic and the cultural, the macro economy with the micro level of individual wants and needs.

BUT WHAT OF THE PLACE of our herniotomist in this Great Chain of Buying?

⁵⁵ *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, March 1, 1781. For the enlightened *intendant*, see Roche, *La France des lumières*, 205–13.

⁵⁶ Gerard, *Un journal de province*, 48–49.

⁵⁷ Cited by René Moulinas, *L'imprimerie, la librairie et la presse à Avignon au XVIII^e siècle* (Grenoble, 1974), 368 (*DJ*, nos. 261–63).

⁵⁸ *Affiches de province*, January 7, 1761. Compare Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 49. Keith Baker's *Inventing the French Revolution* is a key text at issue here.

⁵⁹ I do not have space to outline the potential importance of the *Affiches* for the current rewriting of the economic history of the *ancien régime*. For introductions to this topic, see Jones, “Bourgeois Revolution Revivified”; and Colin Heywood, *The Development of the French Economy, 1750–1914* (London, 1992).

So far, I have endeavored to keep medicine and health out of my discussion of this neglected network of newspapers. This has been difficult, for they lie at the very heart of the commercializing, publicizing project of the *Affiches*. The common task of these newspapers—the service of utility, the making of happiness, the fostering of national spirit, and the nurturing of citizenship—reserved a significant role for medicine, medical personnel, and health issues. The editor of the *Affiches de la Haute Normandie*, for instance, wished his newspaper “to stimulate the intellectual curiosity of the public, and to involve at the same time its health, its wealth and its economic needs.”⁶⁰ If, as Saint-Just was later to claim, happiness was “a new idea” in eighteenth-century Europe, much the same could be said of good health, one of the buzzwords of Enlightenment optimism.⁶¹

Health and medicine played a visible role at each of the different levels at which the *Affiches* operated. The metaphors through which editors conceptualized their activities often had a strong medical hue. As one might expect from journalists with an eye for metaphor, “circulation” was a perennial concern: editors not only sought to ensure a more dynamic “circulation” in their own product, they wished to see it matched in the body of French society generally. Their aim was sometimes a “fermentation,” an “effervescence,” an “exaltation” of the French nation. Some hoped to “electrify” or to “regenerate”—one or two even to “mesmerize.” The body that lay at the center of the culture of the *Affiches* was thus not the sacral body of the king, “sovereign administrator” of his hierarchical realm, but rather the healthy organism of the assiduous reader—or else, more broadly, the body social, requiring fluidity and energy in the articulation of its parts.⁶²

Scientific and medical life is found under most of the conventional headings of the *Affiches*. Much publicity was given, for example, to medical and scientific courses: practical anatomy classes, major operations (Caesarean sections, removal of cataracts or kidney stones), midwifery courses, and botanical rambles led by academics. Great medical interventions—quasi-miraculous cures, brilliant surgical strokes, and the like—merged imperceptibly into the more sensationalist wing of *Affiches* reporting: thus accounts of a bewitched woman in Picardy giving birth to six frogs; thus, too, stories of five-footed calves, tongueless women talking, extraordinarily hirsute toddlers, numerate horses, the eccentric hybrid born of a cat and a duck, and 150-year-old geriatrics.⁶³ Other, more formal medical aspects of public life were also given coverage; medical items were prominent among those pieces conjoining the local with the national. Health bulletins on ailing members of the royal family were a specialty. Reports of meetings of academies and learned

⁶⁰ *Affiches de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, “Prospectus,” January 1762.

⁶¹ Compare Jean Sgard, “La presse provinciale et les Lumières,” in Sgard, *La presse provinciale*, 62 and following; and, more generally, Robert Mauzi, *L'idée du bonheur dans la littérature française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), esp. 300–14. For further discussion on this point, see Brockliss and Jones, *Medical World*.

⁶² See esp. Gilot and Luna, “Mots-forces, mots-problèmes,” for an excellent discussion. The *Affiches* were one of the most significant mediums spreading interest in mesmerism.

⁶³ For medical publicity, see *Affiches du Dauphiné*, July 6, 1787 (Caesarian operations); *Affiches de Picardie*, September 3, 1774 (midwifery courses); *Affiches d'Austrasie* (DJ, no. 9), February 13, 1766 (rambles). For sensationalism, see Bellanger, *La presse*, 385 (calves); *Affiches de Picardie*, November 27, 1773 (frogs); *Affiches de Rouen*, December 23, 1763 (tongueless woman); *Affiches de Provence*, June 14, 1778 (duck-cat); *Affiches d'Austrasie*, May 15, 1766 (geriatric).

societies were legion, as were their prize essay competitions. The Royal Society of Medicine was one of the most visible of such societies: its secretary, Vicq d'Azyr, whom historians conventionally represent as a white knight of scientific altruism, proved astonishingly alert to the uses of publicity.⁶⁴ Public health measures also attracted much attention: smallpox inoculation, hospital reform, cemetery relocation, medical intervention in epidemics. The *Affiches* were a prime site of the "eighteenth-century campaign to avoid disease."⁶⁵

Medicine thus lay close to the heart of the public sphere that the *Affiches* helped to construct. Making the public world more open and rational was matched by a desire—often ascribed to women readers—to render the reader's home cleaner, purer, more comfortable, less smelly, more secure, fire-insured, and vermin-free.⁶⁶ The significant role attributed to the maintenance of private and domestic health in the achievement of happiness was endlessly demonstrated by the way in which medicine was used as a selling point for a vast array of commodities and services that had little or nothing obvious to do with health. The phrase "de santé" resounded like a marketing mantra in some unusual places. Private infirmaries were dubbed "maisons de santé," but proprietors of public baths also proudly offered the public "bains médicaux" and "bains de santé"; caterers, "thé de santé," "thé balsamique et stomachique des Alpes," and "café de santé"; and boilermakers, a "poêle hydraulique et de santé."⁶⁷ Furniture manufacturers advertised "tables de santé" (for keeping medicines warm) and touted the charms of "lits mécaniques pour le soulagement des malades," or else air beds, vaunted for "comfort, economy, voluptuousness," and "la santé."⁶⁸ Vinegar makers announced a "moutarde de santé," while chocolatiers displayed a "chocolat homogène, stomachique et pectoral" and a "chocolat de santé." (Medical critics pointed out that this last was manufactured so poorly it should be renamed "chocolat de maladie.") On a related tack, hairdressers preened their haircutting skills by disparaging wigs, which were invariably, they claimed, composed of hair cropped from the skulls of syphilitic corpses, while dancing masters advertised their skills in "the art of preventing and correcting bodily deformities." Little wonder that doctors and surgeons were already beginning to refer to themselves as "officiers de santé"—a phrase to have a distinguished history in the revolutionary decade and beyond.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ For the royal family, see, for example, publicity relating to the royal family's smallpox inoculation (*Affiches du Dauphiné*, August 26, 1774) and the birth of the dauphin (*Affiches de Toulouse*, October 7, 1781). Reports of the affairs of the Royal Society of Medicine are extremely widespread in all the major *Affiches*. For Vicq, see Gillispie, *Science and Polity*, 196–203.

⁶⁵ James C. Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (London, 1987). These endeavors were sometimes placed under the heading of "Patriotisme" or "Bienfaisance."

⁶⁶ On this theme, see Robert Favre and Pierre Rétat, "L'amélioration de la vie quotidienne," in Sgard, *La presse*, 65 and following.

⁶⁷ *Affiches de province*, August 15, 1759 ("maisons de santé"); *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés*, November 23, 1771, and *Affiches de Toulouse*, May 13, 1787 (baths); *Affiches de province*, March 5, 1785 ("thé de santé"); *Affiches de Toulouse*, February 13, 1772 (café); *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés*, December 5, 1772 (boilers).

⁶⁸ *Affiches de Toulouse*, October 9, 1787 (tables); *Gazette de santé*, February 8, 1776 (air bed).

⁶⁹ Maille the mustard-maker was an inveterate user of the columns of the *Affiches*. See also *Gazette de santé* (DJ, no. 544), September 16, 1773 ("chocolat de maladie"); *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés* (chocolate); Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 185 (hairdressers); *Affiches de Toulouse*, November 24, 1787 (dancing master). For the "officier de santé," see Dora B. Weiner, *The Citizen-Patient in Revolutionary and Imperial Paris* (Baltimore, Md., 1993).

Science and medicine tended to serve the pursuit of domestic comfort while also anaesthetizing readers to many of the inequalities and injustices of commercial society. Food, for example, present in cornucopian variety and Rabelaisian volume, was seen as an integral part of citizens' material well-being rather than—as was the case in court gazettes—the occasion for ceremonial ritual and public display. Remedies were earnestly offered for those who ate too much; gout (countered by “sympathetic garters”), hemorrhoids, and indigestion were targeted ailments. As for those who were faced with hunger and want, there were healthy, homey recipes for *soupes économiques* and bread made from potato flour (referred to, significantly enough, as “farine de santé”)—the latter particularly recommendable in that any excess might be utilized as wallpaper paste. (Starving peasants, please note!) Here, as so often, the *Affiches* had an answer, and it was a soothing one.⁷⁰

A staunch and touching optimism obtained, too, in much relating to the body, which was—and is—a special focus for medical consumerism, and which, again, often targeted female readers. Personal appearances were to be endlessly sanitized, endlessly prettified. Creams promised to remove wrinkles and restore hair (occasionally at the same time). Teeth should be clean, pure, white, odor-free, and could, thanks to the *Affiches*, be worn false. The Rousseauesque, back-to-nature angle of some of the advertising highlighted rude and primitive health: thus the best herb teas were cut on the higher slopes of the Alps; thus the virtues of a “poudre onctueuse” were vaunted on the grounds that it “derived from the most innocent [*sic*] plants”; thus, too, Louisiana bear grease—“préparé sans feu par les sauvages”—was a well-attested way of overcoming baldness.⁷¹

Medical books formed a staple market among the wide variety of medical consumer products advertised in the *Affiches*: one-quarter of the books mentioned in the *Affiches de Lyon* were scientific works—the figure for the *Affiches de province* was close to 40 percent—and roughly a quarter of these were medical works.⁷² There were medical engravings, too: Frère Côme, the famous lithotomist, was the subject of one portrait offered for sale (although the same newspaper also offered engravings of the famous charlatan Count Alessandro di Cagliostro).⁷³ The supply of medical bric-à-brac spilled out beyond the world of print. There were all sorts of anatomical objects on the market: anatomical dolls, upholstered female pelvises for acquiring obstetrical legerdemain, skulls, skeletons, glass eyes. One advertiser offered table-top models of “the genital parts of the two sexes” (along with “300 engravings, most of which show *des sujets galants*”).⁷⁴ There were medical appli-

⁷⁰ Excellent discussions of food in the press are in Jean-Claude Bonnet, “La presse et le problème alimentaire,” in *Le journalisme*; and Bonnet, “Les problèmes alimentaires dans la presse de 1768,” in Jean Varloot and Paule Jansen, eds., *L'année 1768 à travers la presse traitée par ordinateur* (Paris, 1981). For sympathetic garters, see *Affiches de Bordeaux*, August 9, 1770; for hemorrhoidal creams, *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés*, January 18, 1772.

⁷¹ *Affiches de province*, September 4, 1771 (alpine plants); *Affiches de Bordeaux*, March 12, 1778 (“poudre onctueuse”); *Affiches de province*, April 5, 1777 (bear grease). Dentists were champions of false teeth. Morag Martin is preparing a PhD dissertation for the University of California, Irvine, on cosmetics, drawing on the *Affiches*.

⁷² Michel Marion, “Dix années des ‘Affiches, annonces et avis divers’ (1752–61),” in Jacques Godechot, ed., *Regards sur l'histoire de la presse et de l'information: Mélanges offerts à Jan Prinet* (Paris, 1980), 31.

⁷³ *Affiches de Toulouse*, August 1, 1782 (Côme); June 23, 1782 (Cagliostro).

⁷⁴ *Affiches de Toulouse*, July 30, 1761 (anatomical dolls); *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine* (DJ, no. 69),

ances of a stomach-churningly baroque fantasy, which await their hardened archaeologist: herniary trusses of every shape, size, price, and consistency; scalpels, saws, knives, probes, and cutting edges of every description; tourniquets, catheters, and surgical boots; false teeth, artificial limbs, ear trumpets; electrical contraptions ("one can electrify several patients at the same time"); neck collars and body harnesses; do-it-yourself tooth extractors, portable urinals. The list is endless.⁷⁵

It would be foolish to attempt more than the most elementary inventory of the wide array of drugs and medicines advertised in the *Affiches*, offering aid to an extraordinarily rich ensemble of ailments and illnesses. The very profusion of the medicines offered may indeed baffle and perplex the historian who, taking as a guide to the state of the pharmaceutical art the most recent writings on medicine in the late eighteenth century, might have expected an altogether more anodyne, stately, and well-regulated world of medical remedy. The orthodox, corporative medical community had always vigorously opposed unlicensed practice, and, from the late 1770s, the Royal Society of Medicine led a renewed charge against medical "charlatanism," performing systematic chemical and clinical analyses on proprietary medicines and ruthlessly weeding out those that seemed useless or harmful. The idea of secrecy involved in "remèdes secrets" seemed at odds with late Enlightenment themes of transparency, authenticity, and humanitarianism: medical compounds that could serve humanity should be known to all. The Society of Medicine outlawed the retailing of a great many medicines and later claimed, as Matthew Ramsey has noted, that only four medical compounds ever secured its full endorsement.⁷⁶

In theory at least, the *Affiches* followed this lead. Editors mouthed a routine detestation of charlatans living off the health and well-being of the population—"smugglers in health," "starving vultures," "vampires" whose prey was invariably the unlettered peasant. The *Affiches du Dauphiné* joined Grenoble surgeons in berating one of their number for keeping his expertise a charlatanesque secret rather than sharing it in the public interest with his colleagues.⁷⁷ Some *Affiches* carried the full list of remedies authorized or proscribed by the Royal Society of Medicine, and they showed caution in the publicizing of unauthorized medicines. "It is prudent to consult trained physicians," the *Affiches du Dauphiné* recorded after a dispute over the efficacy of a particular medicine in 1779. "We know," noted the *Affiches de Poitou*, "how much circumspection is necessary in advertising remedies." Yet in the event, the *Affiches de Poitou* went on to give a remedy for quartan fever that lacked

July 20, 1780, and *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, April 19, 1782 (skulls, etc.); *Affiches de Toulouse*, September 19, 1781 (engravings, etc.).

⁷⁵ For example, *Affiches des Pays-Bas* (DJ, nos. 50–51), December 5, 1763, and *Affiches de Toulouse*, August 19, 1781 (artificial limbs). Advertisements for herniary trusses and impedimenta are extraordinarily widespread. For the electrical machine, see *Affiches du Beauvaisis*, February 26, 1786.

⁷⁶ See esp. Matthew Ramsey, "Traditional Medicine and Medical Enlightenment: The Regulation of Secret Remedies in the Ancien Régime," in Jean-Pierre Goubert, ed., *La médicalisation de la société française, 1770–1830* (Waterloo, Ont., 1982). Ramsey points out that the Royal Society's estimates were woefully below the mark. Yet his work has had a powerful impact in giving the impression of effectiveness in medical policing: see Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1660–1830* (Manchester, 1989), citing Ramsey's work, 22, 27, and following.

⁷⁷ *Affiches du Dauphiné*, May 28, 1783. Compare November 4, 1774.

any medical or state endorsement whatsoever.⁷⁸ This was in fact fairly characteristic: while the *Affiches* saluted the flag of the Royal Society of Medicine, they failed to toe its line.

The *de facto* tolerance of unlicensed medicines, which makes the pages of the *Affiches* a rich repository of medical compounds and treatments of every description, had a number of causes. First, the editors were insufficiently vigilant to prevent crackpot remedies from finding their way into their columns (and they must sometimes have welcomed the copy). The *Courrier d'Avignon*, for example, carried advertisements for "reason pills" (*pilules raisonnables*), to be ingested by those suffering from folly, madness, vapors, and nervous attacks; the *Affiches de la Haute Normandie* commended *eau orviétale essenciée* (Orviétan, habitually peddled by itinerant mountebanks, was the most charlatanesque of all secret remedies); while the *Affiches de Provence* recommended rubbing salt into the navel as a preservative against smallpox.⁷⁹

Tolerance of advertisements for unauthorized medicines is not explained simply by lack of editorial vigilance. The back-to-nature angle that frequently surfaced in advertising copy found an echo in folkloric remedies rescued from obscurity and placed at the disposal of the public. Even as they railed against medical charlatanism, editors celebrated the chthonic, health-giving properties of remedies sent in—"in the name of humanity"—by well-intentioned readers. After recounting a remedy against warts, which involved placing the ailing digit into the mouth of a live frog, the editor of the *Affiches de Poitou* reflected that there were probably "many other remedies against different common ailments that are equally effective and yet are kept as family secrets," before going on to urge readers, "in the interests of humanity," to send them in.⁸⁰

The uncertainty over the legal status of different medicines was a further reason why such a profusion of remedies appeared in the pages of the *Affiches*. Despite its grandiloquent claims, the Royal Society of Medicine was not the only medical authorizing body, so manufacturers of remedies were able to use legal inconsistencies to get their advertisements published. Sales patter and marketing strategy made a great deal of the principle of endorsement. Medical entrepreneurs came bearing certificates, recommendations, and authorizations—obscure faculties, foreign dignitaries, anonymous recommendations were all grist to a fantastical mill. The increasingly sophisticated paraphernalia of quality control similarly implied legitimacy as well as altruistic concern for public health: entrepreneurs stressed that their product came in sealed and stamped bottles, jars, or packets, so as to forewarn the public against potential counterfeiters.

The plethora of advertisements for medicines testified to growing medical entrepreneurialism, but it also, finally, highlighted the strength of the demand for medical goods and services in late eighteenth-century France. The *Affiches* allowed this demand to be met and—one suspects—created. When combined with the development of sophisticated national distribution networks, proprietary medicines

⁷⁸ *Affiches du Dauphiné*, March 19, 1779; *Affiches de Poitou*, October 25, 1781.

⁷⁹ Todd, "French Advertising," 536; *Affiches de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, September 6, 1771; and *Affiches de Provence*, March 1, 1778. See, too, David Gentilcore, "'Sole Secret of the Orvietan': Charlatans and Medical Secrets in Early Modern Italy," unpublished conference paper.

⁸⁰ Example cited in Feyel, "Médecins, empiriques et charlatans," 80.

probably reached a larger audience than ever before. The patriotic aura that floated around the name of "the public" in the *Affiches*, moreover, meant that, for many readers, public opinion had displaced status or acceptance within the corporative medical community as the touchstone of legitimacy. By providing their readers with a wide array of drugs and medicines of every description, editors were to a certain extent only "giving the public what it wanted."

The late eighteenth century saw some remarkable medical entrepreneurs, many of them completely lacking in medical training, who took advantage of the growing demand for health services. Venereal diseases were an elective home for such individuals, whom we occasionally glimpse flitting in and out of the pages of the *Affiches*. The anti-syphilitic *Poudre médicammenteuse du Chevalier Godermeau*, for example, was advertised in any number of *Affiches*, along with alleged endorsements by military hospitals, the Paris medical faculty, and the Academy of Sciences. But it had a history of disasters behind it: in the *Orléanais*, it was held responsible for poisoning hundreds of victims, and it was eventually outlawed by the Royal Society of Medicine.⁸¹

Colorful though such cases are, it would be erroneous to imagine that the pages of the *Affiches* housed only the crook, the quack, and the crackpot. By the end of the Old Regime, the publicist techniques of the "charlatan" were also available to the medical practitioner solidly ensconced within the establishment. This had not always been the case. In 1759, for example, a Dr. Arrazat placed a notice in the *Affiches de Toulouse*, stating that he had just arrived in the city and would welcome any patients. A week later, the Toulouse Faculty of Medicine inserted a furious note in the paper condemning this action: it was utterly wrong, they stated, that a physician "in order to make himself known, should use the means of small ads [*annonces*] and such other channels normally the preserve of charlatans and empirics."⁸²

Such a ringing condemnation, grounded in the traditional corporative ethic of the medical world, would not have carried far two or three decades later. Well before the end of the Old Regime, all types of medical practitioners were availing themselves of the *Affiches*. This was at once a compliment to the acceptability of the *Affiches* and a symptom of a growing interest in publicity and commercialism evident in the medical community. The newsheets were certainly the home of a Darntonian "Quack Street" of jobbing medics and shameless adventurers, but they were also a forum for individuals firmly embedded within establishment practice, just looking for a job or drumming up custom. Thus, from the *Annonces de Picardie*:

A physician of mature years, well-versed in chemistry and pharmacy . . . wishes to find an establishment in the countryside or in the employ of a seigneur . . . He will be content with an honorarium that will ensure him a modest comfort appropriate to his station.⁸³

⁸¹ See, for example, *Affiches du Dauphiné*, December 15, 1780; *Journal de l'Orléanais*, March 9, July 30, September 10, and October 1, 1784; and, in amended form, *Journal de Troyes* in 1783 and *Journal Général de France* 1784, *passim*.

⁸² *Affiches de Toulouse*, November 18 to December 19, 1759. Compare, for similar cases, September 2, 1760; and *Gazette d'Epidaure (DJ)*, no. 539), 1761, 196 (the Academy of Surgery wanting to expel a member for unseemly advertising).

⁸³ *Affiches de Picardie*, September 11, 1773. For other similar appeals, *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, July 4,

Comparatively few medical practitioners sold themselves as blatantly on the strength of their persons. The more normal practice was to hover behind some special commodity, facility, or skill. This might be a proprietary medicine: the renowned Montpellier professor Fizes, for example, backed the "Ratafia purgatif" of his apothecary and fellow townsman, Carquet. It might also take the form of puffery in book reviewing, characterized by one editor as "a type of advertisement to proclaim the author's medical reputation and existence." The Royal Society of Medicine's Vicq d'Azyr was good at this kind of (self) promotion—he also advertised his anatomy courses in the press.⁸⁴ In addition, a surprisingly large number of medical advertisements offered treatment in the home of the practitioner. We know, of course, about the emergence of private madhouses in Paris in this period: Jacques Belhomme, Philippe Pinel's early employer, advertised in the *Affiches de Paris*. The city also contained centers for the treatment of venereal diseases. These ads in the *Affiches* suggest that home-based practice was a new and growing area of enterprise in these and other branches of medicine. A Paris optician took in the blind; a surgeon admitted persons wishing to be inoculated against smallpox; a physician took in the aged; an upwardly mobile midwife ("accoucheuse"), pregnant women for their travails; an herbalist, individuals wanting herbal treatment for ailments of various kinds.⁸⁵

The word "charlatanism" was becoming too blunt a term to be of much help in outlining what was going on in the world of medical practice. A pejorative discursive category, it increasingly lacked a clearly defined social referent. The division between the incorporated medical community and unlicensed practitioners—a division that was the basis of the medical campaign against charlatanism—was being progressively overlaid by a rather fuzzier distinction between commercial and publicist medicine on the one hand and more conventional, noncommercial medicine on the other. The *Affiches* provide an excellent entrée into this world, for they constituted a site in which the publicity-minded academician could rub shoulders with the denizens of "Quack Street." One issue of the *Affiches du Dauphiné* in 1781, for example, contained both an account of a meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine and the adventures in Strasbourg of the medico-spiritualist Cagliostro.⁸⁶ The *Affiches* demonstrated that the division between "orthodox" medicine and "charlatanism" was becoming increasingly artificial. This shift is highlighted by itinerant specialists with a particular skill. Itinerant specialists, who

1776 (physician); *Affiches de Picardie*, September 11, 1773 (physician); *Affiches de Provence*, May 31, 1778 (surgeon).

⁸⁴ For Fizes, *Affiches de Bordeaux*, August 1, 1765; for Vicq, see especially *Gazette de santé*, July 1777, and *Journal général de France*, October 18, 1785.

⁸⁵ For madhouses, Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1961), 657–58; for Belhomme, *Affiches de Paris*, June 3, 1776 (and for a similar institution run by Esquiros, September 18, 1775). For Paris VD clinics, Pierre Delaunay, *Le monde médical parisien au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1906), remains an unsurpassed vade mecum; and for the provinces, see *Affiches de Toulouse*, March 25, 1760. For other cases, *Affiches du Dauphiné*, December 24, 1779 (optician); *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, January 19, 1771, and *Affiches de la Haute et Basse Normandie*, May 24, 1771 ("maison d'inoculation"); *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*, August 2, 1781 (aged); August 25, 1785 ("accoucheuse"). Compare other cases, involving midwives and surgeons, such as *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, May 1, 1768, and *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, October 28, 1780; *Affiches de Bordeaux*, July 9, 1786 (herbalist).

⁸⁶ *Affiches du Dauphiné*, May 2, 1781.

were assiduous users of the *Affiches*, included dentists (who often doubled up, like friend Antoine Clesse, with a sideline in herniotomy) and opticians. Cataract-cutter extraordinaire "Chevalier" John Taylor was among the latter, as well as "Chevalier" Tadini (petty noble status was clearly infectious among opticians) and the Toulouse-based Nizet de Varennes, who was a particularly loquacious publicist. Taylor was viewed as a charlatan by some, but he treated the crowned heads of Europe and won a scientific reputation. Tadini also claimed to be advancing medical science—but was not infrequently harassed on his travels for being an unlicensed showman and quack.⁸⁷ For such figures, the *Affiches* offered both an orthodox literary platform, where before they had only a soapbox, and a launching pad for projection into the ranks of establishment practitioners.

The case of the Austrian proponent of "animal magnetism," Franz-Anton Mesmer, also highlights the complexities of this medical world in flux. As Robert Darnton has shown, mesmerism, with its rococo mixture of fantasy, commercial salesmanship, and Rousseauian purity, divided the medical community. While those in established positions decried the immorality and trickery of Mesmer and his followers, many other physicians and medical men of every stripe rallied to his cause. Questions regarding the politicization of health seemed to have priority over the alleged scientific status of orthodox medical knowledge. In the *Affiches*, moreover, where the mesmerist debate was followed very closely, this form of health care was figured both as a form of medical charlatanism and as virtuous, even patriotic, medicine. The medical practitioner who tailored his wares to the needs of the public was the quintessential patriot.⁸⁸

THE DYNAMISM IN THE MEDICAL WORLD during the last decades of the *ancien régime*—the inroads of commercialism, the progress of health consumerism, the avatars of medical entrepreneurialism—could, I believe, be extended to other professions. It would be possible to track commercial and more overtly publicist reflexes among lawyers, accountants, engineers—maybe even priests, too.⁸⁹ The *Affiches* open a window onto an increasingly materialistic, consumerist world, inhabited by increasingly entrepreneurial and publicity-minded professional groupings too easily written off as traditionalist or deferential. In addition, the newssheets

⁸⁷ For example, *Affiches de Bordeaux*, October 3, 1765, and *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, February to June 1766 (Taylor); *Affiches de la Haute et Basse-Normandie*, March 12, 1773, *Affiches de province*, January 17, 1778, *Affiches de l'Orléanais*, March 1, 1782, *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*, May 19, 1785, and following issues (Tadini). For Nizet de Varennes, *Affiches de Toulouse*, *passim*, in the 1770s and 1780s. For Taylor's career in England, see Porter, *Health for Sale*, esp. 66–80. Another good example of the fuzziness of categorization is Laffecteur, the progenitor of a *rob antisiphilitique* that was widely berated as outright quackery but that lasted on the French Codex until the twentieth century. See Brockliss and Jones, *Medical World*.

⁸⁸ Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). An excellent discussion of the phenomenon appears in Gillispie, *Science and Polity*, 261–89. There is a great deal of scope for following the mesmerist debate in the provinces through the pages of the *Affiches*.

⁸⁹ See Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified," for broader consideration of these points. All groups, including priests, are found offering their services in the pages of the *Affiches*. The legal profession is starting to attract attention: besides Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, see David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Oxford, 1994).

provided a place in which an enlarged volume of commercial operations could be transacted. They propagated an ideology of commercialism, preaching but also engaging in the "commerce des lumières." We see in action close links between the practices of commercial capitalism and the formation of the bourgeois public sphere.

There was, moreover, a political upshot to the activities of the *Affiches*—although recent work on them has largely failed to acknowledge it. Current historiography makes a strong contrast between allegedly "literary," infra-political journals and newspapers of the Enlightenment with the ultra-political stance of the press in the revolutionary decade. Habermas, too, seems to consider the commercialization taking place in the *Affiches* a phenomenon that started under the Restoration and the July Monarchy rather than the *ancien régime*.⁹⁰ In this final section, I will question these assumptions and highlight some of the political stakes in play in the seemingly sunny world of the *Affiches*.

Political news was—as several editors put it—the "ark of the covenant," and officially it was beyond the scope of their operations even to consider it. More prosaically, it was, first, specifically excluded from the original franchise contract by which editors undertook publication; the *Gazette*, from whose loins they had sprung, continued to have a monopoly on hard news. Second, that agreement was carefully policed at the local level. Many *Affiches* depended heavily on the local state official, the *intendant*, to circumvent the problems of establishing a newspaper in a sometimes difficult environment. The *intendant* not only censored copy, he often also required editors to exercise self-censorship—an even more potent means of enforcing political prudence.⁹¹

Making a few examples served as a deterrent. The copies of the *Affiches de province* in the Bibliothèque Nationale for the early 1770s are the editor's proofs before and after censorship, and so show the censor in action. The issues he targeted for excision are extraordinarily petty, and they highlight the extreme caution necessary regarding news about public life or news affecting the honor of persons.⁹² To court the intervention of higher authority was to risk administrative hassles, suspension of publication, and thus loss of readers. The *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés* told its readers in 1773 that "superior orders" had obliged it to withdraw from supplying any political news, and its successor, the *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*, had its publication suspended by the *intendant* from April to July 1782.⁹³ The editor of the *Affiches de la Haute Normandie* was firmly admonished for an article that allegedly impugned the honor of the local chamber of

⁹⁰ In addition to the works cited above, notes 1, 7, 8, see Harvey Chisick, ed., *The Press in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), esp. "Introduction." Censer, *French Press*, wavers between acknowledging and denying political import to the *Affiches*. Compare Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, chap. 20.

⁹¹ Monographs on individual journals are most insightful on the plight of the editor: see especially Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*; Dubuc, "Les 'Annonces, affiches et avis divers de la Haute et Basse Normandie'"; Gerard, *Un journal de province*; Vogne, *La presse périodique*. Compare, too, Moulinas, *L'imprimerie*, esp. 376–77; A. Demougeot, "Les origines de la presse à Nice," *Nice historique*, 62 (1959), esp. 103. For the "ark of the covenant" (a much-used phrase), see *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*, January 6, 1780.

⁹² *Affiches de province*, 1771–73.

⁹³ It is difficult to follow the issue through to see the stakes involved. See *Affiches des Evêchés et Lorraine*, August 30, 1781, January 3, 1782, and July 18, 1782. Compare *Affiches des Trois-Evêchés*, December 18, 1773.

commerce, and, following an anodyne article on Voltaire, he was instructed that he should keep a full register of all the journal's subscribers and letter writers. Pressure from local legal and administrative bodies, notably the Parlement, led the editor of the *Affiches de Toulouse* to resign in disgust in 1777. Other *Affiches* that started to carry news judged too political—the *Affiches de Nantes* from 1759 to 1761, for example—were soon cowed back into line.⁹⁴

It thus behooved editors to explore the contours of the forbidden only with the greatest caution. Beneath a morass of prudent conformism and loyalist yea-saying, it is remarkable that many chose to explore at all. A kind of subterranean, anti-authority journalism evolved, in which editors often took a leaf from the book of their English colleagues by loudly trumpeting their putatively nonpolitical, nonpartisan positions even as they adopted postures of contention and critique.⁹⁵ The *Affiches de la Haute Normandie* daringly tracked the political crisis involving the local court in the early 1760s. The *Affiches de Bordeaux* provided cautious updates on the Calas Affair in 1765 and even carried an advertisement for an engraving of the widow Calas. Some foreign policy news in the late 1760s and early 1770s—notably relating to events in Poland and the Polish Partition and to English diplomacy—appears to have been given the green light. The *Affiches* also came to play an important role in spreading knowledge of and support for the American Revolution. In the early 1780s, the *Affiches de Toulouse* began to publish accounts of the meetings of the local Protestant synod, well ahead of this body's legalization within the state. A number of newspapers also mentioned—and sometimes provided a book review of—Jacques Necker's *Compte-rendu au roi* in 1781, the minister's account of the state's finances (and one of the main reasons for his dismissal).⁹⁶

The book review—as in the case of Necker—highlighted one consequence of the state prohibition on the *Affiches* carrying overtly political news: namely, the displacement of politics into other, more overtly licit news activities within its pages. If the book notice or review was one such niche,⁹⁷ legal and diplomatic supplements constituted another. The *Journal de Lyon* in 1774 carried a lengthy, six-page account of the "Speech of the King of Sweden to the Estates Held on 21 August 1772, and Proposals Made to Them for a New Form of Government"—a pretty cheeky item, even if no additional comment was given, in the context of the imminent coronation of Louis XVI.⁹⁸ A section that a great many *Affiches* carried by the 1780s, "Patriotism and Beneficence" (*bienfaisance*), provided another site for coded politics. The telling of tales of beneficence within France allowed the recounting of

⁹⁴ Dubuc, "Les 'Annonces, affiches et avis divers de la Haute et Basse Normandie,'" 249 and following (*Affiches de la Haute Normandie*); Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse*, 149–51 (*Affiches de Toulouse*); *DJ*, no. 43 (*Affiches de Nantes*).

⁹⁵ "Frondeur journalism" is the expression Nina Gelbart, in her *Feminine and Opposition Journalism*, 11–16, uses to describe vociferous reformism in journals and pamphlets. For England, compare Barry, "Press and the Politics of Culture," 70–71.

⁹⁶ Compare *Affiches de Bordeaux*, August 22, 1765; *Affiches de Toulouse*, 1782, *passim*; *Affiches de Trois Evêchés et Lorraine*, March 15, 1781 (see March 29, 1781, for an obituary of another reforming minister, Turgot).

⁹⁷ On a similar tack, the *Affiches de Provence* brought its readers' attention in 1778 to the *Babillard*, the radical newspaper opened by Chevalier Rutledge in Paris.

⁹⁸ *Journal de Lyon, ou Annonces et variétés littéraires* (*DJ*, no. 668), July 7, 1774.

social and economic ills, as well as providing endorsement for a new "patriotic" ethic of fraternal citizenship.⁹⁹ Recording acts of philanthropy performed by other crowned heads (Frederick the Great was a favorite) could be seen as an implicit reproach to the French monarch.

Insidious polarization such as this was a favored technique for at least riffing the fringes of the "ark of the covenant." The development of the notion of civic benevolence, or *bienfaisance*, was grounded in a contrast with the allegedly selfish, sectional Christian charity preached by the established Catholic church. Similarly, the *Affiches du Beauvaisis* painted its picture of the "obscure citizen," in whom it saw "a model of virtue, humanity and *bienfaisance*" precisely by contrasting him (*sic*) point by point with the haughty aristocrat.¹⁰⁰ This kind of "politics by implicit contrast" also came out in debates on luxury. Most editors followed the middle line adopted by Denis Diderot, who had contrasted a *luxe d'ostentation* with a *luxe de commodité*: the former was usually figured as the preserve of the courtier and the aristocrat (and was therefore bad), the latter was the kind of good bourgeois luxury one would expect in a reader of the *Affiches*.¹⁰¹ After all, one needed to have some margin of wealth, if only to be dutifully *bienfaisant*. There was an important gender element in these processes of polarization: the idle, disordered world of the court was made to contrast with the "natural" gender roles of solidly bourgeois domesticity. Though for all intents and purposes, women, like men, had been formed as citizen-consumers in the pages of the *Affiches*, women were viewed primarily as "citizens who [will] train future citizens."¹⁰²

In such ways, the *Affiches* were not only fashioning (and gendering) the citizen who would come into his own in 1789, they were also constructing the portrait of one of the revolutionaries' principal adversaries. This exercise in socio-political demonization may not have had the lurid colors of other forms of political critique, such as anti-court pornography. But that made it all the easier to digest, and its anodyne coloration allowed it a wider and, seemingly, more receptive audience as 1789 approached.¹⁰³ On the eve of the revolution, columns on "Patriotism and Beneficence" continued to tell tales of misery highlighting both grim social conditions and the call for reform. Literary debates on luxury and speculation were given extra acuity. The *Journal de Normandie* carried book reviews on "The Causes of Public Disorder, by a True Citizen" and "Plan for the Useful Organization of the

⁹⁹ On *bienfaisance*, see esp. Sgard, "La presse provinciale et les Lumières," 55 and following; Colin Jones, *Charity and Bienfaisance: The Treatment of the Poor in the Montpellier Region, 1740-1815* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. 1-8; and Catherine Duprat, "Pour l'amour de l'humanité": *Le temps des philanthropes; La philanthropie parisienne des Lumières à la monarchie de Juillet*, Tome I (Paris, 1993), esp. chap. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Affiches du Beauvaisis*, January 1, 1786; "Prospectus," January 1, 1787. This heading in the *Affiches de Toulouse* began "Traits of beneficence and patriotism, which encourage virtue"; see January 2, 1782.

¹⁰¹ *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, arts et métiers*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1751-65), 9 (1765): art. "luxe." Compare Roche, *La France des lumières*, 513-14.

¹⁰² *Affiches d'Angers* (1777), according to Sgard, "La presse provinciale," 61. Anxiety about the political aspirations of female readers comes out quite strongly in some *Affiches*. See, for example, the debate on a potential female "academy" in *Affiches de Troyes* in 1783. This is a footnote to a much larger question of female involvement in the late Enlightenment; see Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); and Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, 1994).

¹⁰³ See especially Lynn A. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London, 1992), chap. 4; Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, chap. 4.

Grain Trade," while the *Affiches du Dauphiné* reviewed "Remarks on the Nobility" (and highlighted how recently many nobles had acquired their status). The *Affiches d'Angers* launched attacks on the 1786 Anglo-French Trade Treaty.¹⁰⁴ The terms "citizen," "nation," and "public opinion" were carrying increasingly heavy political baggage. The political spirit even reached the medical advertisements: in the *Affiches de Toulouse*, the former military apothecary Garnaup offered patriotic cough drops—*véritables pastilles à la Neckre (sic)*—"for the public good."¹⁰⁵

By that time, the *Affiches* had become more straightforward in their attitudes toward political reporting, especially following the relaxation of censorship from late 1787. The Assembly of Notables in 1787 received a great deal of coverage, as did the operations of the new provincial assemblies. The Revolution of 1789 took things even further. Indeed, politics replaced material goods as the most fashionable of commodities offered in the newspapers: some 14 percent of the *Affiches de Toulouse* had been given over to politics in early 1789; by late 1789, it was up to 56 percent and was soon heading for 80 and 90 percent.¹⁰⁶ Such cases were fairly representative. Some newspapers failed to adapt—as the Estates General opened in May 1789, the *Journal du Hainaut* was running a story on the origin of Easter Eggs—and paid the price. But a great many *Affiches* revamped and prospered, while a good number of their editors made a career out of revolutionary journalism.¹⁰⁷

Although the *Affiches* had an increasing role in reporting and commenting on political life from the late 1780s, perhaps their most important legacy to the French Revolution was more than biographical or institutional; it concerned a newly emergent politics of the body. To a certain degree, politics under the Old Regime had always been the politics of the body, but only the body of the king, emblematically and metaphorically inflated to cover the whole of the polity, had been at issue. As Séguier remarked in the extract at the beginning of this article, the chains of which the body of the state were made were under the personal control of the "sovereign administrator." In the late Enlightenment, however, conceptions of the body politic were being transformed. As Sarah Maza has elegantly demonstrated, the legal brief (*mémoire judiciaire*) for causes célèbres became both the site and the generator of a cultural politics grounded in melodramatic narratives and metaphorical transferences. The depiction of a bad father in a lawsuit could be read

¹⁰⁴ A. Dubuc, "Le 'Journal de Normandie' avant et durant les Etats Généraux," *Actes du 92^e Congrès National des sociétés savantes: Section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 1964), 391; *Affiches du Dauphiné*, November 9, 1787; François Lebrun, "Une source de l'histoire sociale: La presse provinciale à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Les 'Affiches d'Angers' (1773–89)," *Le mouvement social* (1962): 59 (compare *DJ*, no. 7). For examples in 1787, see the *Affiches d'Artois* (*DJ*, no. 8), *Affiches du Dauphiné*, *Affiches de Toulouse*, and *Affiches de la Haute Normandie* on the Assembly of Notables; and the *Affiches du Beauvaisis* for provincial assemblies. For 1788, again by way of example, the *Affiches du Beauvaisis* was talking about the meeting of the Estates General, while the *Affiches d'Artois* gave the full text of local cahiers in early 1789.

¹⁰⁵ *Affiches de Toulouse*, December 3, 1788

¹⁰⁶ M. Taillefer, "Les journaux toulousains au début de la Révolution, 1789–93," in *Les pratiques politiques en province à l'époque de la Révolution française* (Montpellier, 1988), 165.

¹⁰⁷ Hugh Gough, "Continuité ou rupture? Les transformations structurelles de la presse provinciale, 1789–99," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 273 (1988); Gough, "La transformation de la presse provinciale en 1789," in Rétat, *La révolution du journal*. See, too, *Journal du Hainaut* (*DJ*, no. 719).

as a critique of the monarch/"father of his people."¹⁰⁸ What was true for the *mémoire judiciaire* was true for the far more anodyne and apparently conformist pages of the *Affiches*. The consumer of the *Affiches*, the decrypter of the small ad, was well used to such allegorical styles of reading. Furthermore, the master metaphors in which the *Affiches* had conceptualized their activities—the body social and the bourgeois body both requiring improved "circulation" and energy—lent themselves very well to the new political scripts in gestation. Just as bodily health (and the *Affiches* themselves) demanded a free flow, a regular circulation, so the body social required the removal of social forces obstructing that circulation.

The *Affiches* were, therefore, a site in which Enlightenment France recast its views on what politics was all about. Their stock-in-trade—the private, the domestic, the quotidian, the personal—may have been disdained by those before 1789 who regarded politics as located in courts and councils. Under the prism of the *Affiches*, however, courts and councils could be represented as removable blockages on the vivifying forces of commerce and exchange within the body social. The body of the state was being de-composed, before being re-composed as the body of the Nation. The latter was, moreover, a bourgeois body, for the *Affiches* had allowed readers to re-make the body of French society in their own, bourgeois, image. It emerged as altogether more amorphous, more decentered, more depersonalized than the absolutist body of the king. Rather than being controlled from the top, it was a self-activating (or perhaps interactive) vitalist organism. Choices were to be made not from the "head" but from within, in the interests of organic harmony.

By 1789, moreover, the nation—which had, as we have seen, been fashioned from the accumulation of civically minded consumers within a commercial society—was used to making choices. The *Affiches* could claim to embody as well as represent that "public opinion" whose importance recent historians have not been slow to emphasize. In the revolution, we might hypothesize, citizen-voters were presented with a series of political consumer choices and were called on to evaluate the quality and the utility of the political commodities offered. It thus seems possible to argue—against both a Habermas who underrates the forces of commercialism in *ancien régime* society and the most flagrantly "de-economizing" of the revisionist and post-revisionist analysts of the causes of the French Revolution—for the need to place the discourses of revolution in their social and economic context. The *Affiches* allow us to grasp something of the processes by which the post-1789 citizen had been fashioned in the marketplace constructed by the prerevolutionary world of print.

It is perhaps little wonder, therefore, that the languages of the body that the *Affiches* had helped to disseminate became so influential in political discourse after 1789. One could start, for example, with medical terms such as "regime" and "constitution," passing through "degeneration," "crisis," and "convulsions," and taking in attacks on a wide range of "charlatans," before we reached "purge"—the bottom line of Terror. Anti-monarchical sentiment would be fanned by the activities alleged to have taken place (or not) in the bedchambers of the king and

¹⁰⁸ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*. Compare Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution*.

queen. And, fittingly enough—to bring this article full circle—the infant “Louis XVII” would end up in prison in the mid-1790s clad in a herniary truss, required, it was said, because of the strenuousness of his alleged incestuous activities with his mother, Marie-Antoinette.¹⁰⁹ One way or another, the personal, which was the stock-in-trade of the prerevolutionary Affiches, would be the foundation of revolutionary politics and morality.

¹⁰⁹ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, esp. chap. 4; Lynn A. Hunt, “The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution,” in Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992). For Louis XVII, see “Mémoire de blanchissage du linge et racomodage de Charles Capet . . . du 13 jour du 2^e mois de la 2^e année . . . : . . . 2 suspensoire . . .” (cited in M. A. de Beauchesne, *Louis XVII*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1853]).

On January 1, 1996, **Colin Jones** moved from the post of professor of history at Exeter University to a post as professor of European history at Warwick University. He was a pupil of Richard Cobb at Oxford University in the early 1970s, and his major fields of research interest are the French Revolution, French history more generally from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, and the social history of medicine. His books include *Charity and Bienfaisance: The Treatment of the Poor in the Montpellier Region, 1740–1815* (1982); *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (1989); *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France* (1989); and *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France* (1994). A major work, co-authored with Dr. Laurence Brockliss of Magdalen College Oxford, *The Medical World of Early Modern France*, is due to be published by Oxford University Press in late 1996 or early 1997. The current article springs partly out of the latter project and also from a more general wish, in the context of French Revolutionary scholarship, to “revise Revisionism.”

Seeing Themselves at Work: Physicians and the Case Narrative in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century American South

STEVEN M. STOWE

WRITING FOR THE *Transylvania Journal of Medicine* in 1836, Kentucky physician Lunsford Yandell told about nine of his most difficult cases of dysentery, frankly discussing his encounters with free patients and slaves, children and adults. "Cases of Dysentery, with Remarks" is what Dr. Yandell called his essay, meaning by "remarks" a sharp challenge to the approved therapy for this serious affliction. It was no small matter to make such a challenge. Because many therapies were only erratically effective, and because patients had many different kinds of healers to choose from, orthodox physicians thought twice about openly questioning their standard treatments. Disputes among physicians too easily spilled into public debate, raising the fears of already skeptical patients. But Yandell was convinced that the "great confidence" with which he had used the standard treatment was no longer merited. His bedside experience had shown it to be "utterly futile," with disastrous consequences.¹

Although Lunsford Yandell happened to be editor of the *Transylvania Journal*, his essay might have found a home in any of the half-dozen other major medical publications that began to flourish in the South by the 1830s. It focused on a commonly diagnosed disease of great interest to southern physicians. And while arguing forcefully for reconsidering the established therapy, Yandell spoke in a modest, professional voice, acknowledging his own shortcomings. Most important, he built his essay on cases taken from his own practice. The story of something gone wrong, and of the doctor's attempt to restore what had been lost, was the story physicians found uniquely compelling in its many variations, making the case narrative the most widespread form of medical writing in the mid-nineteenth century. Yandell's was such a tale, and one with a hidden twist. He did not mention that Case Number 7, "W.Y. a boy [age] 6 years, of robust frame," who sickened and died with a suddenness unusual even in dysentery, was his own son Willie. Case 8 was his wife, Susan, and Case 9 a young female friend of the family, both of whom recovered but only after the approved therapy had failed them, too.²

¹ Lunsford P. Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery, with Remarks," *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, 9 (April-June 1836): 240-50, quotations from 242.

² Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 242. Medical journals in the United States grew phenomenally in number after 1820. Some lasted only a few issues, others many years. By one count, 189 had appeared in the United States at one time or another by 1850. They published theoretical essays, excerpts, and book reviews as well as case stories, though cases were the featured genre. Doctors submitted articles for a mixture of personal and professional reasons. However, what got published tended to reflect the



A mid-nineteenth-century family physician vaccinating a young child against smallpox, based on a sketch by Sol Eytinge. The care-givers pictured here were a familiar group in the practice of medicine in the American South. Courtesy of Waring Historical Library, Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston.

In what follows, Dr. Yandell's essay—and his family tragedy—frame an exploration of the stories doctors told about their work. In one sense, of course, the case narrative was simply a practical tool; doctors used stories to record things they needed to remember. But because it was a story, not a list of facts or a numerical equation, a case narrative provided a literary opportunity as well. Narratives made otherwise odd or silent events into a “case,” where meaning was created through timing, character, and plot. And each time a doctor revisited a narrative, he had the

editor of the particular journal, and publication did not give a physician-author a sure road to professional advancement. Given the winnowing effect of competition among alternative healers in this era, there was no sure road of any kind. Physicians published in order to promote themselves, their ideas, their brand of medicine, or idea of science—or all of these taken together. For a list of journals, see Myrl Ebert, “The Rise and Development of the American Medical Periodical, 1797–1850,” *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, 40 (1952): 243–76. See also W. F. Bynum, Stephen Lock, and Roy Porter, eds., *Medical Journals and Medical Knowledge: Historical Essays* (London, 1992).

occasion to relive the drama of the case and, if he wished, to reconfigure the significance of his work. Different historical meanings also inhabit these narratives. Case stories might be read as brief ethnographies of sickness, for example, in which are recorded the wishes and fears of patients. Or they might be read as part of the history of changing notions of professionalism. Mid-nineteenth-century professionals, including many physicians, rightly have been portrayed as troubled by questions concerning their identity and authority. The knowledge they claimed seemed full of promise and power. And yet their claim to legitimacy still lacked broad popular support. After the 1860s, especially, many professionals responded to public skepticism (and perhaps their own self-doubt as well) by scaling down the realm of their knowledge so that they might better command it, at the same time redefining it to express their sense of an ever more complicated and thus specialized reality.³

Insofar as physicians' published case narratives also struggled with these issues, they may be read as evidence of the ideological crisis of mid-nineteenth-century professionalism. But my primary intention here is to see them as comprising a different genre of writing, as work stories that record how a practitioner's sense of his worth grew from the pressing immediacy of his daily efforts. If we look at these narratives in this way, as ontological texts born of the work of doctoring, they may be seen to include important meanings not found in doctors' more self-conscious ideological attempts to redefine professionalism. In the comparatively roomy, common-sense work story are the patterns of gratification and discontent underlying physicians' slow and troubled shift toward a new, "modern" vision of their calling.

Indeed, this shift was a slow one in part because of the way doctors told their stories. Physicians, like many others in this era, were caught up in the excitement of a world open to empirical manipulation; the desire to observe, collect, and describe phenomena shaped fields of knowledge from botany to the Bible. But the storytelling power of medical narratives derived less from the information they reported than from the way they framed the meaning of medical work in terms of a doctor's own personal experience. Narratives were, most importantly, first-person tales, brief fragments of autobiography. By embracing the tensions in doctors' daily work in this markedly personal way, I will argue, narratives helped to shape a mentality that made broad changes in medicine difficult even as it allowed a doctor to see himself at work.⁴

³ For a suggestive view of professionals as men searching for ways to define and exercise power, see Daniel H. Calhoun, *Professional Lives in America: Structure and Aspiration, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). Professionalization as reflecting shifts in general as well as particular knowledge is the view in Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill., 1977). See also Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1976).

⁴ For interesting modern examples of physicians speaking in this personal register, see David Hilfiker, *Healing the Wounds: A Physician Looks at His Work* (New York, 1985); Melvin Konner, *Becoming a Doctor: A Journey of Initiation in Medical School* (New York, 1986); Perri Klass, *Other Women's Children* (New York, 1990). On the scientific urge in this period, see Robert V. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846-1876* (New York, 1987); Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977); Elizabeth B. Keeney, *The Botanizers: Amateur Scientists in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, 1992).

I do not make the "southernness" of my physicians a central argument here. Much of what I am

One major tension of practice acknowledged by increasing numbers of American physicians in the South and elsewhere during the 1830s and 1840s concerned their inability to effect cures with any consistency or even to give relief. Although medicine's failures were scarcely something new, physicians in these years were nurturing new hopes for clinical success and professional dominance and thus were especially vexed by their persistent shortcomings. Although physicians were able to do some things to their own and their patients' satisfaction, doctors could not help but be dismayed by the numbers of people who either avoided orthodox remedies or, worse, got sicker despite submitting to everything the doctor wanted to do.⁵

exploring in terms of southern medical practice also obtained in the mid-nineteenth-century North, though I do highlight the distinctly southern emphasis on race and slavery. Still, my sense is that the rural and small-town setting of most medical practice in the United States in these years would account for many similarities in daily practice across regions. Moreover, those southern and northern doctors who took notes and wrote case narratives appear to have been similarly taught by their mentors to do so. Histories of southern medicine have followed three main paths, none of which has focused on ordinary bedside practice: studies of typically southern epidemics, medicine and African Americans, professionalism and sectional politics. For collections of essays that thoroughly introduce this literature, see Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt, eds., *Science and Medicine in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1989); Todd L. Savitt and James Harvey Young, eds., *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1988). See also the pathbreaking work on medicine in the South, Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana, Ill., 1978).

⁵ Orthodox, or "regular" physicians, the focus here, were those healers who held M.D. degrees. The U.S. Census counted about 18,500 people identifying themselves as physicians in the South in 1860; nearly all were male. But even among the orthodox, there was considerable variety in terms of knowledge and experience. Regular physicians were esteemed for doing certain things well, especially by the 1840s: controlling pain, mastering various kinds of surgery, using certain kinds of drugs and techniques that were appreciated as generally reliable—quinine for malarial fevers, inoculation against smallpox, "purging" the gastrointestinal system. But orthodox physicians also were feared or demeaned for the pain and exhaustion their "heroic" style of medicine entailed. For overviews of the nature and efficacy of mid-nineteenth-century regulars, see John Duffy, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, 2d edn. (Urbana, Ill., 1993), chaps. 5–6; and James H. Cassedy, *Medicine in America: A Short History* (Baltimore, Md., 1991), chaps. 2–3.

Nineteenth-century orthodox medicine was a stunning mixture of theory and therapy that had not changed for centuries, on the one hand, and had seen rapid changes in both, on the other. Among the far-reaching changes was a new emphasis, notable by the late 1830s, on systematic examination of patients and an attempt to correlate postmortem physiological findings with particular symptoms in live patients, thus yielding a reorganization of pathology. Therapy, in this approach, was withheld for a time so as to not bias the examination, and increasing numbers of physicians thought that "Nature" should be given a chance to heal herself. Illuminating interpretations of the significance of therapeutic change during these years are in Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolution: Medicine, Meaning, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 20 (Summer 1977): 485–506; and John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820–1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). Change was slow, however, especially in rural areas, where the great majority of Americans lived. They still depended on the traditional blend of self-help with various kinds of local healers, including M.D.s, and, in the South, a large number of slave care-givers. The complex ways in which families chose among these alternatives, and the ways in which the various healers not only competed but borrowed from each other, has a fascinating history to be written, in the South and elsewhere. For explorations of the practice of M.D.s in terms of the domestic setting for care, see Judith Walzer Leavitt, "'A Worrying Profession': The Domestic Environment of Medical Practice in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 69 (Spring 1995): 1–29; Steven M. Stowe, "Writing Sickness: A Southern Woman's Diary of Cares," in Susan Donaldson and Anne Goodwyn Jones, eds., *Haunted Bodies: Gender and Southern Texts* (Charlottesville, Va., forthcoming, 1996).

For general overviews of the relation between regular and alternative medicine in the nineteenth century, see Paul Starr, *The Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York, 1982); William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore, Md., 1972); Martin Kaufman, *Homeopathy in*

The older historiography of Western medicine placed therapeutic failure into a comforting teleology: the nineteenth century was the last of the dark before the dawn of modern medical success. In this interpretation, the quotidian details of "pre-modern" medical practice often were skipped over or treated as curiosities of interest to specialists only. More recently, however, the work of Charles E. Rosenberg, Judith Walzer Leavitt, John Harley Warner, and many others has begun to restore the context of premise, routine, and knowledge that shaped nineteenth-century American practice. Physicians' training, institutions, ethics, and especially their social relations have become the setting for understanding the medical past. Instead of emphasizing how the nineteenth-century medical world fell short of modern achievements, this revisionist work turns to the more interesting question of how and why this world made sense to the people who lived within it.⁶

America: The Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy (Baltimore, 1971); Norman Gevitz, ed., *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America* (Baltimore, 1988); Guenter B. Risse, Ronald L. Numbers, and Judith Walzer Leavitt, eds., *Medicine without Doctors: Home Health Care in American History* (New York, 1977); John S. Haller, Jr., *Medical Protestants: The Eclectics in American Medicine, 1825-1939* (Carbondale, Ill., 1994); Lamar Riley Murphy, *Enter the Physician: The Transformation of Domestic Medicine, 1760-1860* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1991).

⁶ See, for example, Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (New York, 1987); Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750-1950* (New York, 1986); Warner, *Therapeutic Perspective*; Martin M. Pernick, *A Calculus of Suffering: Pain, Professionalism and Anesthesia in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1985); Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery*; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York, 1990); Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education* (New York, 1985); Regina Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York, 1985); Nancy Tomes, *A Generous Confidence: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Art of Asylum Keeping, 1840-1883* (Cambridge, 1984); Susan M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945* (Cambridge, 1987).

Illness is one of the few social experiences that can be called truly universal. Yet most histories of American medicine written before the 1960s paid little heed to patients or to what ordinary physicians thought or did. The emphasis instead was on medicine becoming a "true" science, that is, attaining its post-1945 research agenda, clinical effectiveness, and professional power. Written for the most part by M.D.s engaged in a search for their own "usable past," the earlier histories—even those that took social context into some account—tended to see nineteenth-century practice as a prelude to the main story of modern medical triumph. Though valuable for their details, and often highly readable, these histories rarely pushed beyond a vision of medicine's relentless progress.

Even so, there is an interesting division in this body of work, portraying the nineteenth century as prelude in one of two different ways. In one view, medicine—in the South and elsewhere—is part of a general surge of modern improvement. After 1800, as one historian wrote, "the human race became more and more the master of its environment, enjoying hitherto unheard-of comfort, security, happiness, and health. Not unnaturally these changes were attended by phenomenal strides in medicine." Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond, Va., 1933), 1. See also James Thomas Flexner, *Doctors on Horseback: Pioneers of American Medicine* (New York, 1937). A second theme, played alongside the first, is a darker one in which individual doctors are seen as engaged, often desperately, in a "long struggle of science against suffering," marked more by its ignorance than its inspirational qualities. Victor Robinson, *Victory over Pain: A History of Anesthesia* (New York, 1946).

An earlier essay that stepped outside both of these themes to look at regionalism, written by a historian who in many striking ways predicted the opportunities for a new social history of American medicine, is Richard H. Shryock, "Medical Practice in the Old South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 29 (April 1930): 160-78. And the pivotal revisionist work of social history that served a new generation of historians as a model, with its emphasis on the way medicine is shaped by social and cultural forces, is Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago, 1962).

In the 1970s, the traditional, M.D.-authored historiography was further challenged and deepened, largely from two different directions (and largely by professional historians who, like Shryock and Rosenberg, were not M.D.s). First, the growing health-care crisis in this decade called into question the authority of the medical profession and highlighted the soured relations between doctors and patients,

From this point of view, doctors' inability to restore sick people to unambiguous health is important because, among other things, it challenged doctors' professional self-esteem. M.D.s cherished the historical myths that elevated their healing tradition as the most learned and selfless in a marketplace crowded with unregulated competitors. Even physicians in remote plantation communities knew that their lineage stretched from the Roman god Aesculapius to the great Scottish physician and teacher William Cullen. Moreover, as medicine made intellectual claims to the useful knowledge and rigorous inquiry associated with an emerging new science by the 1830s, physicians had additional reason to feel superior to folk healers, whom they considered—at best—mere craftsmen. Thus the conscientious M.D. was all the more frustrated when his daily practice revealed that much of orthodox medicine was itself little more than a craft with few opportunities for reading, systematic problem-solving, and accurate prediction.⁷

This world of ordinary practice, confronting physicians with the gap between medicine as a way of knowing and a way of working, was the world captured in the case narrative. "Much that we take as observations about 'reality,'" Kenneth Burke has suggested, "may be but the spinning out of possibilities implicit in our particular choice of words." So physicians made their realities by relying on the personal narrative as the chief way to explain and describe their problematic work. Especially after the 1820s, with the rise of medical periodicals, these stories combined two

thus countering the celebration of medicine's successes with a sharp critique of its social and cultural power. Second, social historians continued to take the focus away from professional heroes and traditional milestones of medical progress, emphasizing instead the health and health care of ordinary patients, or certain groups of patients, especially women. See Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1973); and G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Male Attitudes toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1976).

This historiographical journey and its tensions between M.D.s and non-M.D.s are surveyed by Ronald L. Numbers, "The History of American Medicine: A Field in Ferment," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December 1982): 245–63; David Rosner, "Tempest in a Test Tube: Medical History and the Historian," *Radical History Review*, 26 (1982): 166–71; Judith Walzer Leavitt, "Medicine in Context: A Review Essay of the History of Medicine," *AHR*, 95 (December 1990): 1471–84; [Editorial], "Medical History without Medicine," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 35 (January 1980): 5–7; Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Medical Profession, Medical Practice, and the History of Medicine," in Edwin Clarke, ed., *Modern Methods in the History of Medicine* (London, 1971), 22–35; and Rosenberg, "Introduction: Why Care about the History of Medicine," in his *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992), 1–6.

⁷ Physicians' sense of their profession's history deserves a full history of its own; in formal training and through apprenticeships, young physicians were (and are) importantly inculcated with stories of their origins. See, for example, Genevieve Miller, "Medical History," in Ronald L. Numbers, ed., *The Education of American Physicians: Historical Essays* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980), 290–308; Guenter B. Risse, "The Role of Medical History in the Education of the Humanist Physician," *Journal of Medical Education*, 50 (May 1975): 458–65; Wyndham D. Miles, "An Early American Course in History of Medicine: The History of Medicine Course at Penn Medical University in 1854," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 38 (May–June 1964): 276–77. On physicians' attempts to come to terms with the troubling gap between an ideal of science (often modeled on what were seen as "pure" sciences, especially astronomy, or, for some, geology) and the murky realities of routine medical practice, see John Harley Warner, "Science, Healing, and the Physician's Identity: A Problem of Professional Character in Nineteenth-Century America," *Clio Medica*, 22 (1991): 65–88; and Warner, "Science in Medicine," in Sally Gregory Kohlstedt and Margaret W. Rossiter, eds., *Historical Writing on American Science: Perspectives and Prospects* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 37–58; Gert H. Brieger, "The History of Medicine and the History of Science," *Isis*, 72 (December 1981): 537–40. See also W. F. Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994).

important ingredients: a teeming variety of subject matter given shape by a flexible, yet distinct, narrative form. With Yandell's essay as the threshold, the significance of the great variety of subject matter will be considered first; compared to the tightly framed discourse of modern medical research, a wide-open array of stories—energetic, vernacular, first-person—flowed from the work of nineteenth-century doctoring. This variety was brought under control by a particular narrative form: whatever the diversity of tales, physicians almost always spoke of patients' bodies and biographies, seeking a way to combine them in the name of healing.⁸

Then, returning to the death of Lunsford Yandell's son, I will suggest how case narratives traced an important boundary between doctors' professional and personal lives, excluding some meanings of medical work while including others. It is possible to do this in Yandell's case because there exists a second account of the family tragedy silently included in his journal essay. This other account is a series of letters, amounting to a kind of diary, written by Yandell to his parents-in-law during the illness of his son and wife. These letters antedate his published essay by only a few weeks, and the differences between his two stories—one professional, one familial—reveal the key role of the autobiographical narrative in shaping—and limiting—a practitioner's vision of his work.

YANDELL'S CASES OF DYSENTERY are a good point at which to begin exploring the variety of subjects and voices in doctors' narratives because Lunsford Pitts Yandell was, in 1836, a physician whose career was moving along a path taken by many M.D.s during this century. At thirty-one years of age, Yandell already had been practicing for a dozen years, first in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and then in Nashville, where his career had branched out into teaching and editing. His professional ambitions were considerable, but they had not taken him away from a typical, community-based practice. Indeed, because there were no widespread institutional or professional alternatives to local practice, everything about most physicians' work tied them to their communities, intellectually as well as economically. A line between physicians and "lay" people existed in terms of training and knowledge, but in practice (to the chagrin of many doctors who desired professional exclusivity), the line often was vague and remarkably permeable.⁹

⁸ Kenneth Burke, "Terministic Screens," in *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method* (Berkeley, Calif., 1966), 46. Case narratives are an ancient form of medical writing but one that each generation reinvents from the stuff of practice. For two recent studies of American practitioners that look closely at the textual nature of clinical notebooks, see Ulrich, *Midwife's Tale*; and Jacalyn Duffin, *Langstaff: A Nineteenth-Century Medical Life* (Toronto, 1993). Many of the physicians I have been studying comment specifically on how case stories properly combine personal and professional motives. One "country" doctor observed that he wrote "partly for future reference, and partly . . . [for] younger brethren." See "W.," "Contributions of a Country Doctor," *Virginia Medical Journal*, 8 (January 1857): 5. For other commentary on the importance of case histories to practice, see O[tis] F. Manson, "On Malarial Pneumonia," *Medical Journal of North Carolina*, 3 (August 1860): 467; Daniel Ryan Sartor, "On Medical Ethics" (M.D. thesis, Transylvania University, 1843, Transylvania University Medical Library, Lexington, Ky.), 8; Lewis D. Ford, "Remarks on the Pathology and Treatment of Intermittent and Remittent Fevers, with Cases," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1 (November 1836): 340; J. Graham Tull, "An Address Delivered before the [North Carolina] State Medical Society," *Medical Journal of North Carolina*, 1 (August 1858): 29–30.

⁹ Lunsford Yandell (1805–1878) began his career in his early twenties as an apprentice to his doctor

This social reality of medical work helps explain the accessible literary style of mid-nineteenth-century case narratives. Although physician-authors sometimes went far into technical detail or wrote from within a cloud of theoretical language, most accounts of bedside practice were written in a plain, vernacular style—like Yandell's—that could be easily read by non-M.D.s as well as professional peers. This is not to say that narratives were artless; indeed, Yandell's essay has a calculated literary shape. He introduces his cases in a way that suggests how narratives persuaded and informed by keeping the cases—the heart of the essay—fully illuminated by the doctor's personal experience of them. Typically, Yandell begins his essay on an autobiographical scale and never departs from it:

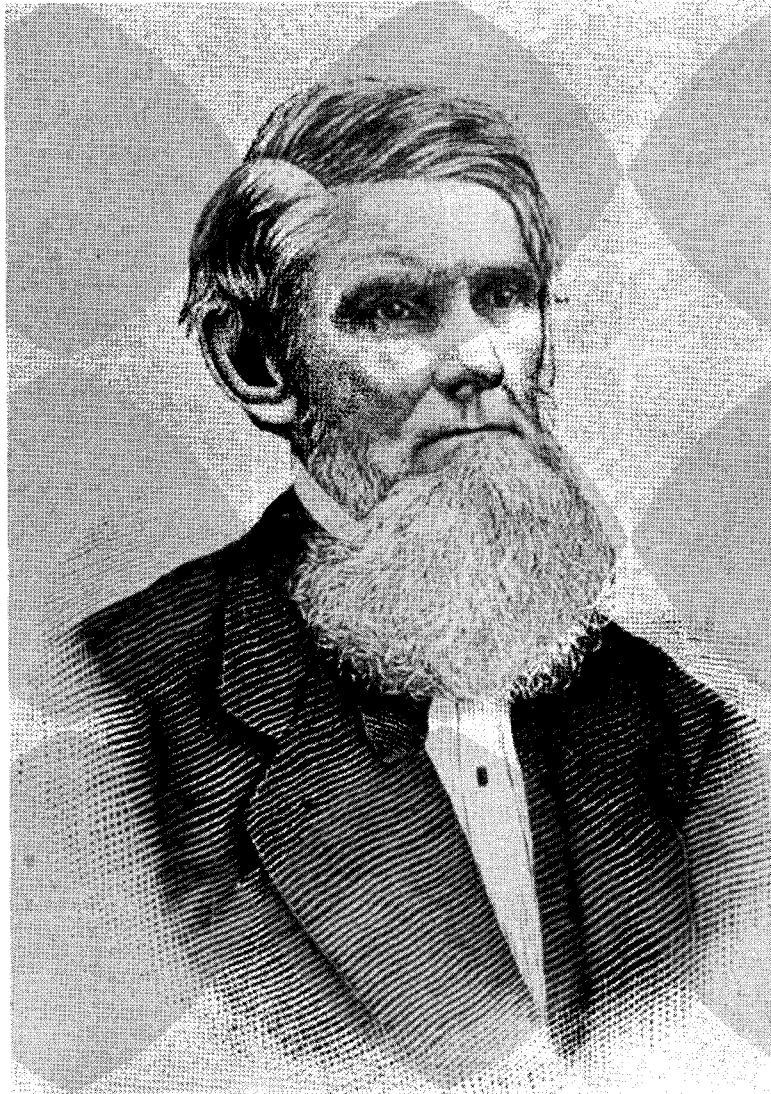
An experienced and eminent physician of this city [Lexington] lately assured me that he had not lost a single case of dysentery, exclusively under his own charge from first to last, during a practice of more than five-and-twenty years. The remedies upon which he chiefly relies are calomel and ipecac., in small doses. With these, he uses hot and stimulating applications externally, when the surface [of the skin] is cold, and confines his patients to warm drinks. I confess I have not been so fortunate in combatting this disease.¹⁰

With this opening, Yandell lets his readers know that his essay, like so many others, will be a therapeutic tale. It promises to be an informative story, doubtless yielding practical advice on particular medicines. But it is also clearly *his* tale, one fueled by his own experience of pursuing disease and by his sense of the intellectual context of therapeutic decision-making. Specifically, he frames his story in terms of the problematic power of medical authority, represented by the older physician and the approved therapy. Yandell at first seems to lean on his more experienced colleague, but this "eminent" man quickly becomes a foil in a more complicated story. Yandell may be the less experienced practitioner, but he is much more self-aware. Introducing an eminent (and complacent) colleague in order to shunt

father in Murfreesboro. Yandell went on to earn his M.D. in 1825 from Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. With 235 students in the year Yandell graduated, Transylvania was the largest medical school in the South, an institution with a respected faculty who placed intellectual demands on their students. After graduation, Yandell teamed with his father in caring for the Murfreesboro community before moving to Nashville, Tennessee, in 1830. A year later, Yandell joined the faculty at Transylvania as a professor of chemistry. (Biographical information is drawn from materials in the Yandell family papers, the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.) See also John D. Wright, *Transylvania: Tutor to the West* (Lexington, 1980); and Hampden Lawson, "The Early Medical Schools of Kentucky," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 24 (March–April 1950): 168–75. On the content of academic fields of medicine in the nineteenth century, see the essays in Numbers, *Education of American Physicians*. See also John Harley Warner, "The Idea of Southern Medical Distinctiveness: Medical Knowledge and Practice in the Old South," in Ronald L. Numbers and Judith Walzer Leavitt, eds., *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, 2d edn., rev. (Madison, Wis., 1985), 53–70.

Dysentery was a frequent diagnosis among southern practitioners. While it did not have cholera's frightening reputation as a sudden killer, dysentery was regarded as a dangerously acute disease with epidemic potential, thought to be caused (as with many other diseases) by multiple, adverse reactions of the body to its environment. In writing about dysentery, Yandell was assured of an interested audience even if he had not assigned himself the task of calling for reform. See David K. Patterson, "Disease Environments of the Antebellum South," in Numbers and Savitt, *Science and Medicine*, 152–65; James O. Breeden, "Disease as a Factor in Southern Distinctiveness," in Savitt and Young, *Disease and Distinctiveness*, 1–28.

¹⁰ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 240.



Lunsford Pitts Yandell, Sr. (1808–1878), Kentucky physician and editor, in an engraving made many years after the death of his son Willie in 1836. Courtesy of the Filson Club Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky.

him aside, Yandell suggests he will tell a darker, perhaps confessional, story of therapeutic failure.

And, in fact, Yandell goes on to tell how he, too, had been content with the approved therapy for several years until he came up against cases of dysentery in which “every plan pursued was unavailing,” and he watched his patients die. The cases he has chosen to write about would illustrate something his older colleague had not experienced: that there is abroad a dysentery “of a very different character, . . . especially when it attacks children.” And here Yandell calls on his readers for “a fuller investigation” of the approved therapy, which he has discovered “was not the proper one” after all. His patients had worsened under it, improving only “when a different set of remedies was adopted.” Not content simply to accept

that every doctor loses some patients, Yandell pushes the personal point: when faced with therapeutic failure, "a conscientious man will ask himself, why?"¹¹

Here, Yandell abruptly changes course in the way he introduces his cases. Calling into question an approved therapy by contrasting unfavorably an "eminent" older colleague with "a conscientious man" obviously himself, Yandell comes close to speaking evil of a professional brother, something frowned on by physicians. Therefore, in contrast to his intimate opening paragraph, he turns to a broad, uncontroversial truth: the potency of all diseases and therapies is influenced by the local climate. He invokes an exemplary historical authority, Thomas Sydenham, as witness. Not only did Sydenham have the brilliance to see the climatic influences in sickness, he had the courage to challenge the established way of doing things, and he "had the candor to confess that he generally lost the first patients he was called to attend when a new epidemic arose."¹²

By introducing his nine cases in this way, Yandell created an intellectual context that was both personal and yet far-reaching. Although the social stage for his nine cases was expansive (more than once, he describes dysentery as "epidemic"), the source of his reformist passion was lodged in the small but significant realm of an individual's work among his neighbors. Yandell appealed to physicians' curiosity, to their heroes, and to such overarching factors as climate. But all of these were focused by the image of the "conscientious man," whose daily work with the unknown revealed the particular, important truths learned only through practice: that respected colleagues and approved therapies can and do fail, that the tenets of good health are shockingly malleable, and that even known diseases change their identities unpredictably.

His narrative power is the power that inheres in autobiography; the story will be meaningful because the storyteller has witnessed what he will write about, and it has changed him. Although Yandell stops short of revealing that his wife and son are among the cases, he does drop a hint. Recalling the "feelings of mortification" he experienced when two of his first patients died, he admitted, "I have experienced the same feelings since in a more intense degree." In this allusion to his son's death, Yandell sought the attentive reader who would ask, *why* "more intense"? He imagined a reader familiar with the inevitable personal meaning of medical work—a meaning that could be at its core too devastating to reveal outright but too important to exclude.¹³

Of course, Yandell's hint at this deepest personal dimension of his story is just that, a pause for only a beat or two. Most of his readers doubtless did not linger over it. Instead, they moved into the nine cases to see what particular substance Yandell's stories offered. Substance came in different ways. Case-based essays usually offered practical advice of some kind, and physicians looked for such articles to clip and save in scrapbooks for later reference and sharing with colleagues. But essays such as Yandell's had a larger, epistemological dimension, too. In the modern medical journal, the privileged place in the creation of new

¹¹ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 240–41.

¹² Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 241. On Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) and theories of infection, see Charles-Edward Amory Winslow, *The Conquest of Epidemic Disease: A Chapter in the History of Ideas* (1943; rpt. edn., Madison, Wis., 1971); Harry F. Dowling, *Fighting Infection* (Cambridge, 1977).

¹³ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 242.

knowledge belongs to articles based on institutionalized research occurring in venues far removed from the office call. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the bedside case from a doctor's rounds was most often the featured, "original" article. For Yandell and his contemporaries, the essence of medical science was at the bedside, and thus the individual practitioner's cases held the promise of broad, scientific advance that has since been relocated to the laboratory and teaching hospital.

A contrast with modern medical publications will sharpen this key distinction. An individual physician's clinical experience still has a place in medical journals. But it is a far more circumscribed place, sharply limited as a source of new knowledge. The format of the clinical-pathological conference (CPC) is a good example of how modern journals use physicians' clinical stories. In this kind of essay, an individual physician (or team of physicians) presents a particularly puzzling case to an audience of colleagues. The patient's problematic symptoms invariably are enumerated in terms of established medical categories: physical appearance, vital signs, family history of illness, and the recent events that led the patient to seek help. The patient's social context is largely invisible, except in generalized demographic terms of sex, age, and occupation. The typical CPC is most intent on sketching the patient through the medical inspection of the body, inside and out. The language is cool and technical, and the description a check list: "The head and neck were normal. The lungs were clear, and the heart, breasts, and abdomen were normal . . . Neurologic examination was negative." The meeting between patient and physician is noted in terms of the complaint; we do not see the meeting itself: "A 34-year-old woman was admitted to the hospital because of a dry cough." "A 39-year-old man was admitted to the hospital because of a fever."¹⁴

The scene shifts quickly to the laboratory, where the patient is reconfigured in terms of various measures of physiological processes, those revealed by blood and urine tests, for example. Here, the patient (or the sick body numerically abstracted in laboratory reports) is once again compared to the normal and to whether a given finding is negative or positive according to diagnostic indices. Specialists are introduced to comment on how they used pieces of data to rule out certain diagnoses. Usually, the presenting physicians conclude the CPC by advancing more than one possible diagnosis, keeping the clinical puzzle alive until the CPC wraps up with the pathologist's report revealing which diagnosis was correct.

These stories of doctors and patients have limited, if important, purposes in the realm of modern medicine. They efficiently describe accepted diagnostic method and impart the casuistry of modern medical problem-solving. They articulate the

¹⁴ The clinical-pathological conference as a pedagogical device in medical school arose along with modern medical education after 1920. Although the CPC no longer holds the central place in clinical teaching that it once did, it remains, in the view of two influential observers of medical education, "an invaluable way to teach the process of internal soliloquizing, which enables the diagnostician to examine his or her own reasoning." Edmund D. Pellegrino and David C. Thomasma, *A Philosophical Basis of Medical Practice: Toward a Philosophy and Ethic of the Healing Professions* (New York, 1981), 129. See also Ran Oren and Yaacov Matzner, "Clinical Problem-Solving," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 330 (January 6, 1994): 48–50. The prestigious *New England Journal* regularly publishes "Weekly Clinicopathological Exercises" as a feature called "Case Records of the Massachusetts General Hospital." The quotations here are from this feature: "Case 5–1994," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 330 (February 3, 1994): 347; "Case 44–1993," 329 (November 4, 1993): 1411.

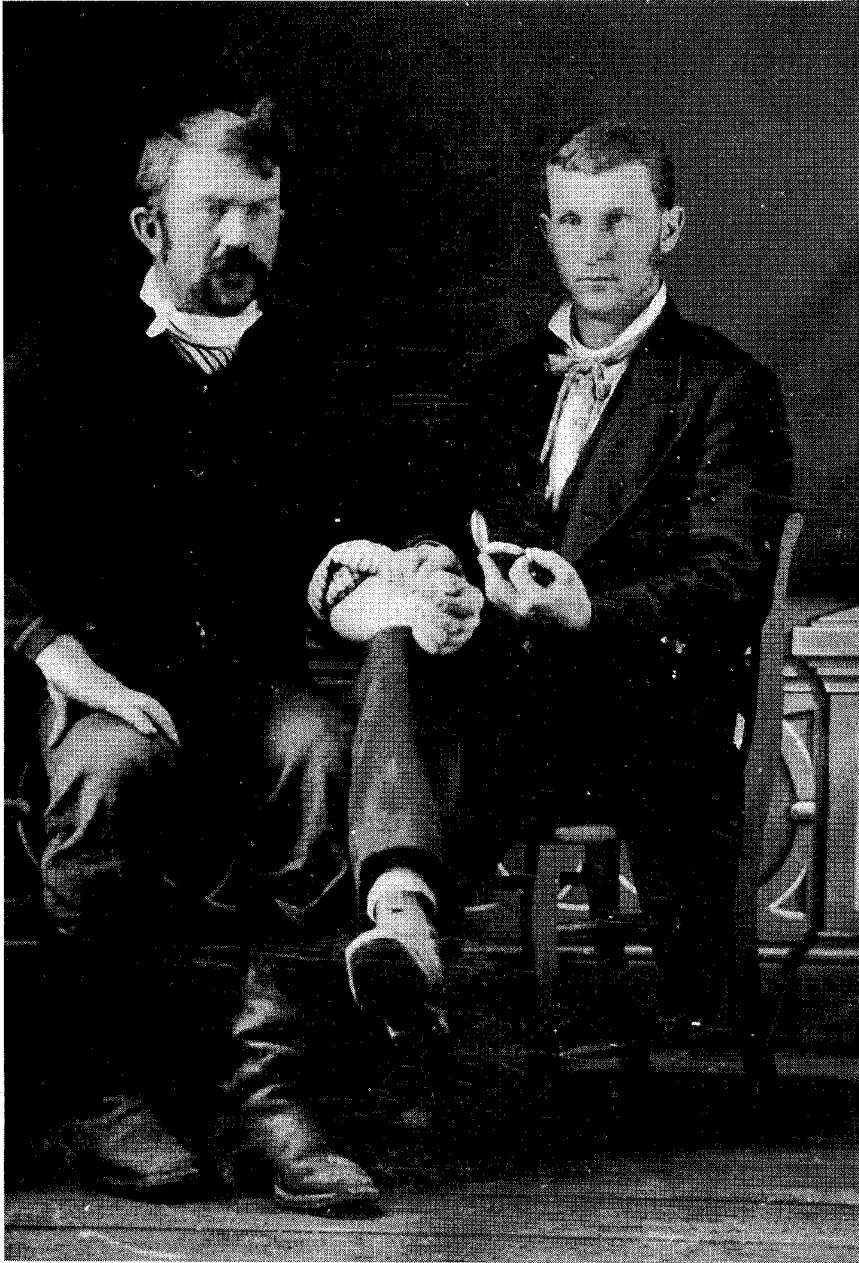
relation between bedside findings and laboratory tests, at the same time underscoring the essence of medical practice as an applied science—not excluding the intellectual excitement of clinical sleuthing. If the specialized, calibrated, and often highly quantified language drains the patient's suffering from the case, physicians, too, become personally remote, as every clinical event is reduced to what it can or cannot contribute to identifying the affliction. Physicians' language is streamlined and made muscular by jargon; their individual efforts are relentlessly yoked to those of others; their encounters with patients are made standard by a generic hospital setting that serves as a kind of signature of modern medical power.¹⁵

Moving back from the form of this modern professional genre to the case narratives of Lunsford Yandell's medical world is like stepping away from retrospection into the very swirl of events. The expressive vitality of nineteenth-century medical writing, not its failure to match modern scientific standards, is what should impress; narratives crowd against one another in a profusion of individual voices and plots. Invariably, the vernacular voice of one man's experience gave narratives their persuasive power. "March 16th, 1833, [I] was called before sunrise to visit a negro woman." "I took from her twelve ounces of blood." "I waited about fifteen minutes, when she had a severe convulsion." "I unloosed the bandage from her arm." Case stories are built around such images of individual doctors traveling, talking, deciding, acting. The work itself, not the diagnostic puzzle abstracted from it, supplied the purpose, narrative coherence, and dramatic energy to make these stories full of meaning.¹⁶

It is not surprising, therefore, to find so many published narratives taking the form of diary entries, as doctors sought to persuade or inform by reconstructing the familiar, time-bound immediacy of caring for the sick. Though retrospective, the diary-essay countered the foreshortening of time—the leap over events to reach the outcome—by insisting that readers see the significance of how each activity in a doctor's work paralleled each day—or hour—of a patient's illness. Such accounts of work were more than reflections on it; they became a part of the work itself. A conscientious physician created a set of bedside notes, which he shared or which

¹⁵ A classic text on diagnosis reasonably accessible to lay persons is Alvan R. Feinstein, *Clinical Judgment* (Baltimore, Md., 1967). On the recent history of diagnostic specialism, see Stanley Joel Reiser, *Medicine and the Reign of Technology* (Cambridge, 1978).

¹⁶ Robert S. Bailey, "Three Cases of Puerperal Convulsions," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Medical Association* (Charleston, S.C., 1852), 144–47. The focus on work routine is indicative, in part, of the very different view that nineteenth-century doctors had of diagnosis than physicians have today. John Harley Warner observes that diagnosis "was of only secondary importance in determining appropriate treatment. To the extent to which the physician asserted control over a disease by naming and explaining it, diagnosis was of course an important part of managing a patient . . . Yet treatment was essentially symptomatic," that is, based on the conviction that in altering symptoms the doctor was affecting the disease itself. As Charles Rosenberg notes, physicians often did not record a diagnosis at all, because "disease was seen as a general state of the organism in relation to its environment—as a disordered individual adjustment, not as a patterned and predictable response to a particular cause." Yet, as Paul B. Beeson and Russell C. Maulitz point out, diagnosis in pre-modern medicine was often more important in cases where there was no effective therapy. Patients, if not doctors, wanted at least to be able to name their affliction. See Warner, *Therapeutic Perspective*, 92; Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, 72; Paul B. Beeson and Russell C. Maulitz, "The Inner History of Internal Medicine," in Maulitz and Diana E. Long, eds., *Grand Rounds: One Hundred Years of Internal Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1988), 33. See also Charles E. Rosenberg, "Framing Disease: Illness, Society, and History," in Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1992), 293–304.



An ordinary medical doctor, *circa* 1860s, photographed taking the pulse of his patient. The pulse, and what doctors believed it to reveal about a person's condition, was one of the most intricately described aspects of a patient's body in doctors' narratives. Copyright The Burns Collection Ltd., New York City.

were published still in notebook form, and then other doctors used these stories to discover meaning at their own patients' bedsides.¹⁷

¹⁷ Yandell's essay relates many of the cases as diary accounts: "[June] 14th. The case has now been in existence four days . . . Violent abdominal pain continues . . . 18th. Symptoms less violent. Blister is repeated, and other remedies continued . . . 24th. Tenesmus now the only distressing symptom . . .

The homological relation between text and work helps explain the strikingly wide variety of subject matter and plot in published narratives. The medical journal—like practice itself—was a wide field of triumph, catastrophe, and bathos, and physicians never tired of the compelling ways these things could combine in any given case. There was no substitute for writing about the full complexity of events. The timing of the doctor's arrival and his particular combination of experience and eagerness shared the spotlight with blind luck and sudden disaster. Much could be learned from each new configuration of events and actions around the bedside. While most published cases were written in a practical register, many stories have no *particular* advice or discovery to relate. Rather, the key ingredient in a story was what an individual doctor found personally "interesting" about a case. This plain but capacious word carried much merit and promise, shaping an intellectual world with the dramatic power of autobiography at the heart of every doctor's tale.¹⁸

Rita Charon has suggested that the often frustratingly different way modern physicians and patients tell stories of sickness, a difference underlying many of the ethical and legal disputes between them, is not a simple misunderstanding that can be fixed by brushing up everyone's "communications skills." The difference lies much deeper in the radically different work of doctor and patient. The modern physician's effort, as in the CPC, to rule out diagnoses, to narrow down the case and trim the story, is at odds with the patient's desire to elaborate a story large enough to hold the terrible enormity of his or her illness. Following Charon, there is much about the nineteenth-century doctor's wide-ranging fascination with the various

Continue other remedies . . . 27th. All symptoms favorable, except the tenesmus, which is not declining. Anodyne enemata prescribed . . . 30th . . . Patient much better." Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 243; "tenesmus" denotes painful, ineffectual bowel movements.

A particularly valuable look at a healer's diary as a form of writing is found in Ulrich, *Midwife's Tale*. On the more general matter of case records as historical sources, see Guenter B. Risse and John Harley Warner, "Reconstructing Clinical Activities: Patient Records in Medical History," *Social History of Medicine*, 5 (August 1992): 183–205; John D. Stoeckle and J. Andrew Billings, "A History of History-Taking: The Medical Interview," *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 2 (March–April 1987): 119–27; Stanley Joel Reiser, "Creating Form out of Mass: The Development of the Medical Record," in Everett Mendelsohn, ed., *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences: Essays in Honor of I. Bernard Cohen* (Cambridge, 1986), 303–16; Ellen Dwyer, "Stories of Epilepsy, 1880–1930," in Charles E. Rosenberg and Janet S. Golden, eds., *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 248–72.

¹⁸ Of course, modern physicians also refer to "interesting" cases and diseases but in a way different from their nineteenth-century counterparts. Modern doctors tend to use the term to describe puzzles of diagnosis and treatment that they find intellectually stimulating—as challenges to scientific mastery. Doctors in the earlier century tended to apply the word more broadly and more in terms of an entire range of problems in hands-on care. Helpful in thinking about the ethical issues in seeing sick people as "interesting" are Terry Mizrahi, *Getting Rid of Patients: Contradictions in the Socialization of Physicians* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); and Pellegrino and Thomasma, *Philosophical Basis of Medical Practice*, esp. chap. 9.

The rise of medical ethics during the past two decades, as a particular field of inquiry and a concern in medical writing and teaching, has sparked interest in the place of stories in modern medicine. A sampling of the literature I have found helpful includes Arthur Kleinman, *The Illness Narratives: Suffering, Healing, and the Human Condition* (New York, 1988); Kathryn Montgomery Hunter, *Doctors' Stories: The Narrative Structure of Medical Knowledge* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Howard Brody, *Stories of Sickness* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Kathryn Montgomery Hunter, "'There Was This One Guy': The Uses of Anecdotes in Medicine," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 29 (Summer 1986): 619–30; Rita Charon, "Doctor-Patient/Reader-Writer: Learning to Find the Text," *Soundings*, 72 (Spring 1989): 137–52; Larry R. Churchill and Sandra Churchill, "Storytelling in Medical Arenas: The Art of Self-Determination," *Literature and Medicine*, 1 (1982): 73–79.

things that were “interesting” that resembles the modern patient’s perspective more than the modern physician’s. To some extent, that is, the work of doctoring imposed the daunting, world-transforming power of illness onto the doctor as well as the patient.¹⁹

Yandell’s dysentery essay, seen in this context, is comparatively sophisticated in the way it linked case stories to the larger aim of reforming therapy. But in admitting his failures, and using them as testimony to his candor, Yandell was doing what many other physicians did in writing case stories: he was calling for help. Calls for help appeared in many published tales, with a doctor depicting himself as confronted by “a mystery which is beyond my comprehension.” Such stories engaged readers precisely because the puzzle still was unsolved; no pathologist waited at the end to write the final paragraph revealing what “really” was wrong with the patient. A rural physician wrote in hopes of finding a colleague who had seen something similar. His essay was a kind of shout in the woods of everyday practice that medical journals helped amplify.²⁰

Consider Dr. Henry A. Ramsay’s case of Ben, a slave living on a plantation near Raysville, Georgia—a young, strong man who one day came down with a chill serious enough to alarm his owner. Ramsay arrived, looked Ben over, took note of his muscular body and good constitution. He also observed that Ben’s abdomen was unusually hard to the touch; Ben said that he had been suffering pain from a blow he had received. Ramsay drew off a gallon of Ben’s urine, gave him opium and calomel for inflammation, prescribed a warm bath, and left. Returning the next day, the doctor was shocked to learn that Ben had died during the night. Ramsay wondered whether a diseased spleen was somehow involved, but he did not speculate further on the cause of death. His purpose in writing was to call for help, to hope aloud that someone was wiser than he: “Are such cases common? Could such a case have been remedied?”²¹

A related kind of “interesting” story came from doctors who were moved to tell

¹⁹ See Rita Charon, “To Build a Case: Medical Histories as Traditions in Conflict,” *Literature and Medicine*, 11 (Spring 1992): 115–32. The debate in modern medicine over the negative impact of “impersonal” medical language has roots in the larger ethical debate concerning patients’ rights and physicians’ power. Some observers concede that the technical language of modern medicine forces patients’ maladies into abstract disease types, making medicine impersonal. But they go on to argue that this is a necessary stage in efficient diagnosis. They point out that a patient can be comforted by knowing the name of his or her affliction and by the fact that others share the same problem. See, for example, Stephen J. Kunitz, “Classifications in Medicine,” in Maulitz and Long, *Grand Rounds*, 279–96. Also taking a positive, though not uncritical, view of the effect of technical language are Brody, *Stories of Sickness*; and Thomas W. Laqueur, “Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative,” in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 176–204. Other observers take the harsher view that the mystifying, transforming impact of technical language—indeed, its performative authority—often is used by doctors to override patients’ values and perceptions as if they do not matter. Although I lean toward this latter view, I find that medical ethicists often write as if the relatively vernacular language of the nineteenth century is in itself evidence of more humane care, a reasoning I find questionable. See William J. Donnelly, “Righting the Medical Record: Transforming Chronicle into Story,” *Soundings*, 72 (Spring 1989): 127–36; Lawrence B. McCullough, “Particularism in Medicine,” *Criticism*, 32 (Summer 1990): 361–70; Nancy M. P. King and Ann Folwell Stanford, “Patient Stories, Doctor Stories, and True Stories: A Cautionary Reading,” *Literature and Medicine*, 11 (Fall 1992): 185–99.

²⁰ W. L. Wood, “Case of Labor,” *Virginia Medical Journal*, 9 (November 1857): 377.

²¹ Henry A. Ramsay, “Inflammation of the Bladder, Gangrene, Death, Autopsy,” *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, 5 (January 1850): 47.

about intense or stressful cases they had experienced. Like the call for help, the story of a runaway challenge to a doctor's skill often did not have a specific discovery or advice to relate. Instead, meaning was in the drama of a man's immediate experience. F. A. Bates's 1849 story about the scarlet fever that swept through his community is such a tale, interesting because it was such a personal trial by fire. Bates wrote of his hurried meetings with neighbors, the humid and excessively hot weather that surely strengthened the disease, and everyone's fatigue. He wrote of the bodies of his patients, of settling at last on a therapeutic course of light diets and mucilaginous drinks. He told of the rapid pulses of the victims, the "alarming diarrhea," and wrote in summary, "Every effort was made to arrest this condition, but without avail. The hot air bath, frictions, enemata of tr. opii, sinapisms, calomel and opium all failed." Similarly, the title of J. M. Hamilton's case story posed the agonizing question "How Long Shall We Wait?" to crush the skull of an undeliverable fetus in order to save the life of a woman in labor. But nowhere in the article did he answer—or even ask—this practical question. Instead, he simply told about the harrowing craniotomy he had performed one day at a neighbor's.²²

The autobiographical texture of these narratives is just as tangible in accounts that have neither mystery nor trial by fire to relate but that speak instead of the strangeness of life opened to the physician's view. A doctor comes to a neighbor's door and finds something weird or astonishing. He *must* tell about it, and so there are stories of wonders: of women sickened by their husbands' bodily "exhalations"; a black woman with skin turning white; a child born to a dead woman at her wake; a man suffering a gunshot wound in 1840, and the bullet is not recovered until his death twenty years later, when it is found in the chambers of his heart; an unfortunate man who tried to cure his piles (as he said he read somewhere) by putting a greased half-pint whiskey flask up his rectum.²³

There were moral stories to be told as well, tales of the timeless qualities of human nature encountered on neighborhood rounds. Physicians told of courageous patients, as in Samuel Leland's story of a woman giving birth unassisted and doing very well without his help. (She was "some pumpkins," Leland wrote admiringly.) Kentucky's A. A. Patteson praised a patient's willingness to endure a drawn-out death; the dying man deeply impressed Patteson with his "firm and cheering faith of a Christian." There were reformist stories, too, like Yandell's and like that of a

²² F. A. Bates, "On the Prevailing Diseases of Dallas County [Alabama]," *Southern Medical Reports*, 1 (1849): 377; J. M. Hamilton, "How Long Shall We Wait?" *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, 10 (January 1856): 33–34. See also A. A. J. Riddell, "Epidemic Bloody Flux," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 7 (July 1850): 99. (In Bates, "tr. opii" is a tincture of opium, probably laudanum, often given as a sedative or analgesic; a sinapism is a mustard plaster. Craniotomy, in Hamilton's account, is the procedure of delivering an impacted or otherwise "undeliverable" fetus—one considered a threat to the woman's life—by crushing its skull, thus facilitating its removal.)

²³ The case of fatal exhalations is in C. E. Lavender, "Anthropo-toxicologia: Cases, with Remarks," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 5 (July 1848): 33–37; the black woman turning white is in John Knox, *Medical Casebooks*, Vol. 1, January 21, 1848, Special Collections, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.; the posthumous child is in Benjamin F. Fessenden, "A Case of Puerperal Apoplectic Convulsions, with Spontaneous Expulsion of the Foetus after Death," *Medical Journal of North Carolina*, 1 (August 1858): 16–17; the found bullet is in "Gun-shot Wound of the Heart," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 21 (March 1867): 520–21; the man and his pile remedy is in T. M. Harris, "A Contribution to the Curiosities of Medical Experience," *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, 3d ser., 2 (October 1848): 281–83.

Louisiana doctor who was fed up with the lack of skilled midwives and strongly recommended training more of them.²⁴

The significance of the way southern doctors' stories, in particular, arose from bedside practice, giving rise to a jostling variety of tales, is further seen in the way narratives hooked into the social fabric of slavery. African-American patients appear interchangeably with whites in the various kinds of tales; physicians understood that whites had no corner on courage, suffering, or wonder. However, physician storytellers were silent about certain details, suggesting that doctors were similarly selective in what they allowed themselves to see. For example, there is an almost complete absence of explicit stories about treating slaves for the whippings they suffered, a remarkable silence given what most doctors must have encountered. Yet there were stories exposing other threats to slaves' health. The hazards of daily field labor and the bad effects of a monotonous diet formed the heart of case stories that advised better food and more rest for workers. The racial prejudices of slave owners were not always accepted at face value. While some physicians wrote about the supposed "typical" slave who feigned illness in order to escape work, others warned owners that it was dangerous to assume that slaves' complaints were mostly fabricated.²⁵

Perhaps most strikingly, this focus on the particular, and on the individual doctor's experience in treating slave patients, suggests that broad racist theories did not rigidly determine doctors' routine care, nor, in most cases, did doctors appear to have much interest in developing or extending racist thinking through their case narratives. Slaves' supposed biological tolerance for long hours in the hot sun, for instance, or the supposed natural "ease" of childbirth among slave women are only rarely articulated in narratives. Rather, slaves were written about as having the individual differences inherent in any case. The grander the theory, the less it appears to have shaped doctors' actual practice. And thus the attempts of a few physicians like Samuel Cartwright to argue in an eager and sometimes bizarre manner for the racial peculiarity of black pathology and physiology, for example, or Josiah Nott's expansive theory of separate racial origins simply were not useful in a livelihood where usefulness was the touchstone.²⁶

²⁴ Samuel Leland, Diary, March 1, 1852, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia; A. A. P[atterson], "Patterson's [sic] Cases," *Transylvania Medical Journal*, 1 (February 1850): 329–30. Charles A. Hentz regularly expressed his approval of patients who bravely withstood painful therapies; see Hentz, Medical Diary, November 3, 1858, November 18, 1858, February 2, 1859, February 14, 1859, Hentz Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The physician recommending training midwives is R. H. Day, "Obstetrical Cases," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 4 (September 1847): 223–27.

²⁵ Treatment of slaves is addressed typically in "W.," "Contributions." For examples of narratives charging slaves with feigning illness and other deceptions, see William A. Brown, "A Curious Case of Malingering," *Medical Journal of North Carolina*, 3 (May 1860): 375–78; T. S. Hopkins, "A Remarkable Case of Feigned Disease," *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, 8 (March 1853): 173–76; W. L. Sutton, "A Case of Doubtful Paternity," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 8 (December 1852): 760–63. For a doctor using a poor white patient as an object of moral judgment, see Louis A. Dugas, "A Clinical Lecture upon Some of the Effects of Intemperance: Delivered at the Augusta [Georgia] City Hospital," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 15 (January 1858): 1–11.

²⁶ Most white physicians probably believed in at least some physiological differences between the races; certainly, most doctors believed that slaves were especially vulnerable to some forms of disease. The point here is that these presumed differences do not seem to have led physicians to give slaves significantly inferior care in general. Instead, it appears that physicians examined blacks and whites in

Most ordinary physicians, then, relating or reading stories in a plain style, expecting knowledge to emerge from the great variety of stories, believed, like Dr. J. R. Freese, that even a single case drawn from the intensity of personal experience would "illustrate . . . better than a volume of theorizing." In one sense, of course, this is a hermeneutic approach with a sharply limited vision of the means and objectives of theory. Certainly, case-by-case thinking undercut not only racial generalizations but also other kinds of systematic thought that later in the century were widely adopted as part of a new medical science: establishing criteria for what counts as data, manipulating data under controlled conditions, looking for general patterns across several cases, and so on.²⁷

The key point about these narratives, though, is not the obvious one—that they were "pre-modern." Rather, the point is to understand why these stories were so popular and profuse—what needs they satisfied and how. In the heat of practice, the vernacular, autobiographical tale was a work story that strengthened the worker by holding out the hope that the case might have meaning not revealed except in the telling. It gave the physician an opportunity to celebrate the many routes clinical success might take and gave him some resilience in the face of failure. Moreover, narratives acknowledged the shared work of medicine, supporting a kind of democracy of knowledge among physicians at a time when at least some country doctors were beginning to feel that their rural isolation might be an intellectual disadvantage. Within the confines of the narrative, any careful, observant man was the equal of any other if he could tell plainly what had happened to him and what he found or wanted. A story needed only to be lifelike to persuade. And, if told well enough, any case narrative might reveal larger implications for the betterment of medicine. If, as most physicians believed, the very nature of disease varied dramatically incident by incident, a single case—the next case—might supply a key piece in some broader medical puzzle that would place a doctor's individual patient into the wide field of medical science.²⁸

the same way, applying most of what they learned about the body and illness across racial lines. Samuel Cartwright, a physician practicing in Mississippi and Louisiana, has gained historical notice for his invention of slave "diseases" such as draeptomania, the "sickness" of runaway slaves. He once argued that he had discovered racial differences in skin tissue. But Cartwright, though a frequent contributor to medical journals, was hardly mainstream, and his ideas on race seem to have been viewed by many of his peers as questionable. See Samuel Cartwright, "The Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race," *Southern Medical Reports*, 2 (1850): 421–29; and the skeptical reply by the journal's editor Erasmus Darwin Fenner, "State Medical Society of Louisiana," *ibid.*, 294–98. For a suggestive discussion of Cartwright and notions of African-American susceptibility to certain diseases, see Kenneth F. Kiple and Virginia Himmelsteib King, *Another Dimension to the Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease, and Racism* (Cambridge, 1981), chap. 12.

Josiah Nott's theory of the separate creation of the races is not apparent at all in the hundreds of case stories I have seen. Most ordinary practitioners not only were wary of theorizing in general, they also were wary of challenging religious orthodoxy, which held to the single creation of mankind. On Nott and the debate, see the lucid account in Reginald Horsman, *Josiah Nott of Mobile: Southerner, Physician, and Racial Theorist* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987), esp. chap. 4. For typical, non-theoretical descriptions of African-American bodies, see James E. Smith, "Cases Illustrating the Practice of Medicine in the Counties of Rusk and Panola [Texas]," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 14 (September 1857): 166–70; and C. H. Jordan, "Thoughts on Cachexia Africana or Negro Consumption," *Pennsylvania Journal of Medicine and Associate Sciences*, 5 (January–March 1832): 18–30.

²⁷ J. R. Freese, "Healing Art vs. the Knife," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 13 (July 1836): 13.

²⁸ On the conceptual satisfactions of narrative and its relation to knowing, see Hayden White, "The

THIS BRINGS US CLOSE TO THE BEDSIDE, the place where sick people's stories first reached out to the doctor and where he first made them part of his own tale. Here, we can see in the jumbled variety of case stories two crucial narrative elements in common. These gave shape to the diversity of tales, tying their narrative urgency (which physicians believed was inherent in the patient's predicament and in the "course" of the disease itself) to the social world of doctors and patients (which physicians helped to create through their stories). All narratives spoke of sick people in terms of their bodies and in terms of what might be called their biographies—or that part of their lives exposed by malady. Joined together in a single narrative, these elements nonetheless were two distinct ways the doctor gave expressive form to what happened in his work.

It is important to recall how physicians like Lunsford Yandell, working alone or in hastily arranged consultations, often were care-givers of the last resort in isolated country neighborhoods. The call went out to them only when the bleeding, fever, or pain overflowed the family's efforts. What had happened to the patient—or was still happening—had to be contained by hand and word lest it also overwhelm the doctor himself. In terms of the emotional energy demanded of the physician, the modern analogy is the emergency room, not the ordered quiet of a private-practice office. Walking into a house, the mid-nineteenth-century doctor grasped, literally, the patient's distress and his own need to act by taking hold of the sick body. But this was not all. The sheer physical reality of sickness and treatment also had to be apprehended in terms of the sick person's life as the doctor knew it, or as he was led to discover it when he walked through the door. Putting the sick person's biography and body together was at the center of the doctor's overwhelming need to act, and it became the framework of his stories as well.

Doing this was no simple matter, as many confused or inconclusive narratives reveal. Running throughout the many kinds of stories is a tension doctors encountered as they struggled to shape body and biography into a single piece of medical work. It was a tension between the inside and the outside—whether of the body or the sick person's life—and physicians strove to use it to their advantage. With regard to the body, the relation of inside to outside appears when the doctor

Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in White, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore, Md., 1987); Louis Mink, "Narrative Form as Cognitive Instrument," in R. H. Canary and N. Kozicki, eds., *The Writing of History* (Madison, Wis., 1978), esp. 144–47; David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), esp. 68–69.

The place of case stories at the heart of medical knowledge slowly began to erode during the latter half of the nineteenth century, though this was not universally acknowledged by physicians. This shift away from privileging the individual narrative was part of the slow relocation of medical *science* from the bedside to the dissection room, the physiological laboratory, and to quantified knowledge. The new way of using cases, which would become the dominant paradigm of the twentieth century, deploys them not for the story in each one but because several cases taken together illustrate a larger pattern. Yet even when nineteenth-century doctors (as authors and editors) sensed this shift, the "interesting" story remained a convincing piece of medical writing. Authors at most offered a modest disclaimer at the beginning of their stories, then forged ahead: "Although the following cases do not illustrate any new point in pathology," one doctor wrote in this vein, "or exhibit any thing novel in their treatment, it is hoped they will not be devoid of interest to the medical profession." Cauthorn Archer, "Memoranda of Cases in Country Practice," *Virginia Medical Journal*, 12 (January 1859): 1; see also W. B. Harvey, "Bilious Remittent Fever," *New Orleans Journal of Medicine*, 21 (January 1868): 44–45; and compare Hunter, "There Was This One Guy." On the persuasive power of stories' "lifelikeness," see Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 10–12.

observed in order to touch, and he touched what was outside in order to imagine what lay within. In terms of the patient's biography, the physician's act of entering the sickroom, of making a place for himself at the bedside, inevitably was the act of an outsider seeking entrance to—and help from—the social world of the sick person he must now engage.²⁹

Narratives often hang poised at the sickroom's threshold for the first few sentences, as the doctor took the measure of his patient in terms of sex, race, and "habit," an assessment of the patient's basic constitution and temperament. Taken together, these provided a context for whatever actions were to follow. And by introducing the patient in this objectifying way, the doctor paused briefly, taking his own measure and setting the stage for his physician-readers. In most narratives, this is the only point in the story where the patient is remote and seems merely to be awaiting the physician's work. Unlike modern patients who, in the language of CPCs, are said to "present" their symptoms, the nineteenth-century sick are comparatively passive, usually "found" (as in "I found the patient in bed"); each of Yandell's dysenteric patients, for example, "was attacked," or "was seized with the disease," or was found "under the disease." The disease, too, is present in the room, having its own story or "course," which the physician must discover.³⁰

Neighbors and strangers, African-American or white, children and adults, were thus made to lie quietly at the beginning of the tale so the physician could move in close to the stilled body. The physician then engaged in a kind of physical portraiture, beholding the relevant body in its illness, though only from the outside. Alabama doctor Courtney J. Clark's description was typical: "Found his face flushed, skin hot, pulse 120 to 125—small, tense and corded, lips dry, tongue somewhat moist . . . Stools yellow and of moderate thickness. Tongue has a whitish coat, edges of natural color." Pulse had special importance, for of all the body's signs and properties, blood had the most far-reaching effects and sent the most insistent signals. To "take" a patient's pulse was to seize upon the essence of the closed, coded body. The heart's throb, so deep and reflexive as to be "absent" in the healthy person, had an almost preternatural presence in the sickroom. Physicians' words describing the pulse were so numerous that their evocative power spilled over the confines of technical usefulness: pulses were small, quick, tense, soft, hard, corded, bounding, thready, shallow, weak, undulating, jerking, full, resistant—and more. Not the working of the heart but the supply of blood was the object of this

²⁹ On the "pre-modern" body as found in the work of one practitioner, see Barbara Duden, *The Woman beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). On the reduction of a sick person's biography to his or her illness, see Mary Rawlinson, "Medicine's Discourse and the Practice of Medicine," in Victor Kestenbaum, ed., *The Humanity of the Ill: Phenomenological Perspectives* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1982), 69–85.

³⁰ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 242, 243, 245. Among the general characteristics of patients, age was rarely noted by nineteenth-century southern physicians—and even then only in terms of the extremes of infancy and old age. Mostly, the broad categories of "adult" and "child" sufficed, doubtless in part because many people did not know their exact chronological age. In contrast, a person's sex was invariably noted. As for race, "mulatto" is a frequent term used by doctors, and the terms "yellow negro" and "black negro," denoting perceived shades of skin color, also enter into some descriptions. Most doctors doubtless made these discriminations for descriptive reasons alone, although some physicians felt that a person of mixed race had special health problems. For a sharp critique of what modern medicine chooses to emphasize in a patient's medical history, see William Frank Monroe, Warren Lee Holleman, and Marsha Cline Holleman, "Is There a Person in This Case?" *Literature and Medicine*, 11 (Spring 1992): 45–63.



A rural physician (*circa* 1858) posing with a woman, perhaps his wife, and his medical bag and hat, as if he were about to leave on a call. Depicted, too, is his array of drugs, his most important ally. Copyright The Burns Collection Ltd., New York City.

intense discrimination of touch and vocabulary. Physicians believed that most forms of disease affected the movement and amount of blood in the body; they witnessed bodies “congested” with thick and poisoned blood. The doctor, his senses collapsed into touch alone, cast nets of pulse words in ever-tighter weaves: when he felt a

patient's full, tense, and bounding pulse shifting to a beat that was tense, resistant, and thready, he believed he learned something of the strength of both patient and the foe disease. With his fingertips, through his words, the skillful physician worked to visualize the tell-tale flow of blood through its hidden map.³¹

Looking at a patient's stool was as revealing as the pulse, though in a different way. From ancient times, the examination of stool was the nearest a physician could come to seeing inside the body, and for nineteenth-century Americans, stool was more "present" to consciousness than pulse: even in health, most people paid a great deal of attention to their bowels. Doctors' terms for stool were less numerous than their pulse words, in part because stool, as a tangible product of the body, could be judged in a far greater number of ways—and it could be altered or created. "Stools inconsistent last night but still clay colored," noted Charles Hentz of a patient whom he was medicating in 1858 in order to effect a change in bowel movements. "A large one today with bile in it—consistent & stinking—rich bile in it—good." The color, consistency, odor, and amount of stool were the chief signs of a body altered by disease as well as symbols of a body taken in hand by the doctor. The importance of stool as a substance released by the body to the outside, to the waiting doctor, was reflected in the memorable images he used to capture its qualities. Working with patients whom he feared were dysenteric, Lunsford Yandell dreaded most of all to find the characteristic mix of blood and mucous in the stool. He was encouraged when one patient's bloody but clear stool called to mind "the washings of raw beef." But another patient's stool was marked by the much-feared mixture. It reminded Yandell of "strawberries and cream."³²

By the 1840s, some rural southern doctors were adopting newer ways of physically inspecting patients that took some of the focus away from blood and stool—systematically employing auscultation, palpation, and percussion, for example. However, despite calls for a new, standardized science of physical diagnosis, pulse and stool continued to define the body in most narratives. Indeed, examination of the body doubtless retained a particular importance in narratives because it was sanctioned by both the new clinical science and ancient tradition. But appeals to science or tradition did not supply the narrative energy behind body talk. The

³¹ Courtney J. Clark, *Medical Notebook*, ca. 1844, William Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C., 7. Although certain folk therapies also focused on blood, the concern for its supply became an emblem of orthodox medicine, as did blood-letting. As with some other orthodox tenets, this one is not considered wholly groundless even today. Malaria, for example, one of the South's most prevalent diseases, did in fact put stress on the body's production of blood. On changes in blood-letting as a technique, see Warner, *Therapeutic Perspective*, esp. chap. 7.

Most of the pulse words used by southern doctors were ancient (Galenic) in origin. They are a good example of essentially subjective language being taken as technical. Of course, pulse words aimed for technical usefulness, translating the body's physical signs into a set of shared diagnostic terms. But although terms for the pulse reached toward precision, they condensed into something more like poetry; they were notably difficult to teach to medical students. Only experience would give the doctor the "feel" for the terms, and even experienced physicians disagreed over what they felt and heard. For one practitioner's brave but elusive attempt to define pulse words, see John Bernard Vandergriff, "Southern Practice of Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Therapeutics, Toxicology, and Useful Notes on Various Methods of Treatment" (New Orleans, n.d. [ca. 1870s]), ms. in Matas Library, Tulane University School of Medicine, New Orleans, Louisiana, 331–34.

On the healthy body as "absent" compared to the sick body, see the suggestive discussion in Drew Leder, *The Absent Body* (Chicago, 1990), esp. 1–2, 39–45, 81.

³² Charles A. Hentz, *Medical Diary*, November 27, 1858; Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 246–47.

energy arose from a man's personal story of bedside labor; a tale of purpose and discovery in the craft of dismantling each body into its key elements by working them over with his own hands, senses, and words.³³

This activity was a necessary prelude to working over the body with medicines. The essence of most stories was therapeutic, with the doctor's prescriptions giving final shape to the medical body. It is striking that medicines and disease shared an identity in doctors' stories. Both were subtle, mutable forces ranging through the bodies of the afflicted. Despite physicians' increasing skepticism of harsh, heroic therapy by the 1840s, orthodox medicine still aimed to discover the course of disease—its plot—and to overpower it. The extent to which this was a personal struggle for physicians is plainly seen in the heightened way they spoke about the conflict. Many physicians prescribed aggressive, "operative" medicines not simply because this was the orthodox thing to do; rather, prescribing such drugs was the doctor's personal answer to the challenge of disease. As Dr. W. R. Sharpe of North Carolina wrote of an outbreak of deadly brain fever in his community, the aggressiveness of the disease "aroused me, and caused me to adopt [a] very active treatment." Physicians had a sense of disease sweeping through settlements much like the weather, its harbinger and sometime ally. If they could not prevent sickness, they would do their best to match it. Therapy, not diagnosis, thus became the thrilling heart of the doctor's tale and the focus of his discriminating interest.³⁴

In writing about the therapeutic encounter, then, physicians continued to write about the patient as a body, and of themselves as outsiders, but with a difference. The effective prescription was the doctor's way inside. Opened by medicine, a diseased body became less an opaque object and more like a domain through which the physician pursued disease. Because so many contingencies of practice could thwart healing—arriving too late, for example, or overlooking one crucial detail—doctors spoke warmly of their successful medicines' "noble effects." Beloved therapies sometimes reached into the hidden interior so far that they seemed to outstrip even science. "These means had a magical effect," Dr. George Grant wrote in awe of his fortunate prescription of laudanum and an abdominal bandage. Physicians' lovingly detailed stories of medicating the body show that orthodox practice, for all of its rigors, was not necessarily a meat-ax approach to healing. Though powerful, orthodox medicines were perceived as anything but crude; like disease, they possessed an almost infinite subtlety and malleability. Disease

³³ Auscultation is the act of listening to internal body sounds, either with a stethoscope or unmediated; palpation involves examining by touch, especially the abdomen; percussion is the act of tapping various parts of the body, listening and feeling for particular reactions. By the 1840s, medical students in most of the larger schools were required to write a doctoral thesis, and the students who chose to write on physical diagnosis provide succinct accounts of how it was taught as a subject. See, for example, Benjamin Robinson Mitchell, "On Diagnosis" (M.D. thesis, Transylvania University, 1844, Medical Library, Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky.); Pinckney A. Williams, "Physical Diagnosis" (M.D. thesis, University of Nashville, 1854, Special Collections, Vanderbilt Medical Center Library, Nashville, Tenn.). These two archives, along with that of the Waring Historical Library, Medical University of South Carolina, Charleston, hold the largest collections of nineteenth-century medical theses, an invaluable source for suggesting how clinical practice was conceptualized and transmitted to students.

³⁴ W. R. Sharpe, "Report on the Diseases of Davie County [N.C.]," *Medical Journal of North Carolina*, 3 ([February?] 1860): 279–80. On the ideas linking medicines to disease, see Warner, *Therapeutic Perspective*, esp. chap. 3; Rosenberg, "Framing Disease."



A physician begins his consideration of a small child's illness, as family gathers around the bedside to share concern and advice. Courtesy of the Bettmann Archive, New York City.

constantly shifted its very identity in narratives, beginning, for example, as gonorrhea yet "assuming a typhoid character" before the doctor's very eyes. One disease might impersonate another, as in the well-known propensity of intermittent fever to appear "with great exactness as a phrensy, a pleurisy, hepatitis." But these deadly transformations in the body's interior were matched by the physician's drugs; medicines were the gallant mount he rode inside the body of his imagining.³⁵

³⁵ Day, "Obstetrical Cases," 225; Geo[rge] R. Grant, "A Case in Which the Placenta Was Retained Thirteen Days after Delivery at Full Term," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1 (September 1836): 196; Charles Chester, "Four Cases of Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 4 (November 1847): 315; S. C. Farrar, "General Report on the Topography, Meteorology and Diseases of Jackson, the Capital of Mississippi," *Southern Medical Reports*, 1 (1849): 358.

The image of orthodox M.D.s as crude, aggressive doctors laying on medicines like so many blows derives from critics, nineteenth-century as well as modern, eager to condemn medicine for its past mistakes. While true in some instances (there were indeed physicians who simply practiced rote medicine, loading on the drugs), this image needs to be deepened in two ways. First, certain alternative practitioners, especially Thomsonian-style botanical doctors, also applied sickening, drastic therapies, albeit different ones. Moreover, lay people who undertook doctoring of family or neighbors often adopted aggressive medical measures themselves. (See, for example, Joseph Dupuy's lay remedy for dropsy, which included intoxicating the patient on whiskey and various botanicals, blistering the limbs and greasing them with sweet oil: "this will vomit and make the patient very sick for two or three days, but perservere [*sic*] in it." Dupuy, *Commonplace Book*, 1845–1858, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va., 43.) Not harsh medicines but the nuanced, calculated application of them—and the sense of disease as wily and elusive—is what set M.D.s apart. For an example of what medical students

"Medical care begins when corporeal events achieve the status of words," a contemporary clinician has observed.³⁶ In nineteenth-century narratives, the body was dark until the doctor's words illuminated it from the outside in. Although bodies and stories were many, every story pursued the same tale: how the doctor, working from outside the body, encountered it, ripe with signs, and labored to make it responsive to his hands and drugs. These stories are not chiefly marked by the frustrations of being pre-modern; rather, they convey a physician's sense of personal challenge in discovering each body's physicality and the journey to be taken inside. Inevitably, then, these were autobiographical stories—and here, the rural context of most southern practice lent a sharp accent to the drama—of coming on the field of a patient's body, gazing from the outside, getting inside, chasing down disease.

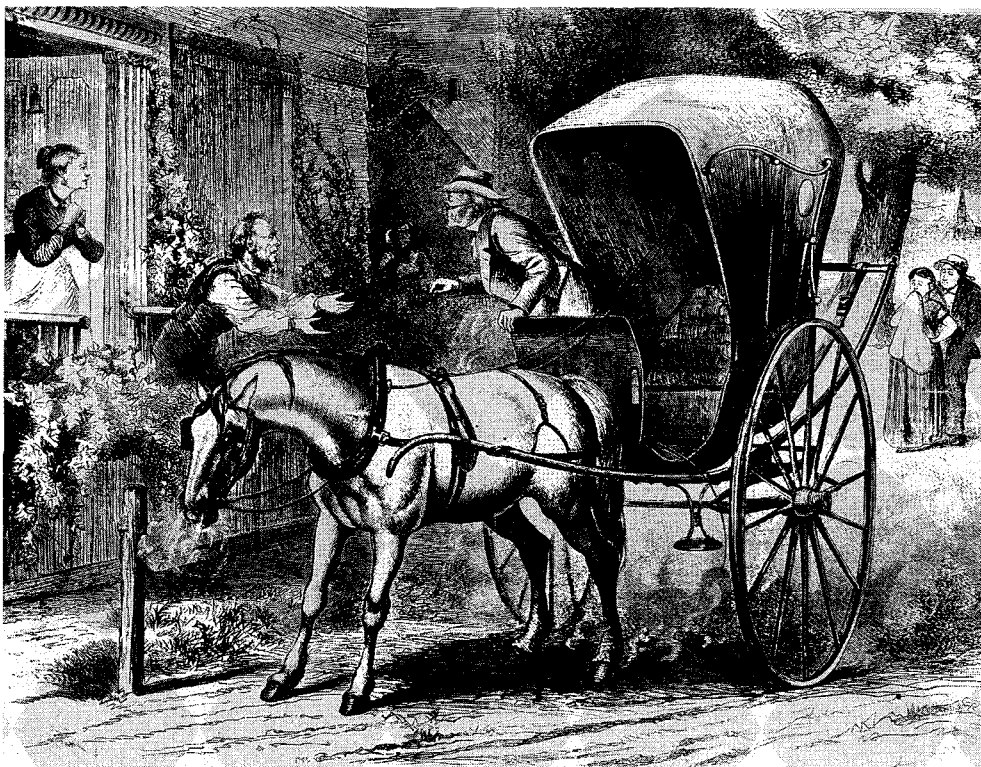
White male doctors took up bodies in this way regardless of sex or race. Although most physicians doubtless accepted many of the typical, demeaning race and gender-based stereotypes of slaves and women, the case narrative did little to strengthen these abstractions. In fact, narratives expressed a certain somatic equality at the bedside because, in practice, the physician desired access to all bodies equally, often under urgent conditions. Beginning with the body not only had obvious diagnostic aims, it also allowed the doctor to begin his labor (and later his narrative) in a quiet, controlled way. Focusing on the body established the bedside as his workplace, clearing a space among worried family and friends who also crowded close, anxious to assist in the work of definition and relief. One modern physician-author's newly discovered delight in writing full, subtle case stories "*combining . . . physiology with a [patient's] personal experience*" stems in part from the fact that medicine since the 1880s has tended to *separate* "personal experience" from physiological data.³⁷ But the nineteenth-century doctor was in a different predicament. Rather than coaxing forth his patients' personal lives, he was more likely to fear being swamped by them. He needed to hold the full flood of an individual's life at bay, at least for a while; in his close focus on the body, he did just that.

Yet the time came soon enough when the doctor had to turn from the body to the patient's biography—to the events and habits of the sick person that had led them both to the bedside moment. Because a southern physician's patients were usually his neighbors and friends, or the human property of neighbors and friends, they were known to him on a number of social levels. He saw them around town, at

typically learned about the gradations of medicines and the small but crucial variations in their "operation" achieved by mixing or timing them differently, see the twenty-one categories of therapeutic action, both "direct" and "indirect," in Philip Southall Blanton, "The Modus Operandi of Therapeutic Agents" (M.D. thesis, Medical Department of Randolph-Macon College [1848], in the Armistead-Blanton-Wallace family papers, Virginia Historical Society).

³⁶ Charon, "To Build a Case," 115.

³⁷ Oliver Sacks, "Clinical Tales," *Literature and Medicine*, 5 (1986): 21. For the phenomenological aspect of nineteenth-century rural practice, see Jacalyn Duffin, "A Rural Practice in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: The Continuing Medical Education of James Miles Langstaff," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 5 (Summer 1988): 3–28; Steven M. Stowe, "Obstetrics and the Work of Doctoring in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century American South," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 64 (Winter 1990): 540–66. Helpful in thinking about modern rural practice is Ruth Purtilo and James Sorrell, "The Ethical Dilemmas of a Rural Physician," *Hastings Center Report*, 16 (August 1986): 24–28.



A physician hurriedly arrives at the home of a family imploring him to help, in this 1871 engraving of one of rural doctor's most pivotal moments. Courtesy of the Bettmann Archive, New York City.

celebrations, in the fields; he prayed with them, traded stories with them, joked with their children. Then, sometimes with terrible swiftness, he saw them naked and broken, bleeding, in pain. Even when he did not wish to, he learned their secrets, their satisfactions and shame, and they learned something of his. While this work often was marked by a craft-like directness—just get the painful tooth out—it could turn dark and confounding, all eyes on the doctor who hesitated.

So just as he stood outside the body before moving in with words and drugs, the country physician may be seen as both outsider and insider in the social life of the sick. He was inside the community in a sense many modern physicians are not: he had few professional retreats and no way to establish a livelihood apart from living fully and each day in his community. His neighbors were his patrons and his judges; their satisfaction with his work mattered much more than that of his far-flung peers. Yet he inevitably appeared as an outsider, too. He had to be fetched from *his* place to the *other* place, and he needed help from those already around the bed of the sufferer. They had witnessed the seizure, the fall, the onset of labor, and he had not. The doctor needed to establish a work space by handling the body, but he could not give care without family and friends; he needed to hear what they had to say and make it a part of his work.

For these reasons, the physician drew on whatever he shared with his patient, and

his effort to combine biography with body may be seen in another kind of body talk in case narratives: descriptions of the sick person in a rural vernacular that the doctor could rely on as meaningful in his patient's life as well as his own. Here, the afflicted body was not measured in terms of medicine's standards for pulse and stool but likened to the surrounding rural world. Examples are everywhere in the case stories: a Kentucky man had a tumor "sprouting out below the eye." Infected glands resembled "that decayed portion of honey comb usually called bee bread." Vomit was likened to "a mass of wet gunpowder," a woman's rigid cervix to "an ivory ring," and a splintered bone to a "broken stick of tough, straight-grained wood." Doctors easily folded such plain talk into their evaluation, relying on blunt, conversational terms for how patients felt: "right smart," "diminished," "reduced," "laboring under disease," "sinking," "taking a bad turn."³⁸

In using the vernacular, physicians were not merely condescending to patients, as is often the case today when so much definitive power belongs to the physician. Instead, common language signaled how thoroughly a common world shaped the description of malady and suffering. Of course, the physician was no less the teller of his tale; the patient's biography as it entered into narratives should not be mistaken for the patient's own story. Yet once the doctor departed from a close description of the body, the plain, expansive nature of what he had to say took its power from the wider world both he and his patient knew. In this way, too, as the doctor ventured into his patient's biography, he was writing autobiography as well.

Descriptions of patients' lives were less ordered and predictable than descriptions of their bodies. For instance, the episode that led a person to summon the doctor (in modern jargon, the indispensable "history of the present illness") is not included in many narratives. Or else it is oddly placed (by modern standards) at the end of the story, where it gives some context but does not help build an argument supporting the doctor's subsequent course of action. Sometimes, the outcome of the patient's illness is recounted, but many times it is not. Maladies begin but do not end; people appear and disappear in unexplained ways that once again suggest how medical practice was shaped more by the drama of care-giving than by diagnostic goals. In short, accounts of patients' lives persuaded through a verisimilitude born of a doctor's personal experience, not because they adhered to a set of abstract standards divorced from the intensity of a doctor's bedside work.

Thus, like their maladies and their bodies, patients' lives, too, entered narratives

³⁸ The examples of rural imagery here are from A. A. P[atterson], "Patterson's Cases," 329; Jordan, "Thoughts on Cachexia Africana," 25; John Terrill Lewis, "Remarkable Case of Hemorrhage," *Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associate Sciences*, 3 (May 1830): 261; T. B. Camden, "Missed Labor," *New Orleans Journal of Medicine*, 21 (January 1868): 152; Freese, "Healing Art," 13. The reference to tissue looking like "bee bread" or honeycomb points to the fascinating way in which medical language derived both from a doctor's own observations of the natural world as well as from traditional usage among physicians. Here, Dr. Jordan's mention of "bee bread" seems to draw an analogy to honeycomb and bees in the southern countryside, as it may well have. Yet "bee bread," as a term referring to a certain kind of skin pustule, had origins at least as remote as the thirteenth century. Thus some apparently immediate, "southern" terms may in fact have been traditional "technical" terms, passed down through the centuries by medical mentors. Or, in any given case, such language may well have been truly vernacular, with southern doctors in effect reinventing technical terms by returning to nature for their metaphors. Such cross-hatching of tradition and practice was basic to the intellectual texture of a doctor's work. I am indebted to Faye Getz for pointing out to me the medieval usage. For a helpful if sometimes quirky introduction to medical language, see John H. Dirckx, *The Language of Medicine: Its Evolution, Structure, and Dynamics*, 2d edn. (New York, 1983).

in ways that expressed the rhythms of a physician's work. Patients were identified by name, sex, and by household status or neighborhood, though rarely in terms of age (except in very general terms) or previous illness (unless directly related). Some identification of the patient was necessary in published case reports to show that the case was authentic; but too much might give the patient unwelcome publicity. Most southern doctors described their white patients with an initial (as in "Mrs. A.") and their slave patients by first name and owner's initial (as in "Sam, the property of Mr. C."). Another form, reminiscent of fiction, substituted asterisks for letters in a name (as in "Mrs. F***** of Natchez"), seeming almost to entice readers to guess the identity. These usages, reflecting the social biases of slave society, were anything but consistent, however; race was a factor but not always in predictable ways. Certain slave patients remained entirely anonymous, probably in some cases because the doctor did not either ask or recall their names. Yet many patients, slave and free, were introduced in ways that would make possible their identification, with precise references to where they lived, who they were related to, or some other marker. In still other stories, patients of both races and all classes simply were named outright. The variety revealed a reality of practice: the doctor knew certain patients better than others, and certain patients claimed his attention more than others. This was as it should be. To adopt a uniform mode of identifying a patient would be to choose a less lifelike form, lessening the power of the narrative.³⁹

What counted as a "case" similarly derived from this personal register of medical work. Physicians did not equate a case with an individual patient. In Lunsford Yandell's essay on dysentery, for example, only six of the nine cases he narrates were individuals. The other three cases turn out to be inhabited by more than one person. Case 5, for instance, consists of four white children. Yandell introduces Case 4 as "a little girl, sister of the foregoing [case], about 6 years of age." These two children are white; but, in the second paragraph, the story suddenly opens up to reveal "several black children in the same family," whom Yandell also treated on successive visits. None is described individually. In another variation, the "negro boy, [age] 6 years" of Case 6 is the sole occupant of this story; Yandell describes the five days of caring for this slave child in more detail than he devotes to anyone in his essay, save for his disguised family members.⁴⁰

Clearly, the "case" as a conceptual device took its form from the social setting of each call for help, not from the identity of a single patient. Shaped by the demands

³⁹ It appears that when doctors used an initial for the patient's name, it was more often than not the correct initial, a usage that seems to have derived from note-taking shorthand as much as from a concern for confidentiality—a concern that was not highly developed before the twentieth century. It is not clear whether physicians asked their patients for permission to tell about them; I suspect most did not. For instances of physicians naming patients outright, see Dr. M. S. Watkins's blunt discussion of his own wife, beginning, "We were married on the 15th day of May, 1828, and almost immediately thereafter, Dysmenorrhoea, indicating a morbid condition of the uterus, made its appearance." And for obtuseness, it would be hard to surpass Dr. W. J. W. Kerr's account of his treatment of a woman for dropsy. He gives her full name, her hometown, comments on her urine output and appetite, and after relating that he had tapped her 108 times, drawing off nearly five gallons of urine each time, he asks heartily, "Has she an equal?" as if she were his entry in a contest. See M. S. Watkins, "Case of Mrs. Watkins' Cure of Recto-Vaginal Lacerations, by Dr. J. Marion Sims, of New-York: Reported by M. S. Watkins, M.D., of Jackson, Miss., Husband of the Patient," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 11 (March 1855): 645–47; W. J. W. Kerr, "Letter from Mississippi," *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, n.s., 5 (August 1869): 70.

⁴⁰ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 244–45, and *passim*.

of rural practice, medicine was not fundamentally one-to-one, physician and patient. The doctor was called to a household that united a diverse group of individuals. Under these conditions, and along with his sense of disease as dangerously fluid by nature, a doctor easily saw sickness traversing several bodies in one afternoon, or over a series of days, and thus conceptualized as a single case all of the sick people in this multiple challenge to his skills. Bedside medicine was not a matter of fitting people into a conceptual world of disease divorced from the doctor's immediate experience. It was a matter of encountering sickness in its individual worlds, and a moving narrative must recreate this reality.

The various ways in which patients were represented and grouped in case narratives inevitably exposed other conditions as well: how carefully or extensively the doctor took notes, for example, how well he had previously known (and liked) the patient, and how much time he found to write. These conditions, too, were fashioned into meaningful narratives not by a unified vision of science, nor by uniform training, but rather by the sanction given to autobiographical writing. A physician testified to his worthiness as a practitioner not in terms of clinical successes or biomedical discoveries but by writing convincing personal sketches of his summons to this or that household. Thus he mastered the various lives of his patients, and all of the turns and vagaries of disease, by telling a story of what happened to *him*. The absence of a rigid form for doing this is best seen not as a pre-modern sloppiness but rather as a literary roominess, a dramatic—and useful—way of seeing oneself at work.

Although this style misses by a wide mark the modern concern for patients' rights or autonomy, the doctor's personal vision nevertheless gave a defining clarity to the way lives were disrupted by injury or malady. Physicians' stories did not omit the fundamental power of illness to transform a life; in story after story, disease is compelling because it appears out of the blue to strike a person down. As Hannah, a slave, was "lifting a heavy piece of timber, she felt something give way in the lower part of the abdomen." "Mrs. L****, . . . whilst stretching out a hank of cotton yarn, suddenly felt pain" in her arm, and now the "limb is painful and almost useless." Narratives are thickly populated with people like the Alabama merchant "sitting on a chair . . . his features greatly contracted, his countenance anxious," the young Virginian "scarcely able to walk about his chamber . . . sallow, haggard," and the woman Dr. J. S. Dyer recalled only as "the misshaped patient."⁴¹

Doctors' stories, opening onto the life of the sick person, also allowed family and friends to come forward, just as they did at the bedside. Here, too, the autobiographical style freely admitted the variety in doctor-patient encounters. Sometimes, there is an edginess in the physician's account of coming in as an outsider. "When I walked into the room she looked on me with an eye of distrust," W. A. Shands reported of a new patient. Some doctors, like William P. Hort in 1847, were frustrated in the use of a particular procedure because "the prejudices of the family

⁴¹ R. L. Scruggs, "Clinical Notes from Private Practice," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 9 (July 1852): 29; E. H. Macon, "On the Diuretic Virtues of Azalea, or Honeysuckle," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, 2 (August 1837): 23; C[ourtney] J. Clark, "Remarks on the Existence of Typhoid Fever in Alabama (Communicated to Dr. J. C. Harris, of Wetumpka)," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 6 (January 1850): 464; A. A. P[aterson], "Patterson's Cases," 332–33; J. S. Dyer, "Twins, with Enormous Quantity of Liquor Amnii," *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, 2 (1852): 47.

... were very strong, and they would not tolerate it." Another practitioner urged the husband of a woman in labor to send for a consulting physician, but "the case being one of emergency, he declined calling in any other help" because it would take too much time. Though provoking great anxiety in the doctor, the husband's wish prevailed.⁴²

Other stories, however, just as freely portray harmony, or at least a shared determination, between a household and the doctor, suggesting ways a physician might successfully join the bedside group to further his recommended treatment. One physician, for example, recounted his alarm at finding a six-year-old girl blue in the face and gasping for breath when he entered the house. Though highly agitated, the girl's mother told him to wait and watch—the seizure would soon pass. She proved to be correct. Impressed, the doctor continued to rely on the woman's observations, quoting her authoritatively when he wrote the case. A Virginia physician, struggling to stanch the bleeding of a woman in labor, was "staggered by a grave proposition from the horror stricken husband . . . that all unite in prayer for divine assistance." The doctor told the man that he "would not object to his prayer, provided it was short," yet he himself ended up drawing strength from kneeling and praying with the family.⁴³

In telling the lives of patients by telling his own experience, a doctor's narrative reveals, too, how thoroughly social was the practice of medicine. Because sickness did not isolate a person from familiar surroundings, and because these surroundings were seen as essential to understanding health and illness, a patient's personal relationships were implicated in all stages of discovery and treatment. Many doctors, like H. V. Wooten in an 1850 case of a youth with remittent fever, believed that they did not need to speak with seriously ill patients before treating them as long as family and friends joined in. Wooten received enough information about the delirious youth from neighbors and a landlady—all of whom knew the young man's comings and goings—to lead to a suitable course of therapy. At times, patients' own words break into the story with particular power. A white woman giving birth screams, "O Doctor, my womb is split, and I shall die!" Mary Ann, a slave, suffering in her labor, tells the doctor, "I want you to cut me open, and take out this little devil in my belly . . . for I am determined not to die." Such words burst from the circumstances of the narrative, just as they electrified the bedside moment. They represented unforgettable—and significant—points where the case pivoted dramatically from one attitude to another. They were moments the doctor could not ignore in the telling of the case, just as he could not ignore them when engaged in treatment.⁴⁴

⁴² W. A. Shands to William Anderson, July 22, 1880, William Anderson Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia; William P. Hort, "An Enquiry Whether in the Southern States There Is a Specific Disease That Can Properly Be Called Congestive Fever; With Cases and Remarks," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 4 (July 1847): 61; Day, "Obstetrical Cases," 225. Two brief introductions to modern medical ethics that I have found useful in thinking about how physicians confront or avoid conflict with patients and their families are Alastair V. Campbell, *Moral Dilemmas in Medicine: A Coursebook in Ethics for Doctors and Nurses*, 2d edn. (New York, 1975), esp. chap. 5; and Richard Warner, *Morality in Medicine: An Introduction to Medical Ethics* (Sherman Oaks, Calif., 1980), esp. 1–15.

⁴³ The physician attending the six-year-old girl was Scruggs, "Clinical Notes," 31; the Virginian was L. Faulkner, "Cases from My Note Book and Memory," *Virginia Medical Journal*, 6 (June 1856): 465.

⁴⁴ Wooten's case is in H. V. Wooten, "On the Topography and Diseases of Lowndesboro' and Its Vicinity, During the Year 1850," *Southern Medical Reports*, 2 (1850): 341; J. C. C. Blackburn, "A Case

Both free and slave patients' lives are visible in these stories, just as their bodies are, with doctors similarly taking notes and recalling previous treatments for patients of both races. Although white doctors usually dismissed slaves' views of disease, African-American remedies—and folk remedies in general—often were treated with at least some respect; help came from strange quarters, as any working physician knew. At the very least, most doctors simply went along with the cornmeal or cabbage-leaf poultices, cobweb swabs, and hog-lard emetics. Folk remedies, Dr. R. S. Bailey reasoned, “are for the most part, harmless,” and so he “acquiesced, not desiring to lessen [patients'] confidence in the means employed,” nor, probably, their confidence in himself.⁴⁵

In all of this, too, most rural doctors do not appear to have found much use for broad, systematic racial views. Again, this is not to say that physicians saw no racial differences, only that these differences seldom were seen either as determining the specific therapy or as explaining the results. Lunsford Yandell, for instance, stated that “dysentery is not so fatal a disease with Africans as among white men.” Yet he prescribed the same therapy to patients of both races, and the concrete conditions of slave patients' lives, not racial theory, explained particular outcomes. In Yandell's Case 6, for instance, the central fact in the death of the black child was not race but slavery. The child fell victim to “the inattention of the overseer,” who neglected to regulate the boy's medicine, leading to a fatal overdose.⁴⁶

There is a particularly significant way in which slavery shaped doctors' stories of black patients that illuminates the entire issue of how a physician struggled to combine body with biography. Slave patients almost always seem alone in doctors' stories. Even slaves who are given names and voices usually have no one around them—no family or friends such as fill out the biographies of white patients. Owners sometimes lurk in the far background; but the white doctor and the black patient seem a lonely couple unlike any other in case stories. This blinkered vision of a whole class of patients suggests, once again, how narratives revealed, and shaped, what a physician was able to see and thus how he conceived of illness and caring.

Courtney J. Clark, for example, a conscientious Alabama physician who made careful bedside notes, described in 1850 his physical examination of an eighteen-year-old slave patient, Charles. Clark portrays Charles in a lively way that makes the young man engagingly human: the doctor knows Charles's medical past (“he has

of Ruptured Uterus,” *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, n.s., 5 (February 1849): 73; James S. Lawton, “Case of Rupture of the Womb,” *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, 9 (March 1854): 183.

⁴⁵ R. S. Bailey, “Essay on Medical Faith,” *Transactions of the South Carolina Medical Association* (Charleston, 1856), 20. Bailey's article is an instance in which a white doctor specifically describes certain folk medicines as African-American in origin. For other cases in which physicians admit adopting, or at least tolerating, folk remedies, see Jno. W. Richardson, “Case of Obstruction of the Intestines,” *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, 3d ser., 2 (September 1848): 209–10; Scruggs, “Clinical Notes,” 30; Archer, “Memoranda,” 10. As might be expected, given the anonymous institutional setting, poor white hospital patients also were described without reference to family; see A. H. Cenas, “Obstetrical Memoranda,” *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 4 (November 1847): 312–14. White physicians practicing in a plantation slave community known to them, however, would have to actively omit African-American friends and kin from narratives. On African-American traditional medicine, see Loudell F. Snow, *Walkin' over Medicine* (Boulder, Colo., 1993).

⁴⁶ Yandell, “Cases of Dysentery,” 245–46. See also Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery*, 10–17, 33–37.

always been a very healthy boy”), reports Charles’s self-assessments (“he felt better”), and gives his readers a vibrant, colloquial body (“his pulse was thumping away”). There is nothing in this style of seeing and writing that distinguishes Charles from Clark’s white patients, except the absence of any social setting.⁴⁷

This omission of the social group gives a strikingly different emphasis to the doctor’s struggle to fit biography together with body. The most “interesting” stories—like the most compelling bedside experiences—struck a balance between body and biography, creating a significant tension within a narrative. This occurred in stories, as we have seen, because the doctor’s vision of the body encompassed two awkwardly joined purposes. Descriptions of the body served not only to diagnose—to move inside—but also to hold at bay the clutter of the patient’s life that rushed to meet the doctor as he came into the room. The doctor, in focusing on stool and pulse, got his footing amid the urgency of a person’s pain and the family’s anxiety. Yet, at the same time, a physician needed what he found in this rushing stream of another person’s now-stricken life: information, cooperation, trust—stories from which to make his own and thus ride the tension between body and biography to a beneficial end.

The comparatively sparse biographies of slave patients, then, suggest how slavery crippled this basic level of the white doctor’s work. The tension between body and biography was not as marked because the white doctor was, in a key way, not the *slave’s* physician at all. The doctor was called by, and responsible to, the slave’s owner and thus easily saw the slave’s life as nesting within that of his master. There was no need to pursue the patient’s biography very fully or far. Seen in this less complete way by white doctors, African Americans under slavery became, in narratives, simpler, more physical patients. They could never be as “interesting” as white patients because they did not compel the doctor to achieve the precarious balance of body and biography, thus investing his own story in theirs. For, as we have seen, the storytelling energy released by the doctor’s work, and thus the meaning of care-giving itself, was in neither the practical details nor the theoretical speculations but in the way narratives tapped into his own autobiography. Uniting the struggle to know disease with the struggle to give care, and joining both success and failure in a single worthy effort, was the testifying, personal voice of the doctor.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Clark, “Remarks on the Existence,” 465–66.

⁴⁸ Whether a doctor summoned and employed by a slave owner may properly be seen as the *slave’s* doctor is an issue too large to take up here but too important not to mention. At its core is the matter of the patient’s consent to medical intervention, something deeply problematic in the instance of an individual under slavery, who might well be pressured in one way or another to accept the white physician. In addition to this, the slave patient’s dependent status left him or her open to experimentation by doctors who might not be restrained by watchful owners or their own sense of ethics. I have not found southern physicians writing about this issue. Some doctors comment on reluctant slave patients but in much the same way they take note of noncompliant free patients. Interestingly, doctors sometimes do mention slaves asserting one kind of control after medicine has failed: slaves’ frequent refusal to hand over the bodies of deceased family members for autopsy (a refusal acceded to by some owners). There is a vast literature on ethical issues of medical consent. Helpful are Tom L. Beauchamp and James F. Childress, *Principles of Biomedical Ethics* (New York, 1979); George Annas, *et al.*, *Informed Consent to Human Experimentation: The Subject’s Dilemma* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). On medical experimentation and slaves, see Todd L. Savitt, “The Use of Blacks for Medical Experimentation and Demonstration in the Old South,” *Journal of Southern History*, 45 (August 1982): 331–48. For examples of physicians being refused bodies for autopsies, see Richard

THE FAVORED PLACE OCCUPIED by the case narrative in mid-nineteenth-century medical literature thus expressed its peculiar breadth and flexibility as a text inscribing the essential realities of a doctor's daily work. This narrative style at times furthered certain "modern" habits of medical activity—focused observation, careful note-taking, reflective critique. But it was the autobiographical heart of these narratives—bedside-born, diverse in motive and purpose, and, above all, fundamentally personal—that made them dear to physicians and thus importantly resistant to a cooler, more abstract style.

And yet, for all of the open, autobiographical energy in case narratives, there remained personal aspects of a doctor's experience that these stories did not touch, or touched only obliquely. Even as it enjoyed a privileged place, the older narrative style was not without limits; there were some things about the dangerous bedside that a physician did not tell. Things not said in narratives, though obviously difficult for historians to discover, suggest the extent to which a doctor created an image of himself at work that excluded realities his narrative could not resolve. Silences and omissions thus suggest important restraints on the narrative's autobiographical voice. These restraints, perhaps ironically, may be seen as harbingers of a new way of writing in which a doctor diminished his personality in order to reconfigure his bedside practice in terms of a science in which mastery of a more impersonal method was all that needed telling.

Lunsford Yandell's case stories of dysentery may be considered once again with this in mind. Although writing about his nine patients in the typical personal style, it will be recalled, Yandell concealed the most personal dimension of all: his family tie to Cases 7, 8, and 9.⁴⁹ By silently including his family among his cases—especially his young son Willie, who died—Yandell shaped his personal tragedy into a call for medical reform, combining in one story the collapse of both his medical world and his family's happiness. And he did something else, too: as he told about his work, he left out much about his feelings, and even as he related certain details of his treatment, he omitted others. The effect was to close off avenues of his personal experience and, significantly, efface the awful contingency that marked even the most focused bedside work.

Although Yandell began his essay by portraying himself as a modest practitioner, we have seen that his aim was bluntly to warn his profession of the failure of an orthodox therapy in the face of a new, virulent dysentery. He relied on his final three cases to drive home his discovery, beginning with six-year-old Willie. Transforming his son into "W.Y.," Yandell proceeds in the typical fashion. We see something of the boy's body and his biography. Though physically "robust," he

Jarrot, "Amputation for Gangrene of the Foot, Successfully Performed on a Negro, at the Advanced Age of One Hundred and Two Years," *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, 4 (May 1849): 301–05; William T. Briggs, "A Case of Traumatic Tetanus—Treated by Inhalation of Chloroform—Result Unsuccessful," *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, 1 (February 1851): 30–38. For an unusual report of a physician designedly experimenting on patients, using "controls" and tabulating results, see S. Ames, "On the Treatment of Pneumonia," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 (January 1854): 417–41. Ames tried out different medicines on nineteen white and forty-nine black patients, apparently without informing them of his experiment.

⁴⁹ Yandell's letters to his wife's parents reveal his family ties to the three cases. Because he wrote daily letters without receiving a response, the letters have a notebook or diary-like quality.

became feverish on June 9—a “slight” fever. Nevertheless, Yandell induced vomiting, and “that evening [he] appeared well.” On June 11, however, he had “a bad night” of it, vomiting to exhaustion. His limbs were cold despite the application of flannels soaked in hot spirits. “Thirst moderate,” Yandell observes in crisp, note-taking style. “And drinks toast and slippery elm water, but asks for ice.” Willie’s pulse was rapid and his stools increasingly bloody and mucous-filled; he quickly became too weak to get out of bed. The case, which takes just under a page to relate, tumbles to a sudden end with “Great tossing . . . restlessness increasing. At 12 [midnight], becomes delirious. At half past 8 in the morning, dead.” The sickness seemed “extraordinary,” going beyond dysentery itself, as if the boy had fallen “into the collapse of cholera.” Yandell underscored the shock he felt at the approved medicine’s devastating lack of effect: “It is quite remarkable that these symptoms should have come on *while he was under the operation of calomel.*”⁵⁰

Yandell’s wife Susan (identified only as “the mother of this little boy”) and their friend Matilda Cantrell (“Miss C.”) fared much differently. Four days into Susan’s worsening symptoms—five days after Willie’s death—Yandell tried something new. Thirsty, the patient asked for ice, and he gave it to her, along with an “effervescing” drink consisting principally of bicarbonate of soda. The standard therapy discouraged giving cold water or ice to dysenteric patients. But the standard therapy was failing him once again, so Yandell broke with it and tried an “experiment” urged by the patient herself. “After eating the first lump of ice [she] felt refreshed” and slept well. In Yandell’s recollection, “the relief afforded by the change of treatment was instantaneous.” He treated Miss C. in a similar way, and she, too, recovered straightaway. The emotional heart of the tale may be heard at this point, beating just beneath Yandell’s casebook style: he wonders whether ice and the soda drink might have helped “the little boy.” While this “cannot now be determined, . . . it is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that the experiment was not made.”⁵¹

In striking contrast, Yandell’s grief, here compressed into a professional’s “regret,” bursts in full force from the letters he wrote to his wife’s parents during the crisis. Intense anxiety pushes the letters along, as Yandell sees in the failure of his therapy a dreadful prognosis. His first letter, written on June 12 “under the most painful oppression,” is a father’s at the line between hope and despair. Willie is “in the most imminent danger . . . His death, in less than 24 hours, would not surprise me! . . . O Lord! have mercy on us.” His next letter, the following morning, proclaims the loss even as it occurs: “Our dear little Wilson is still alive, but to all appearance, in the article of death! The trial to us is, indeed awful. Our hearts were

⁵⁰ Yandell, “Cases of Dysentery,” 246–47, emphasis in original. Although Yandell clearly believed that there was a well-established therapy for dysentery, it is notable that nineteenth-century medical textbook authors are relatively vague about the timing and details of the various things they recommend. One much-used textbook on the practice of medicine, for example, appeared to discourage giving too much water to dysenteric patients and certainly favored purges. But the language often is more conversational than directive. Thus the author wrote that the use of emetics in dysentery “deserve . . . much more attention . . . than they appear at present to receive,” without really recommending them. Blisters “will sometimes do considerable good . . . but I have often known them applied without any perceptible advantage.” Opium, tobacco, and other substances, he went on, can be used “under certain circumstances,” which are not spelled out. He concludes, “Some speak very favorably” of ipecac, but he does not necessarily include himself among them. See John Eberle, *A Treatise on the Practice of Medicine*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1831), 214, 219, 221.

⁵¹ Yandell, “Cases of Dysentery,” 247–50.

bound up in the lovely boy. Half the charm of our existence goes with him." Then, in a postscript, "It is all over. Even while writing the lines within, he began to gasp for his last breath. He died at half past 8 in the morning—being 5 years, 11 months & one day old . . . I am unfit to add more—" ⁵²

But, in the two weeks following Willie's death, Yandell wrote a great deal more, daily letters that rode three powerful themes, which appear only dimly or not at all in his essay. Two themes he entirely elided from his published narratives—those of religious faith and family feeling. The third theme concerned the work of doctoring but in a way quite different from that in the brisk, problem-solving essay. His letters suggest the wearying and, above all, treacherous labor of care-giving. In omitting these themes when he wrote his essay, Yandell was relying on the narrative, as did other doctors, to hold at bay the life-swallowing enormity of dread disease. And it is also clear that his decision to reshape his story in the way invited by the case narrative had specific consequences for how he saw himself at work.

In his family letters, for example, religion gave Yandell a powerful language that reached out for an explanation large enough to match his loss. Writing as Willie lay dying in the next room, Yandell yearned for "the comforts of that hope which looks beyond the grave . . . Thank God! if we may not hold the beloved one with us, we may go to where he will shortly rest." He freely admitted to being overwhelmed by grief, gently adding, "I cannot say that Susan bears it well." During the next six days, he spoke in this religious idiom, combining hope for consolation, deep personal guilt, and something close to a sense of divine injustice. Guilt was foremost, but it was mixed with questions for God. Two days after Willie's death, Yandell feared that "having been so luke-warm a Christian," his own lack of faith might have "caused this blow to fall upon our lovely child." Yet, invoking Job, he wrote bluntly—he calls it a confession—that religion was not helping him as he expected it would, as it should. In the same breath in which he says he will not "murmur" against God, he does murmur, confessing that he did not feel "resigned" to God's will as a Christian ought. Indeed, while feeling "obliged" to express resignation, he also feels "grief and shame" that God may have taken Willie in retribution for his father's tepid faith. Despite his own guilt, the sharp edge of Yandell's words is tilted toward a God who punished innocent children. ⁵³

This fierce religious craving diminished somewhat within the next few days as Yandell gradually realized that his faith had not foundered entirely. Although religious images continued to appear in his words, he quoted St. Paul's injunctions to persevere rather than Job's lament. He urged himself to see his loss in an earthly frame. "Time, I know, is the remedy," he wrote on June 21. "But how slow!" And five days later, he remarked, "Nature does not exert its usual recuperative power" over his and Susan's grief. Though "low spirited" still, it was to Nature, not God, that the doctor now turned. ⁵⁴

An even more consistent theme in Yandell's letters was family need and

⁵² Lunsford Yandell to Sarah Wendel, June 12, 1836; June 13, 1836. Yandell's letters are in the Yandell family papers, Filson Club. All citations are from this collection. At least some of the extant letters are the ones actually mailed to Susan Yandell's parents, Sarah and David Wendel, but others may be Yandell's first drafts or copies that he may have saved as part of his bedside notes.

⁵³ Lunsford Yandell to Sarah Wendel, June 13, 1836; June 15, 1836.

⁵⁴ Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 21, 1836.

obligation, especially his desire to have his wife's parents join them. Yandell wrote to assure them that the dysentery was not epidemic, and thus not a threat to them, saying in more than one way "how much we need your society to comfort us." Love was shaded by doubt, however, perhaps building on old, hidden resentments. So great was his desire to see them that it seemed to overwhelm his sense of epistolary time: almost from the beginning, he wrote as if he might daily expect a reply even though Susan's parents would scarcely have had time to receive his letters. Nevertheless, Yandell began to wonder aloud why they had not yet arrived. He began to employ an imperative epistolary style indicating injured feelings. His use of the word "singular," for instance, connotes inexplicable and perhaps inappropriate oddness: "[W]e cannot help looking upon it as a little singular that we have not heard one word from any of you," he wrote on June 18. On the 22nd, he wrote his father-in-law even more pointedly, "I hope, my dear sir, that you will not disappoint us."⁵⁵

But disappointed he was, and his sense of being neglected by family twined about his physician's sense of what good medical care required. "Susan, as may be supposed, is low spirited," Yandell wrote eight days after Willie's death. "How consolatory to her it would be . . . to have the society of her mother." Two days later, he reminded them once again that it was their own daughter who so urgently desired their company, that it was her health at stake: "she bids me urge you . . . to commence your journey without delay . . . Impatience, you know, is almost inseparable from the sickbed."⁵⁶

In erasing these themes of family and religion from his journal article, Yandell drew a sharp line between his work as a doctor and his conflicted feelings as a father and husband. That he would make this choice was not at all predictable in a medical world that favored the personal and vernacular. Yet the contrast between essay and letters makes it clear that even though the autobiographical narrative furthered a medical knowledge privileging—even celebrating—the personal context of work, it separated a physician's work from other kinds of self-awareness. In writing his essay, Yandell was able to place the medical vision of body and biography at the center of his intellectual and emotional horizon; he laid Willie to rest by bringing "W.Y." to life. In this way, he reduced his struggles with loss, family, and faith to a problem of practice and reform in his work. Moreover, in thus shying away from the deeper dimensions of the personal—in showing how the narrative in fact sharply delimited what counted as "personal"—Yandell distanced himself from the similar loss and sorrow he had witnessed many times in the homes of other frightened and grieving families. To the extent that he stepped away from the fullness of his own feelings, then, he removed himself from his local community while joining his professional one. His narrative suggests how such distancing was becoming a hallmark of professional practice.

Perhaps most intriguing of all the contrasts between his letters and his essay is the way Yandell diminished in his essay what was probably one of the most pervasive realities of routine care-giving: the particular way that medical work could out-strip and exhaust the physician, deceiving him into a misstep. As we have seen,

⁵⁵ Lunsford Yandell to Sarah Wendel, June 15, 1836; June 18, 1836. Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 22, 1836.

⁵⁶ Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 21, 1836; June 23, 1836.

practitioners' puzzlement and failure are not excluded from most case stories, nor are they from Yandell's. But his letters suggest a related dimension that narratives did not directly explore: the treacherous contingency at the heart of all that the physician tried to do with the bodies and biographies of sick people. Even a "conscientious man" discovered that doing his work meant mastering the shifting, dirty details of care-giving while, simultaneously, realizing that an insight or discovery might not follow from this mastery; insight might come from any quarter, at any time. The key was to be neither careless of detail nor stupefied by it, so that the saving insight might be recognized and seized.

In his article, Yandell spoke of his bedside activities candidly but in the typically brisk, imperative voice of a professional in full stride. Although he admitted to being baffled at certain points, his narrative nonetheless portrayed his work as something orchestrated: he "instructed" his patients; he "ordered" things to be done. But who was carrying out these orders? From his letters, it is clear that Yandell was doing most, if not all, of the tiring work himself. He did consult with a colleague, Dr. Benjamin Dudley; but with the possible exception of a slave assistant (he never mentions one directly), Yandell, like most rural doctors fully engaged in a difficult case, worked alone. He compounded, timed, and administered his medicines himself; he handled stool and pulse; he stayed up nights, sleeping only when his patients slept, acceding, as they did, to the rhythm of illness.⁵⁷

The nature and course of the disease, too, are cast in a much more problematic light in Yandell's letters. In his essay, he styled the dysentery as a cleanly identifiable foe, epidemic in force. Yet, in his letters, Yandell was struck by the oddness of the affliction. "This disorder seems almost confined to my family," while the neighborhood as a whole was healthy. Moreover, in contrast to the passive, "found" patients in his narrative, the letters highlight the ways in which patients' feelings and perceptions shaped his care. Yandell reported in his article, for instance, that one of his wife's relapses resulted from an adverse reaction to some milk and mush she had eaten for breakfast. In his letter, however, he revealed that this assessment was Susan's own diagnosis, which he later adopted.⁵⁸

Overall, the comparatively distant physician of the essay is shown to have been much swayed by Susan's despair and grief, to the extent that both of them became bound together by the illness, rather than by his ministrations. The power of illness dictated its own story. "We are, indeed, in great darkness," Yandell wrote his in-laws on June 21. "And, like dying men, catch at straws to keep our hearts from utterly sinking." His fragile efforts drove him to focus on himself rather than his patient. After more than ten days of bedside anxiety, he craved release, aware that his exhaustion clouded his care-giving: "I want occupation. Books do not interest me, as formerly, and my duties in the sick chamber forbid my seeking employment without. Thus depressed, I do not afford that salutary excitement which flows from a bright countenance & cheerful manner."⁵⁹

All of this bears, finally, on the fact that Yandell's narrative, like most other case

⁵⁷ The reference to Dr. Dudley is in Yandell's June 19 letter to Sarah Wendel.

⁵⁸ Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 21, 1836. Yandell records the mush and milk explanation in "Cases of Dysentery," 248, and in his letter to David Wendel, June 23, 1836.

⁵⁹ Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 24, 1836.

stories, is a therapeutic tale. Here, too, his letters reveal that much of his experience slipped through the looser weave of his essay. A physician hoped his tale would be one of finding the means to lift the patient, in Yandell's sweet phrase, to the "rising ground" of convalescence. We can recall that his final two cases were this kind of story, relating the discovery of the ice and the soda drink that so relieved his wife and friend. In his letters, though, he writes a markedly different tale.⁶⁰

The right therapy, we have seen, was itself a character in narratives, making itself known immediately in many stories, a shining ally through which the doctor made himself known, first in the body and then in the broader life of his patient. Yandell's soda and ice therapy has such a presence in his essay. Susan's symptoms had reached "an alarming height," he writes, but the "first piece of ice and soda-powder" gave her marked relief; the change was "instantaneous," its power as extraordinary as the virulence of the disease. In his letters, however, the soda drink is noted without fanfare, as merely making Susan "much more comfortable." This therapy followed others and seems, from Yandell's terseness, very likely to have its own successor in the course of treatment. The flat, diary-like letters have no heroes, only necessities, and they suggest the extent to which happenstance and experiment structured doctors' work in difficult cases, and how narratives later memorialized what was at first only dimly seen or even fortuitously discovered.⁶¹

But was the ice and soda an accidental find? Like so many doctors, Yandell does not say, in his essay, how he came to make a particular trial. Just as typically, he does not explore his understanding of the chemical or physiological transformations entailed in the therapy. He simply remarks, almost as an afterthought, that "the [bicarbonate] salts had set up a different secretion" that carried the sick body to higher ground.⁶² The bedside, not the pathology, remains at the center of his tale; the dramatic reversal of fortune is the best plot.

Yet we can also recall that, in his narrative, Yandell expressed "regret" that he had not given the ice and soda to "the boy." And among Yandell's letters are a few notes from Willie's last days that suggest the provenance of the new therapy. Yandell's discovery of the ice, like much else about medical work, is revealed as rooted in the awful contingencies that seethed just below the surface of all medical narratives. As he wrote his daily letters, Yandell recorded some of his son's last words and moments. "I'm sick so often," Willie said at one point, and, prefiguring Yandell's own judgment that the boy's affliction was more cruel than ordinary dysentery, "I expect I'll have smallpox next and then cholera—and that is worse than any, isn't it Pa?" Yandell told of how he carried Willie to the window to watch a parade of militiamen and of how "his last effort to rally was on Sunday, in the afternoon when he heard his puppy bark. My darling boy Wilson."⁶³

Most terribly in retrospect, "he said Pa couldn't I have a little ice." But it seems the father, staying with the approved therapy, said no, even though Willie allowed it could be "a piece so small that you could hardly see it." The moment of

⁶⁰ Lunsford Yandell to David Wendel, June 23, 1836.

⁶¹ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 249; Lunsford Yandell to Sarah Wendel, June 19, 1836.

⁶² Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 250.

⁶³ Yandell recorded Willie's words on the reverse, blank side of a printed sheet announcing the publication of the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, which is among the series of letters to his in-laws in the Yandell Papers, Filson Club.

therapeutic discovery thus presented itself, but the doctor did not grasp it. "Thirst moderate," Yandell says of "W.Y." afterwards, and he drops the barest hint: "[He] drinks . . . slippery elm water, but asks for ice." Later, his wife asked for ice, too. Thinking it over, watching Susan recover, and then writing his essay, Yandell buried this terrible turn in the case. In the light of his fatal adherence to orthodoxy, the essay's last paragraph, in which Yandell calmly notes the weather conditions surrounding those days in June, seems more than a conventional bow toward tradition. It seems an attempt to pull his story aloft, into a realm where illness was more like a grand force of nature and less like the messy force of circumstance around the bedside.⁶⁴

Yandell's two ways of writing about Willie's death might be read to suggest many things about how a doctor, father, and husband chose to cope with medical failure and personal tragedy. Of importance here is the way the difference between his letters and his formal essay reveals some key limits to the personal case-narrative style and thus to the meaning of medical work. That is, even during the period of its greatest influence, the autobiographical voice diminished many of the most particular—yet far-reaching—aspects of everyday practice: the drudgery, the guilt, the accidents, the wavering sense of Providence. Yandell's writings suggest how and why physicians let this material fall out of their stories. It was not so much that giving expression to these aspects of practice was not "modern" but, rather, that the misgivings and confusion encountered every day were too painful, too intellectually exhausting to recount. To become so fully personal was to acknowledge too openly the terrible chaos that lay just beneath one's daily efforts. Among other things, then, finding the right words for opportunities missed or chances not taken was too daunting a literary task, and thus doctors like Yandell limited the personal disclosure at the heart of seeing themselves at work. These limits would expand and toughen in the decades to come, as physicians came to see a different kind of professional authority to be gained by further loosening the tie between work and self. For these physicians, modernity would consist of doing what Yandell did through his case-narrative essay: become more remote, impersonal figures in their own stories, permitting the harrowing bedside contingencies of practice—the pieces of ice given or not given—silently to melt away.

⁶⁴ Yandell, "Cases of Dysentery," 247, 250. The source of Willie's words is in n. 63 above.

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French Volunteer Nursing and the Myth of War Experience in World War I

MARGARET H. DARROW

"IT SEEMS PARADOXICAL to unite these two words: woman and war." "Women and war . . . [I]f there are two words made not to go together, it is these two: war and women." The first quotation is from a speech to a women's organization in Paris in 1912, the second, from an article in *L'opinion publique* appearing early in 1940.¹ World War I had done nothing to clarify a relationship between women and war in France. Even the title of the *L'opinion publique* article, "Les femmes et la guerre," mirrored that of several World War I publications decades before.² Although a few writers had placed women "during" or, most daringly, "in" the war, as had Gaston Rageot in *La française dans la guerre* (1918),³ the most common connection was "and." Women and war could be juxtaposed, but what had the one to do with the other? Although the trenches of World War I ran through northern France, which meant that some French women lived in its midst, and although many French women worked to support the war effort directly, as munitions workers or military employees, for example, or indirectly, by replacing men in civilian jobs, those who made public opinion in France had difficulty envisioning a relationship between women and the war.⁴

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¹ François de Witt-Guizot, *La femme et la guerre: Comment une femme peut-elle servir la France en temps de guerre?* Deux conférences données à l'Action sociale de la femme, Paris, 25 avril et 6 mai, 1912 (Auton, 1913); Hélène Français, "Les femmes et la guerre," *L'opinion publique* (April 19, 1940).

² Frédéric Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre de 1914* (Paris, 1915); Henri Robert, "La femme et la guerre," *La revue mondiale* (May 1917): 243-57; Henry Spont, *La femme et la guerre* (Paris, 1916); Louise Zeys, "Les femmes et la guerre," *Revue des deux mondes*, 257 (September-October 1916): 175-204. Similar titles include Berthem-Bontoux [Berthe M. Bontoux], *Les françaises et la grande guerre* (Paris, 1917); Maurice Donnay, *La parisienne et la guerre* (Paris, 1916); Jules Combarieu, *Les jeunes filles françaises et la guerre* (Paris, 1916).

³ Gaston Rageot, *La française dans la guerre* (Paris, 1918). Also see Comtesse de Courson, *La femme française pendant la guerre* (Paris, n.d.); L. L. Klotz, "La femme française pendant la guerre," *La renaissance politique, économique, littéraire et artistique*, année 5, no. 3 (February 3, 1917): 2564-66; Marie de la Hire, *La femme française: Son activité pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1917).

⁴ Although there have been a number of interesting articles about French women in World War I, such as Steven D. Hause, "More Minerva Than Mars: The French Women's Rights Campaign and the First World War," in Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 99-113; and Marie-Monique Huss, "Pronatalism and the Popular Ideology of the Child in Wartime France: The Evidence of the Picture Postcard," in Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 1988), 329-67, there is only one major study on French women and the war, Françoise Thébaud, *La femme au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris, 1986).

The main obstacle to conceiving of a feminine war experience—and it was a palisade rather than a stumbling block—was the purpose of the war for French masculinity. In “The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes,” literary critic Nancy Huston argues that the defining characteristic of war is its masculinity; war is the only human activity that signals masculinity to the same extent that childbirth signals femininity.⁵ And the centrality of masculinity to war (and vice versa) seems further heightened in societies that have recently suffered a military defeat, such as Germany after World War I, the United States after the Vietnam War⁶—and France after the Franco-Prussian War. Unquestionably, French society in the late nineteenth century experienced this humiliating defeat as a failure of French masculinity; the nationalist revival after 1900 was also an exercise in what Susan Jeffords has called the “remasculinization of culture.” Nationalists such as Charles Maurras, Paul Déroulède, Charles Péguy, and Maurice Barrès attacked luxury, capitalism, urbanization, secularism, feminism, socialism, democracy, modernism, Jews, Protestants, Freemasons—the list could go on—as alien “germs” of both degeneracy and effeminacy that had undermined the French fighting spirit. They couched national revival in terms of virility and rampant male honor.⁷ And this revival was to be achieved in combat—with Germany, of course—to restore France to the brotherhood of dominant nations.

For women to have anything to do with this next war, the supreme test of revived French masculinity, would obviously vitiate the whole point of the contest. Huston argues that women are always perceived as dangerously weakening and polluting to masculinity in war. This was especially the case in the French conception of the war that would be World War I. The initial French policy was to clear the war zone of women and to prohibit women, even nurses, from visiting it; the war was to occur in a zone of pure masculinity. The feminine should cease to exist. The shortage of titles placing women “during” the war and the even fewer that acknowledged women were also “in” or “of” the war reflects this concept: women did not exist “during” or “in” the war; their place was in a different spatial dimension, called in English the “home front” but in French, the rear (*arrière*), where, removed from the masculine war, femininity hibernated in a state of suspended animation.

In the late nineteenth century, the European powers and the United States shared a similar conception of gender and war and a rhetoric that elevated the relationship between them into the Myth of War Experience, as historian George Mosse has called it: war was noble, chivalric, and, above all, masculine. By transforming weak and callow youths into ardent, resolute men, war saved the

⁵ Nancy Huston, “The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes,” in Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 119–36.

⁶ George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (London, 1990); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, Stephen Conway, trans., in collaboration with Erica Carter and Chris Turner, 2 vols. (Minneapolis, 1987–89); Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989).

⁷ Karen Offen, “Exploring the Sexual Politics of Republican Nationalism,” in Robert Tombs, ed., *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889–1918* (New York, 1991), 195–209; Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston, 1989); Annelise Maugue, *L'identité masculine en crise au tournant du siècle, 1871–1914* (Paris, 1987); Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993); Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

nation from degeneracy and restored it to its virile tradition.⁸ In France, the discourse of the War Myth had become the signature tune of the nationalist Right in the 1890s, but in the decade of war scares that preceded the actual declaration of war in 1914, it played across the whole political spectrum⁹—and it left French women immobilized, frozen out of the discussion of the envisioned war. The only relationship the War Myth admitted between women and war was a hostile one, that of opponents to war, anti-militarists, pacifists, and spies.¹⁰ It is significant that today, the two women many French people associate with World War I are Hélène Brion, jailed for pacifism, and Mata Hari, executed for spying. This was the discourse that French women and their allies had to address before and during the war to claim a war experience for women.

The difficulty almost all commentators displayed in relating women to the war is evident in their ambivalent views of all the possible postures women could take toward the war, from the most traditional, of waiting, praying, and grieving, to the most radical, of donning uniforms and serving in the military.¹¹ Although commentators trivialized female munitions workers by calling them “munitionnettes,” many worried that they were, in fact, war profiteers, working not for their country’s defense but for the scandalously high wages, which they then wasted on luxuries. Women who did charity work for soldiers, refugees, or war orphans might merely be filling their social calendars with a pretense of usefulness. Women who “adopted” soldiers by correspondence mainly were interested in flirtation. Not even war widows were blameless; their mourning could be insincere—a mere fashion statement—or worse, excessive.¹² A truly patriotic widow would make sure her display of grief did not damage morale.

Of all these activities, volunteer nursing offers us the best example of the pervasive unease with any connection between women and the war. If it were

⁸ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

⁹ Eugen Weber, *The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959).

¹⁰ Joyce Berkman, “Feminism, War, and Peace Politics: The Case of World War I,” in Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, eds., *Women, Militarism and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory* (Savage, Md., 1990), 141–60, discusses the common assumptions of the late nineteenth century that associated women and pacifism. But there was also a common association of women and treachery, exploited in a spate of fiction featuring female spies, such as Marcel Prévost, *Les anges gardiens*; Ernest Daudet, *L’espionne*; and L. Sollard, *L’espionne des Balkans*, all published in 1913.

¹¹ Unlike the British and American governments, the French military did not authorize uniformed women’s auxiliary services. However, it did employ women, in some numbers by 1918, and a few of these women wore uniforms, such as the women drivers in the military automobile service.

¹² Michel Corday, *The Paris Front: An Unpublished Diary: 1914–1918* (New York, 1934), 148; and Maria Léra [Marc Hély], *Les provinces françaises pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1918), 7–8, criticize munitions workers as war profiteers. Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 26–30; and Maurice Donnay, *Lettres à une dame blanche* (Paris, 1917), 7–8, criticize charity ladies. Berthem-Bontoux, *Les françaises et la grande guerre*, 187, accuses women who volunteered to write to servicemen (*marraines*) of engaging in “a little romantic amusement, a self-indulgence in elegant flirtation that one hides under the cloak of charity.” Abel Hermant, *La vie à Paris (1916)* (Paris [1917]), 113–14, criticizes ostentatious widows. Marcel Boulenger, *Charlotte en guerre ou le Front de Paris* (Paris, 1917); Lucien Descaves, *La maison anxieuse* (Paris, 1916); Louis Narquet, “La française de demain d’après sa psychologie de guerre,” *La revue bleue*, 56, nos. 18, 19, 20 (September 21–October 26, 1918): 563–66, 599–602, 629–34; and Donnay, *La parisienne et la guerre*, all present thoroughgoing indictments of women’s behavior during the war, covering these points and more. André Ducasse, Jacques Meyer, and Gabriel Perreux, in *Vie et mort des français, 1914–1918* (Paris, 1959); and Perreux’s later work, *La vie quotidienne des civils en France pendant la grande guerre* (Paris, 1966), serve up these criticisms again, this time not as commentary but as History.



FIGURE 1: Sister Gabrielle in a military hospital, Clermont en Argonne, 1916. This was the image of the nurse that the French Red Cross tried to emulate. Courtesy of the Etablissement Cinématographique et Photographique des Armées (ECPA), Ivry-sur-Seine.

possible to conceive of a feminine sphere consecrated to the French masculine war effort rather than hostile to it, the nurse offered the best possible parallel to the soldier. In the iconography of posters and postcards, the begrimed, bloody, unshaven *poilu*¹³ is paired with the clean, solicitous nurse, white-robed and veiled: the masculine and the feminine in wartime guise. (See Figure 1.) The French government rewarded the valor of nurses with decorations; nurses were even sanctified if they died in the line of duty. Thus, of all the French women involved in World War I, nurses would seem to have been the most worthy, if not to stand level with the soldier in the national pantheon, at least to be included in the tableau in a supporting role.

In fact, the intrusion of the nurse into the war story barely survived the war itself. While the stone and bronze of war memorials and the pages of fiction and popular memoirs commemorate the trench fighter, nurses have disappeared from the national memory.¹⁴ Although praised at the time—Maurice Donnay compared Noëlle Roger's work *Les carnets d'une infirmière* (1915) to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*¹⁵—the personal accounts of war nursing published during and immediately after the

¹³ *Poilu* was the nickname of French soldiers in World War I, while the British were "tommies" and Americans "doughboys."

¹⁴ Annette Becker, *Les monuments aux morts: Patrimoine et mémoire de la grande guerre* (Paris, n.d.), found only one war memorial that included the figure of a nurse, in the chapel of Douaumont.

¹⁵ Donnay, *Lettres à une dame blanche*, 72–73.

war soon went out of print and today are difficult to find. When I tell French librarians and archivists that I am researching women in France during World War I, they frequently begin to talk about the Resistance. World War II produced legends of female heroism; World War I did not. Since the volunteer nurses of World War I had the best chance to create a story of women's war experience, the fact that no such story entered the culture is significant. By examining the way commentators conceived of nursing and the way that nurses themselves understood their wartime service, we can begin to understand why women's own contributions to the war failed to find a place in French memory.

This article analyzes wartime commentary on "French women and the war" written by propagandists, apologists, and critics, to understand French conceptions of the war nurse, her characteristics, role, and proper relationship to the war. It also investigates the personal accounts of French war nurses to see how they saw themselves, their work, and their relationship to France, to the soldiers, and to the war. In both bodies of literature, we find the true nurse—called *la vraie*—the angel of mercy and devoted surrogate mother to the *petit poilu*, whose feminine nature supports the masculine war effort, shadowed by the false nurse, suspected of putting her own, that is, feminine, interests ahead of the national, that is, masculine, ones. Instead of supporting the masculine war, the false nurse tried to hijack it, to undermine the virile national regeneration that was the justification of the war and its ultimate purpose. And even when the true nurse won out, as she usually does in nurses' personal accounts, relegating the false nurse to the category of the exception that proves the rule, she faced an even more potent rival for the Nation's attention, the object of her devotion, the wounded soldier. All agreed that volunteer nursing was personal, rather than abstract, national service, that while the soldier served France, the nurse served the soldier. Her patriotism was worked on his body, her commitment to the national cause was expressed in her devotion to him. Nurses' memoirs became eulogies to the suffering and martyrdom of French masculinity.

WITHIN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY Myth of [Masculine] War Experience, there was no place for women. Since war was to be a contest of masculinity, women would have no direct role—in fact, there should be no feminine war experience at all. The torrent of pre-war drum-beating literature almost never anticipated a role for women in the conflict some Frenchmen so ardently envisioned. For example, French nationalist Maurice Barrès, in the novel *L'appel au soldat*, depicted the relationship of women to the national war against Germany in one subordinate phrase: "The sinister cries of death fell poetically like dusk upon the little towns and tore the hearts of women, who swore, however, to be worthy of the heroes."¹⁶

Nonetheless, spurred by a series of crises in the decade before World War I—the war in Morocco in 1907–1908, the Agadir crisis in 1911, and the debate over the extension of military service in 1913—some who contemplated a war with Germany

¹⁶ Maurice Barrès, *L'appel au soldat* (Paris [1899]), 50. In other pro-war fiction, such as Art Roë, *Pingot et moi* (Paris, 1896); and Ernest Psichari, *L'appel des armes* (Paris, 1913), women impinge on the warrior-heroes only to signal their heterosexuality.

began to discuss what women's role in "tomorrow's war" might be. One voice in this discussion came from Parisian feminist circles. In response to opponents of women's suffrage who argued that women should not vote because they did not perform military service, Marguerite Durand, the suffragist leader and editor of the feminist daily *La fronde*, and Madeleine Pelletier, a militant socialist feminist, both called for the establishment of national service for women.¹⁷ A group of young women petitioned the Ministry of War with the same idea: "Our dearest hope is to be able to offer France a part of our youth and thus to cooperate with our brothers in the national defense," they wrote.¹⁸ Catholic social activism, stimulated by the campaign to canonize Joan of Arc, provided another perspective from which to examine the conundrum of women and war. In 1912, the Catholic organization L'Action Sociale de la Femme heard two lectures from François de Witt-Guizot entitled "Woman and War: How a Woman May Serve France in Wartime," which I quoted in introducing this article. In May of 1913, the 10th Congrès Jeanne D'Arc, held at the Institut Catholique in Paris, included a session on "Women and Patriotism."¹⁹ But the main proponent of wartime service for women was the French Red Cross. As its publicists never tired of pointing out, Germany had beaten France in 1870 not only by the force of masculine arms but also by the organization of feminine hands; Germany had fielded ten times the number of volunteer nurses as had France.²⁰ In the aftermath of that war, the first of the three French Red Cross organizations, the Society to Aid Military Wounded (Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires) laid claim to a clear wartime mission. In the years before World War I, Red Cross recruiting and fund-raising campaigns, annual conferences, and publications kept the issue before the public.²¹

From this effort began to emerge a vision of women's war service. It was to be patriotic, it was to be national, and it was to call forth devotion and self-sacrifice equivalent to men's. But it was to be feminine: supportive and nonviolent. For the vast majority of commentators, nursing the wounded best fit the bill. This conclusion attests to the success of Red Cross publicity and lobbying. A law in 1910, revised in 1913, gave trained Red Cross volunteers a defined place under military authority within the military medical service.²² And the French government agreed

¹⁷ Léon Abensour, *Les vaillantes: Héroïnes, martyres et remplaçantes* (Paris, 1917), 31–35; Steven C. Hause with Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 149; and Madeleine Pelletier, *La femme en lutte pour ses droits* (Paris, 1908), 41. I thank Steven C. Hause for finding the reference in Pelletier's writing.

¹⁸ Cited in Andrée d'Alix, *La croix-rouge française: Le rôle patriotique des femmes* (Paris, 1914), 5.

¹⁹ Witt-Guizot, *La femme et la guerre*; Georges Goyau, preface to Alix, *La croix-rouge française*, xiv–xv; "Les femmes au service du pays," *Lectures pour tous* (September 15, 1916): 1805.

²⁰ Witt-Guizot, *La femme et la guerre*, 22; Alix, *La croix-rouge française*, 37–38.

²¹ "Feminine Assistance in Wartime" was a favorite topic at Red Cross conferences; it was, for example, the title of the keynote speech by Dr. César Legrand in the 1906 conference and the topic addressed by Dr. Berthier at the 1910 conference. See César Legrand, *L'assistance féminine en temps de guerre* (Paris, 1907); and Véronique Leroux-Hugon, "Les dames blanches," in Yvonne Knibiehler, et al., *Cornettes et blouses blanches: Les infirmières dans la société française (1880–1980)* (Paris, 1984), 82. Besides Alix's promotional history of the French Red Cross, 1914 also saw the publication of Louis Lespine, *Les hôpitaux de la croix-rouge française en temps de guerre: Comment les organiser et les faire classer* (Paris, 1914). And there were frequent articles about Red Cross doings in the Parisian press. See, for example, *Le monde illustré* (December 3, 1898); *Le petit parisien* (November 29, 1899); and *Le temps* (September 27 and October 1, 1907).

²² Leroux-Hugon, "Les dames blanches," 83–85.

to reinforce the staff of male nurses and orderlies who served in military hospitals with women, opening a national school of nursing at Salpêtrière in 1907 to train them.²³ The new role found popular confirmation in fiction. Late nineteenth-century French fiction abounded in social novels (*romans de mœurs*) that shocked and entertained readers with the risqué affairs of society ladies who, in the last few pages, usually either died in repentance or retired to convents in order to restore order to society. A novel by Georges Clement Lechartier in 1914 introduced a new and more adventurous moral ending. His heroine, after enjoying a couple of hundred pages of Parisian high life, has a moral conversion and—joins the Red Cross! With her husband, another reformed debauché, she volunteers for service in Morocco, and the book ends with the two reclaimed souls sailing off into the sunset, having dedicated their future lives to their sacred country—"Sacrifice, devotion to others, to the Fatherland, heroism."²⁴

Previous to the Red Cross's successful publicity campaigns, nursing was not popularly imagined as patriotic—it was not even considered especially feminine. The work of nursing was unpleasant, manual labor, most akin to that of a maid-of-all-work. Nurses scrubbed wards, emptied bed pans, boiled bandages, and carried coal, as well as washing and feeding patients and changing dressings. Both men and women performed this work. Nor did people think of nursing as benevolent service to the sick. Working-class men and women did it for pay—and very low pay at that—while nuns labored in self-mortifying service to God.²⁵

The new ethos of nursing, as articulated in Lechartier's novel and in Red Cross propaganda, took over the nun's vocation, turned it from God to *la patrie*, and characterized it as distinctly feminine. (See Figure 2.) First of all, Red Cross promoters cast volunteer nursing as a national service for women parallel to military service for men. M. Levasseur, writing about the Red Cross in 1899 in *Le petit parisien*, maintained, "When the whole nation rises up to defend the soil and patrimony of France, the two sexes have an equal duty with different functions: the men to combat and the women to the ambulance!"²⁶ Louis Lespine, in his 1914 instruction manual for Red Cross organizations, claimed that volunteer nurses "are

²³ Véronique Leroux-Hugon, "Emergence de la profession," in Knibiehler, *et al.*, *Cornettes et blouses blanches*, 63–64. By the outbreak of the war in 1914, there were still only ninety-six of these career military nurses. Leroux-Hugon, "Les dames blanches," 96–107.

²⁴ Georges-Clement Lechartier, *La confession d'une femme du monde* (Paris, 1914), 287.

²⁵ The dominance of nuns in hospitals was one of the main reasons that Minister of the Interior Emile Combes, a rabid anti-cleric, supported a national school for military nurses, to laicize and professionalize the nursing corps in order to redirect it toward more nationalist ends and more "scientific" methods. There was a contentious debate about the nature of nursing at the turn of the century with three models in competition, each involving class as well as different notions of femininity and work. One was the nurse as a servant, one of the "vaillantes filles du peuple" that municipal nursing courses hoped to attract to work for the embryonic welfare system. The second was the nurse as a "religieuse laïque" in devoted service to the (male) doctor and secular science. The third, promoted by Dr. Anna Hamilton, often called the French Florence Nightingale, was the nurse as a trained professional. Leroux-Hugon argues that professionalism was advancing until World War I, when it was overwhelmed by wartime "devotion," a setback, she claims, from which nursing as a profession has yet to recover. Véronique Leroux-Hugon, "L'infirmière au début du XX^e siècle: Nouveau métier et tâches traditionnelles," *Le mouvement social*, no. 140 (July–September 1987): 55–68; Leroux-Hugon, "Les dames blanches," 83–208.

²⁶ *Le petit parisien* (November 29, 1899). Legrand, *L'assistance féminine*, 5, says virtually the same thing. And when, in 1908, deputy Louis Martin paralleled military service to motherhood in a speech to the Women's Rights conference in Paris, a member of the audience spoke up to add, "In wartime,

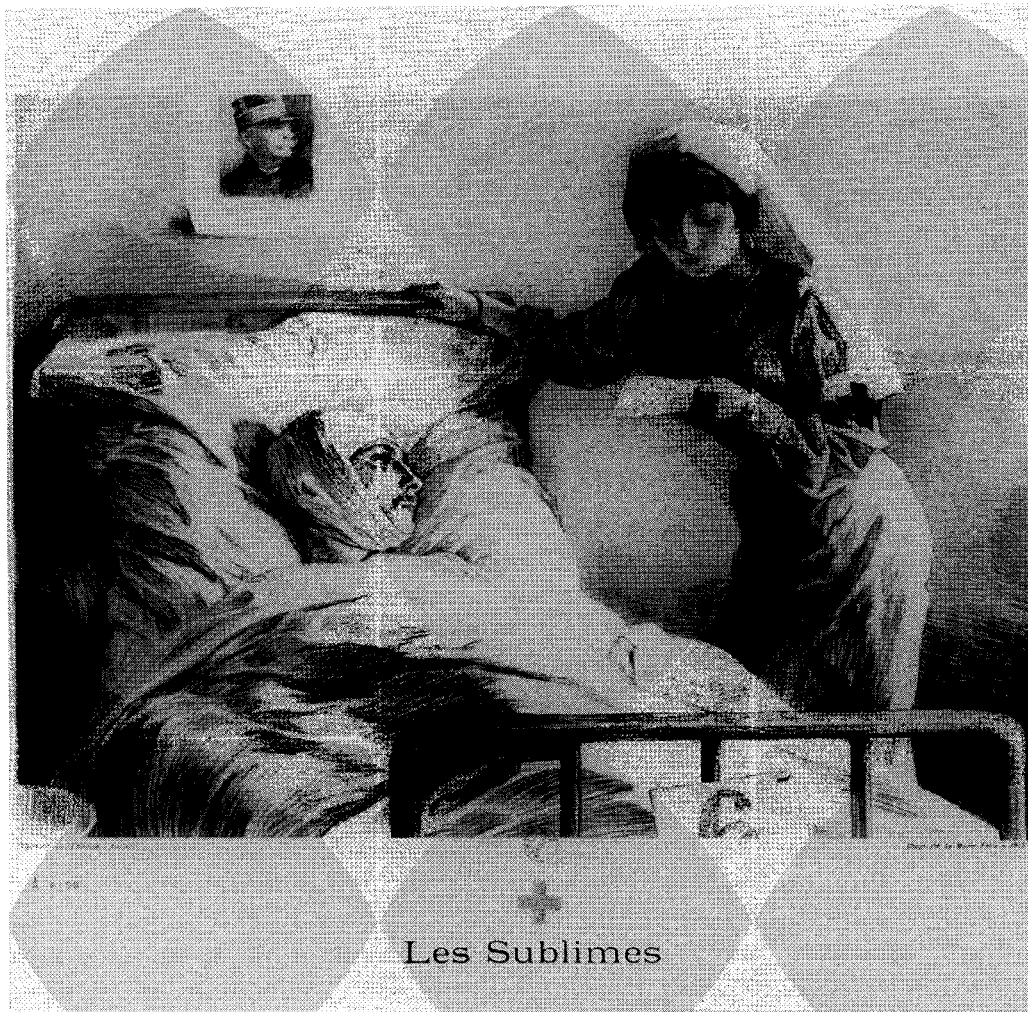


FIGURE 2: The French Red Cross nurse in popular imagination, virginal and devoted. Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

also a voluntary reserve of the national army.” Dr. César Legrand, another Red Cross activist, even raised the possibility of nurse heroines, women killed in battle.²⁷

Secondly, in the new ethos, nursing was to be a vocation, requiring the spirituality, self-abnegation, and perfect submission to authority of a nun. Inevitably, this was the main message of Catholic social activists such as Witt-Guizot,²⁸ but Red Cross publicists made use of this aspect as well. In her 1914 book, *La croix-rouge française: Le rôle patriotique des femmes*, Andrée d’Alix claimed that a Red Cross nurse—*une vraie*—required difficult training, not only in science and medical practice but especially in self-mastery and self-abnegation. Admitting that

women also nurse the wounded.” *Congrès national des droits civils et du suffrage des femmes, compte rendu*, published by Mme. Oddo Deflou (Paris, 1910), 193.

²⁷ Lespine, *Les hôpitaux*, v; Legrand, *L’assistance féminine*, 275–83.

²⁸ Witt-Guizot, *La femme et la guerre*, 31, 37.

not all women were up to this, she sketched a hierarchy of devotion with the “true” nurses at the top, like nuns, perfect in their devotion, served by a lay sisterhood who could volunteer to work in the laundry, kitchen, and supply room.²⁹ Georges Goyau, a spokesman for Catholic social activism who introduced the book, claimed that religious service was more than a metaphor for volunteer nursing: deprived by the expulsion of religious orders of the opportunity to dedicate themselves to God, French women had “invented a new set of duties for themselves” by dedicating themselves to nursing.³⁰

Thirdly, the Red Cross portrayed nursing as naturally feminine, the extension and embodiment of motherhood. For example, in its story on the Red Cross hospital at Auteuil, *Le monde illustré* claimed that nurses’ curative powers came as much from their female hearts as from their medical training.³¹ Dr. Legrand was the most eloquent on the subject; all aspects of nursing were, he argued, merely femininity refined:

The cult of the sick: this is her natural tenderness channeled toward a determined goal. The essence of medical cleanliness: this is her need for order and her art of embellishment put to work in the fight against the germ. A special cultivation, a little technical knowledge: this is her original curiosity profitably used. Calm, cool: this is the patience of a mother or a wife . . . Obedience: this is the single acknowledgement of her muscular inferiority, and, moreover, it is the law. Military courage, heroism: this is a mother’s devotion and incomparable self-abnegation brought to the task of helping the wounded. In truth, what a tiny distance a woman must go to change herself into a nurse!³²

If femininity so perfectly prepared women for wartime nursing, could it admit them to that preserve and testing ground of masculinity, the battlefield? The Military Medical Corps firmly believed it could not; the statute of 1913 relegated women to service in hospitals in the rear. But Red Cross promoters were not so sure. For example, while Dr. Legrand admitted that current military plans denied any possibility of Red Cross nurses on or near the battlefield, he speculated that if a war should prove lengthy, the rigid exclusion of women from front-line medical units might be difficult to maintain. He counseled Red Cross committees to fall in with the army’s current regulations but to be prepared—even to hold back funds—in anticipation of “a new mission.”³³

Nursing, promoted as women’s wartime service, was envisioned as feminine devotion nationalized, militarized, and even combat-ready but still held back from the masculine, military war experience. Georges Goyau articulated—and then denied—the contradiction embedded in this conception. For him, the Red Cross was an alternative army, fighting an alternative war.

Thus [the Red Cross nurses] direct the struggle against death: they are ready . . . for this kind of war in which women will be the combatants and will, from battlefield to battlefield, track the other war, the homicidal war. Thanks to these women, the rule of charity will be established . . . next to the rule of force: separating these two realms, between the plain

²⁹ Alix, *La croix-rouge française*, 46–50.

³⁰ Goyau preface to Alix, *La croix-rouge française*, xii.

³¹ *Le monde illustré* (December 3, 1898).

³² Legrand, *L’assistance féminine*, 284–85.

³³ Legrand, *L’assistance féminine*, 141–64, 197–98, 238–43.

where they kill each other and the oasis of human tenderness where the women labor, is hardly a fold of the landscape.³⁴

Hardly a fold of landscape but a universe of values! Goyau claimed that between the two "reigns a very close union," but his vision creates the strong impression that they were hostile to one another. The nurses were fighting a war against the male war. If nurses were the war's enemies, were they consequently enemies of its central value, the masculine nation? To ward off this conclusion, Goyau hastily added that the Red Cross was not anti-militaristic, claiming as proof that its leading members were the widows and daughters of officers.

So it was that France entered World War I with only one clear concept of women's potential contribution to war, volunteer nursing, but that concept contradicted itself at its core. The question remained open: Could there be any relationship between the antithetical concepts of woman and war? Nursing, promoted as the means of reconciling the two, left their fundamental hostility intact.

DESPITE THE ENDURING CONTRADICTION, when France declared war on Germany, nursing was the main way that French women could imagine themselves participating. The deluge of requests to set up hospitals, organize ambulances, and nurse at home or on the battlefield caught the French government entirely off guard. Unprepared, suspicious, and at times frankly hostile to women's desire to serve, the government requested women to stop volunteering.³⁵ Nonetheless, nursing war wounded remained conceptually and rhetorically (if not numerically) the quintessential feminine war service. As Léon Abensour wrote in 1917, "Whoever thinks of French women in 1914 sees a young nurse draped in a white or blue veil, very gay despite her monastic headdress displaying the blood-red cross. The Red Cross is, of all the immense activities of French women, the best known and the most popular, in truth we could say the only one known and the only popular one."³⁶ Compared with the meager pre-war discussion of women's role in war, wartime literature on this subject is voluminous. In virtually all of it, whether documentary, laudatory, or critical, nursing takes pride of place.³⁷ Nonetheless, wartime literature failed to resolve the contradictions of pre-war discourse. For most commentators, volunteer nursing was the ultimate feminine war service, yet whether it was *military* service, whether the nurse was truly engaged in the masculine war, remained in dispute. Catholic commentators tried to deal seriously, if a trifle nervously, with the precedent set by their recently beatified heroine, Joan of Arc; although Joan was called to fight, modern women were called to nurse, they maintained.³⁸ Feminists

³⁴ Goyau preface to Alix, *La croix-rouge française*, vi-vii.

³⁵ Leroux-Hugon, "Les dames blanches," 84-87. *Le petit parisien* ran an "Appel aux Femmes" on August 6, 1914, requesting that women stop volunteering to be nurses. It suggested that there were more appropriate ways they could serve the war, such as replacing men in offices, sewing uniforms, or running child-care centers for the abandoned offspring of widowers in the military. But mainly, it requested women to stay home.

³⁶ Abensour, *Les vaillantes*, 85.

³⁷ The only exception is the small literature honoring women resisters and spies in occupied France. See, for example, Antoine Redier, *La guerre des femmes* (Paris, 1924).

³⁸ L'Abbé Stéphan Coubé, *La patriotisme de la femme française* (Paris, 1916), xii-xiii. Also see Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 8-10.

more bluntly equated masculine soldiering and feminine nursing. For example, Louise Zeys, a feminist journalist, called attention to the joint mobilization of soldiers and Red Cross volunteers: "During the night of the first of August, all the nurses on *active duty* received their mobilization orders . . . [T]hey joined the military trains that carried our troops toward the East, and in compartments reserved for nurses in *uniform* they were acclaimed by all as new comrades. Weren't they going to campaign together?"³⁹ Mobilized together, performing a common duty, nurses and soldiers would share the same risks, the same war: "They will share, in part, the life and dangers of the fighters," claimed Abensour, the leading contemporary chronicler of French feminism.⁴⁰

But such an easy assimilation of the feminine to the masculine military project disturbed, even revolted, many observers. An article in *La grande revue* in 1915 condemned nurses' pretensions to military service as silly and futile self-aggrandizement: "an army of beauty fanatically mobilizing to serve the army of force and dying for it."⁴¹ The author did not find this mobilization noble, she found it ridiculous. Military officials and satirists alike condemned women's apparent lust for uniforms of their own.⁴² Conservative columnist Lucien Descaves chastised nurses for "playing" at nursing when the men they were pretending to emulate certainly were not playing at soldiering. In particular, he condemned women's desire for recognition for their war service; if heroes can die in obscurity, he sanctimoniously intoned, then nurses should not seek publicity.⁴³

Much less controversial, although much more difficult to integrate into the masculine experience of war, was the depiction of the nurse as simultaneously mother and nun and definitely all woman, repeating and expanding the themes that had emerged before the war. Religious imagery, of course, arose easily from the history of nursing. Of the previous models, the poor working women and the nun, only the nun embodied any of the qualities that volunteer nursing wished to project. Red Cross uniforms copied nuns' habits with their coifes and impractical long veils in a conscious effort to appropriate to their wearers not only the qualities of nuns—selflessness, devotion, and asexuality—but also the respect and privileges society accorded them, for example, the ability to travel alone and to associate closely, even intimately, with men not of their immediate family, without jeopardizing their reputations or their caste. (See Figure 3.) Virtually all the eulogists of volunteer nursing stressed the nurse's vocation and her devotion, and some, such as Jack de Bussy in her novel *Refugiée et infirmière de guerre*, made the parallel with religious service explicit. The narrator states, "I am very highly impressed by the monastic aspect of all these women, the volunteer nurses who have broken with civilian life, that is to say, home, family, friends, habits, to consecrate themselves to

³⁹ Zeys, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 177, italics in original.

⁴⁰ Abensour, *Les vaillantes*, 88.

⁴¹ Aurel [Madame Alfred Mortier], "Moeurs de guerre," *La grande revue*, 19 (November 1915): 34.

⁴² Dr. Félix Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire à Paris pendant la guerre: Villemin, 1914-1919* (Paris, 1923), 145; José Roussel-Lépine, "Une ambulance de gare," *Revue des deux mondes* (June 1 and 15, 1916): 667; Corday, *Paris Front*, 12.

⁴³ Descaves, *La maison anxieuse*, 81-83; see similar remarks in Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 19-20. Roussel-Lépine, "Une ambulance de gare," and Geneviève Duhamel, *Ces dames de l'hôpital* 336 (Paris, 1917), both tell stories of Red Cross volunteers playing at setting up a hospital and being completely overwhelmed when a real war catches up with them.



DES DAMES DE LA CROIX-ROUGE PARTENT POUR LA BELGIQUE

L'admirable élan des volontaires français et étrangers qui demandent à s'enrôler sous les plis du drapeau tricolore n'a d'égal que le magnifique dévouement des femmes. Toutes demandent à se rendre utiles. Des mères, des épouses, des sœurs de combattants

partent elles aussi pour les champs de batailles prodiguer leurs soins, leurs encouragements, leurs consolations aux malheureux blessés. A Paris et dans la plupart des villes de province, des ambulances ont été organisées hâtivement, mais de façon parfaite.

FIGURE 3: "The Red Cross Ladies Depart for Belgium." *Le miroir* of August 10, 1914, celebrates the "magnificent devotion" of French womanhood. "Mothers, wives, and sisters of the fighters also leave for the battlefields to generously provide the wounded with care, encouragement, and consolation." Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

the War Wounded.”⁴⁴ But publicists emphasized not only the monastic costume, the renunciation of the world, and the devotion to a Cause but also the ideal of absolute self-abnegation and obedience. According to Georges Docquois’ introduction to Geneviève Duhamel’s novel, *Ces dames de l’hôpital* 336, the nurse was an anonymous acolyte in a secular religion in which the doctor stood in for Christ: “For their pure devotion, their wordless pity, they desire no other recompense than these five words from the doctor in charge: ‘I am satisfied with you.’”⁴⁵ In her book, Marcelle Cappy dispensed with the doctor/priest and depicted the nurse as a guardian angel, wrestling directly with the devil for the soul of her patient. “For these wounded creatures, the nurse must dispute with death . . . She is the savior, goodness in battle against the forces of darkness.”⁴⁶ The volunteer nurse-as-nun became so common an image that it soon attracted satirical treatment as well. José Roussel-Lépine, in his long, gently mocking article in the *Revue des deux mondes* on the creation of a Red Cross station, depicted nursing as an absurd religious ritual—“Dressings as sacred rite!”—rather than work or science.⁴⁷

The most popular image of all was the nurse as mother and the *petit poilu* as her infant. A song of the period, “Adieux à l’hôpital,” explained,

There we found rest
and to bandage our boobos [*bobos*]
women’s hands . . .
Goodbye to you, the good Mama
whose devotion is without limit.
Sweet nurse
now when everything is black
soften the despair
like a mother!⁴⁸

From nun to mother, the image of the volunteer nurse rested on essential womanhood. In wartime novels, it was not training that made a nurse, it was femininity. Charles Foley’s *Sylvette et son blessé*, for example, contrasted the failure of Madame Heltoux, a scientifically educated but unfemininely ambitious nurse, with the success of Sylvette, devoid of training but brimming with a tender heart, feminine devotion, and “grandmother’s recipes and old wives’ remedies.”⁴⁹ Even for Drs. Lejars and Mignon, who ran wartime military hospitals and demanded thoroughly professional staffs, a nurse’s womanly qualities were as important as her technical training. It was women’s voices, their way of moving, bending over, or sitting at the bedside, and “the infinitely consoling balm of womanly hearts” that

⁴⁴ Jack de Bussy, *Refugiée et infirmière de guerre* (Paris, 1915), 154. Also see Paul Duplessis de Pouzilhac, *Les mouettes aux croix-rouges: Contes médicaux de guerre* (Paris, 1917); and Abensour, *Les vaillantes*.

⁴⁵ Docquois preface to Duhamel, *Ces dames de l’hôpital*, 7. The preface states that Duhamel, a prolific novelist, was also a Red Cross nurse.

⁴⁶ Marcelle Cappy, *Une voix de femme dans la mêlée* (Paris, 1917), 135.

⁴⁷ Roussel-Lépine, “Une ambulance de gare,” 673–74.

⁴⁸ Leon Schneider, *Au bruit du canon: Poésies et souvenirs de guerre* (Paris, n.d.).

⁴⁹ Charles Foley, *Sylvette et son blessé* (Paris, 1917), 46. Roussel-Lépine, “Une ambulance de gare,” 682, also contrasted the “certified, oh! so certified volunteer, so self-sufficient, so worthy” with the true nurse “good, simple, and true. Your sister rather than your master, with all a real woman’s sweetness, intelligence, spirit, and devotion.”

reassured the wounded in ways male attendants could not.⁵⁰ For others, as "Adieux à l'hôpital" intoned, it was women's hands.⁵¹ But the most exalted cure-all was a woman's smile. "The smile of the French nurse has served the national defense well," according to Republican politician Louis Barthou.⁵² This was the image of nursing that captured the public imagination—and the female imagination in particular. And Jules Combarieu noted in his wartime study of girls' education:

To be a nurse! To have a right to this title of humility that the most beautiful ideas have made a title of nobility! To wear—with coquetry, of course, like the brave, young officers wear theirs—this blue and white uniform to which its insignia of devotion add the mysticism of a religious robe and which constitutes, in time of war, the supreme elegance of womanhood! Since the beginning of the war, this was the dream of many young girls.⁵³

The hands, the smile, the heart, the womanly elegance—they were to achieve a larger victory than to ease the pain of a few wounded soldiers; they were to heal France! Many writers claimed that the masculine camaraderie of the trenches was solving "The Social Question"; several eulogists of the Red Cross made similar claims for volunteer nursing. The Red Cross promoted its volunteers not only as feminine but as "ladylike." Their unpaid status, which to Red Cross publicists guaranteed their selfless devotion to the Nation, did, in fact, guarantee self-selection by social class; few working-class or even middle-class women could afford to pay their own way. Socialist pacifist Marcelle Cappy criticized the Red Cross for shutting out the vocation and nursing talent of less well-to-do women,⁵⁴ but for many commentators, the Red Cross's elitism promoted national reconciliation. Devoid of the independence, sexuality, and material self-interest that coarsened the femininity of lower-class women, Red Cross nurses exuded a "moral force," according to Dr. Lejars.⁵⁵ Through the experience of nursing the poor (but heroic) peasants and workers, elite young French women would learn to esteem "the popular soul," while their patients would learn the error of their revolutionary doctrines.

Later, after the war, when life returns to normal, there is bound to be a reciprocal and more penetrating understanding between [the nurse] and the men of the people . . . Because of her, yesterday's wounded, who is tomorrow's electorate, will, after the war, mistrust revolutionary doctrines and be saner and clearer thinking. The Red Cross, healer of the body, will have contributed to making a new soul in generations of Frenchmen.⁵⁶

It will not escape the reader that it was the lower class that was supposed to modify its politics and that future electors were envisioned as male; this was a vision of

⁵⁰ Dr. Alfred Mignon, *Service de santé pendant la guerre 1914–1918*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1926–27), 4: 207–08, 299. Also see Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 143–48.

⁵¹ Also see M. Eydoux-Demians, *Notes d'une infirmière 1914* (Paris, 1915), 19, "the softness of feminine hands." Repeated by historian Gabriel Perreux, *La vie quotidienne*, 445, who claims that volunteer nurses did miracles "effortlessly" with their "delicate and skillful fingers."

⁵² Louis Barthou, *L'effort de la femme française* (Paris, 1917), 17. Perreux, *La vie quotidienne*, 44, also repeats this cliché.

⁵³ Combarieu, *Les jeunes filles françaises et la guerre*, 136.

⁵⁴ Cappy, *Une voix de femme*, 81–82.

⁵⁵ Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 161–63.

⁵⁶ Courson, *La femme française*, 41–42. Also see René d'Ulmes, *Auprès des blessés* (Paris, 1916), 29–30, for a similar claim.

national reconciliation based on an acceptance of the status quo in terms of both class and gender subordination. The nurse, far from being an adventurous or emancipating figure, was presented as powerfully conservative.

But although devotion and motherhood were values beyond criticism, some aspects of femininity as embodied in volunteer nursing drew attacks. If, to Red Cross supporters, femininity translated into self-sacrifice and conservation of the social order, to Red Cross critics femininity spelled frivolity, fashion, sexuality, romantic adventure, and gender chaos. The Red Cross, critics claimed, licensed women to pursue selfish desires, obviously at odds with France's wartime interests, under a hypocrite's veil of patriotic devotion.

The nun, secularized and trained, was the model of the "true" nurse; her opposite, the society lady, was the favorite example of the rival image, the false nurse. Pre-war novels about "emancipated women" had already identified educated women and career women with fashionable circles; all had abandoned their natural feminine devotion to home and family for lives of pure selfishness.⁵⁷ Translated to the wartime scene, the society lady embraced, rather than abandoned, the world, the flesh, and the devil and volunteered to nurse, not to serve the Nation but to serve her own ambitions, to increase her social capital and political clout, to fill her empty hours, and to pursue sexual pleasure.⁵⁸ While the true nurse inhabited a cell, with the nursing manual at her bedside like a breviary,⁵⁹ the "fashion-plate nurse" arrived in a limousine, dripping with jewelry and self-importance. "With sounding horn and sparkling brass, the limousine advances ceremonially down the teeming street. Inside, bosom high, all in white, pearls at her ears, a Red Cross nurse . . . Grave gentlemen gallantly salute the *grande dame* who is playing angel."⁶⁰ But commentary and fiction, both during and after the war, evoked plots of conversion made conventional by the pre-war pseudo-moralistic social novels and anti-feminist novels; again and again, the act of nursing war victims converted society ladies to true femininity. After depicting the frivolous behavior of ladies who volunteered to nurse at his hospital, Dr. Lejars concluded, "A few among them understood; they renounced their habits and their worldly illusions, and made themselves humble and silent."⁶¹

The image of the society lady as nurse informed almost all of the critics of Red Cross nurses, from socialist pacifists like Marcelle Cappy, quoted above, to Catholic moralists and nationalists. A typical claim was that women volunteered only in order to be able to wear the Red Cross uniform, which had quickly become a

⁵⁷ Mauge, *L'identité masculine en crise*, 54–64.

⁵⁸ The characterization of the false nurse as worldly permeates the criticism. See, for example, Cappy, *Une voix de femme*, 81; Narquet, "La française de demain," 599; and Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 145.

⁵⁹ Roussel-Lépine, "Une ambulance de gare," 669.

⁶⁰ Cappy, *Une voix de femme*, 84–85. Also see Paul d'Ivoi [Paul Deleutre], *Femmes et gosses héroïques* (Paris, 1915), 2–4. Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 145, complained that in August 1914 you could see Red Cross uniforms everywhere, "in the streets and even at five o'clock in automobiles on the Avenue du Blois."

⁶¹ Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 145. Many novels used this plot, for example: de Bussy, *Refugiée*; Pierre de Valrose, *Une âme d'amante pendant la guerre 1914* (Paris, 1916); Michel Provins, *Ceux d'hier, ceux d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1916). See Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994), 141–42, for a discussion of a postwar novel by Henry Bordeaux, *Ménages d'après guerre* (1921), employing the same device. Victor Margueritte's infamous novel, *La garçonne* (1922), also drew upon it.

fashionable sign of social prestige. French women, especially Parisian women, moralists lamented, would go to any length in order to be in fashion. Foley describes his villain, the false nurse Madame Heltoux, as "the characteristic type of Parisienne before the war," whose aim is to be fashionable at all costs.⁶² For such women, war service was just another aspect of their social lives, "a sport, a new game, a more enthralling variation of flirtation and the tango."⁶³ What mattered to them was to be admitted to a "chic" hospital run by other society ladies; the new social delineator, smirked anti-feminist humorist Marcel Boulenger, was the answer to the question, "In which hospital does she work?"⁶⁴ Rather than promoting a social *union sacrée*, volunteer nursing had created a new arena of social competition. According to conservative columnist Lucien Descaves, Red Cross volunteers "cared for the poor wounded as if they were their brothers, it is true; but they only have brothers, no sisters."⁶⁵

More serious charges followed. If the ideal volunteer was trained as a nurse and obedient as a nun, fashionable women who rushed to volunteer ("les élégantes de la première heure") were both ignorant and independent. Used to getting their own way, they refused to subordinate themselves to a doctor's authority. For Dr. Lejars, the perfect nurse was silent and anonymous—and society ladies were neither.⁶⁶ Their conception of nursing was to give out smiles and treats to handsome young officers—no dirty, coarse, or painful duties. Docquois imagined the reactions of one such: "And then, and then, when I heard that we're only going to get common soldiers, well, my dear, really! It's no longer the least bit interesting . . . What! Having had all these lovely coifes made to turn the head of some vulgar, penniless, foot-soldier?"⁶⁷ But the portrait is even more damning; Docquois suggested that this woman quit her hospital to flee the threatened invasion. And he was not alone in branding the nurse-society lady a coward; nurses' uniforms, we learn from several commentators, were especially popular in Bordeaux during the fall of 1914, linking nurses with the "cowardly" behavior of the government that had abandoned Paris to take refuge there. One critic went further, claiming a disproportionate number of nurses in the southern resort town of Biarritz!⁶⁸ Although none of the serious commentators accused "false" nurses of treason, such stories appeared so

⁶² Foley, *Sylvette*, 7.

⁶³ Abensour, *Les vaillantes*, 92. Also see Narquet, "La française de demain," 566.

⁶⁴ Boulenger, *Charlotte*, 124–25. Baroness Jane Michaux recalled, "At this moment [December 1914], all of society congregates in the hospitals. Naturally, there are chic hospitals and ones that aren't so chic. Nothing can equal Madame Nobody's job when she is allowed to enter Lady Big Shot's ward, unless it is John Doe's delight, invalidated out of the army and now permitted to fold sheets with a countess!" Michaux, *En marge du drame: Journal d'une parisienne pendant la guerre, 1914–1915* (Paris, 1916), 135.

⁶⁵ Descaves, *La maison anxieuse*, 80–81.

⁶⁶ Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 145. Lejars insisted repeatedly that nurses must be silent and anonymous, and he carried out this injunction in his own work. His chapter on hospital personnel named all the male staff—colleagues, medical assistants, pharmacists, even orderlies—but not a single nurse. In the whole book, he named only one nurse, in an aside in the chapter on paperwork. Mignon, *Service de santé*, 1: 39–40, also insisted on self-effacement and deplored independence, but he did not carry this opinion so far as to refuse to celebrate his nurses' achievements. On pp. 300–01, he recorded the citations of heroic nurses in his sector.

⁶⁷ Docquois, preface to Duhamel, *Ces dames de l'hôpital*, 10.

⁶⁸ Corday, *Paris Front*, 12; Michaux, *En marge du drame*, 47; Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 102; Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 13.

frequently in newspapers and novels early in the war that British General Walter Kirk suspected all "secretive females with fancy Red Cross outfits" in the war zone of being "an obvious means of access for hostile agents."⁶⁹

The key failing of the society lady as a nurse, however, was her sexuality.⁷⁰ When represented as a nun or a mother, the nurse was asexual—and so was her patient; the soldier became a soul to be saved or a child to be nurtured. The fashionable woman, by contrast, brought sexuality with her; her patients were, first and foremost, men. Thus she exploded the neat gender sequestration that the war rhetoric had ordained, that masculinity was locked in solitary combat on the battlefield while femininity waited in abeyance at home.

Almost all the contemporary light fiction that dealt with wartime nursing featured, as the main plot device, the romantic connection between a volunteer nurse and her soldier (usually an officer) patient. Sometimes, it is the nurse's maternal care that shelters romance, as in Foley's *Sylvette*; sometimes, more shocking, it is the nurse's nun-like posture. In Maxime Formont's novel *La dame blanche*, the wounded soldiers follow the heroine with their eyes. "When they saw her pass by, in her immaculate robe of a seraphim, she gave the impression of a young girl by the transparency of her face, the freshness of her eyes. But her charm was that of a woman."⁷¹ Who and what was she, they speculated: a *mondaine*? a *femme libre*? an actress? And they were, of course, right; her virgin's veil did indeed cover a dark past of sexual experience. This was the plot convention already laid down in Lechartier's pre-war novel—volunteer nursing as redemption for fallen women—but here it expanded to imbue nursing itself with erotic implications. All the popular genres in which nursing figured during the war, whether social novels, novels of moral uplift, satiric sketches, comedy, even the soldiers' trench newspapers, portrayed nursing as essentially a means of intimate contact between upper-class young women and strange men, and all such contact was represented as romantic.⁷² It was a romantic connection with a purpose; in these stories, love of country came a distant second to love of a good man. A girl's true aim in volunteering to nurse war wounded was not to serve her country, it was to further her own feminine interests. Such was the equivocal result of conceptualizing women's war service as personal devotion; in these stories, instead of seeing the Nation in the body of her wounded patient, the nurse was seeing the man.

⁶⁹ Cited in Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage* (London, 1992), 125. See *Le petit parisien* (October 15 and December 11, 1914) for stories about "false" nurses; and Pierre Decourcelle, *Les marchands de patrie*, a serial novel published in *Le journal* in 1916, for a typical nursing espionage story. One French prefect was sufficiently influenced by this suspicion to worry about security at hospitals: "There are too many women in the hospitals and ambulances," he complained. Archives Nationales, F⁷ 12939, Haute-Vienne.

⁷⁰ Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 1: 79–100, identifies in postwar German *Freikorps* novels the contrast of the true "White Nurse," maternal, protective, and conservative, with the false "Red Nurse," who is a working-class whore. Red Cross propaganda had ensured that no "Red Nurses" appeared in French wartime writing, but the society lady as nurse admitted some of the sexuality of the "Red Nurse" that had been erased from the "White Nurse" in both cultures.

⁷¹ Maxime Formont, *La dame blanche* (Paris, 1917), 15–16.

⁷² See Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War, 1914–1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World War*, Helen McPhail, trans. (Providence, R.I., 1992), 131. And it is not only contemporary fiction that viewed the relationship between nurses and war wounded in this way; this view has been repeated by historians such as Perreux, *La vie quotidienne*, 53–54, who described romance between nurse and patient as the rule rather than the exception.

This view was not confined to the pages of fiction; critics accused women of volunteering to nurse either from a frivolous addiction to flirtation, deprived by the absence of young men in wartime society, or from the single-minded pursuit of matrimony.⁷³ The renowned psychologist Dr. Toulouse linked the rush of young women to volunteer to the great losses of young men in the first months of the war. But he did not believe that the causal connection was women's patriotism; instead, it was women's recognition that their chances on the marriage market were being suddenly reduced. "The husband hunt has become a big deal for the young woman and remarkably assists her duty to aid the wounded," he cynically remarked.⁷⁴

Behind these criticisms lurked the fear that nursing spelled the end of sexual innocence for young women. In turn-of-the-century novels and moralistic tracts, the scene of the young woman clandestinely reading a medical book had come to represent the corruption of feminine innocence by modern life.⁷⁵ Now, the literary trope had become reality. As Dr. Toulouse sermonized, "The war came, and the most sheltered young woman enrolled in the nursing corps. The mystery of the other sex, which had been strictly kept from her, was brusquely revealed in the beds of pain of wounded soldiers . . . The young woman now knows. She is warned, she no longer lowers her eyes like before, and she sees clearly ahead of her, in the world and in life."⁷⁶ Toulouse did not entirely condemn this eventuality, even though he regretted it. But, for others, French soldiers' demonstrations of manliness in the trenches would come to nothing if wartime female emancipation cast France back into the pit of gender chaos. What was the point of the war at all if women's war experience undermined men's? Formont drove the point home in his novel *La dame blanche*: nursing was not supposed to emancipate women, it was supposed to make evident and acceptable their necessary subordination to men. As a result of her nursing, the heroine rejected her pre-war feminism: "'Now,' she went on, 'man is our champion, our hero, even our god. A poor god who dies for us, to save us from the Beast's fury! Woman realizes what she owes him.'"⁷⁷ But the specter of nursing as an open road to sexual emancipation, cultivated in this novel, as in so many others, was too strong to be dissipated by such a transparent ritual of conversion.⁷⁸

Critical evaluations of nurses were not confined to a few misogynists and conservatives; they pervaded the wartime literature that explored women's relationship to the war. Commentator after commentator, republicans, socialists, and

⁷³ Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 19–20; Berthem-Bontoux, *Les françaises et la grande guerre*, 148; Combarieu, *Les jeunes filles françaises et la guerre*, 139; and an editorial in the feminist periodical, *La voix des femmes*, no. 8 (December 19, 1917), by Louise Bodin, "Voyons, mesdames . . ."

⁷⁴ Dr. Toulouse, *La réforme sociale: Question sexuelle de la femme* (Paris, 1918), 71–72.

⁷⁵ Mireille Dottin-Orsini, *Cette femme qu'ils disent fatale: Textes et images de la misogynie fin-de-siècle* (Paris, 1993), 246.

⁷⁶ Toulouse, *La réforme sociale*, 12. In postwar fiction, wartime nursing served the same plot purposes as stolen glances into medical texts in pre-war fiction. See Maugue, *L'identité masculine en crise*, 177. Not all commentators saw this revelation as inevitable, however. Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*, 24, suggested ways to fight against it. If unmarried women were allowed to volunteer at all, they must be confined to dressing "the finger, just the hand, and perhaps the arm."

⁷⁷ Formont, *La dame blanche*, 25.

⁷⁸ In most wartime writing, these fears floated below the surface, but after the war they emerged in a wave of misogyny, such as the vicious pamphlet by Lt. Georges Grandjean, *De la dépravation . . . des femmes . . . des décadences!* (Paris, 1919), which called upon men, having won the battle against the Boche, now to win the battle of the sexes at home and put women back in their place. See Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*.

feminists, as well as clerics and conservatives, in chapters usually titled "White Angels," followed their eulogies to nurses' devotion and feminine healing powers with doses of criticism. Some commentaries quickly dismissed "abuses" as insignificant,⁷⁹ but in others, the depiction of the "false nurse"—ambitious, frivolous, wanton—claimed as much or more space than that of *la vraie*.⁸⁰ Without doubt, the volunteer nurse, although held up as the best symbol of feminine support for the war, was a disturbing figure.

THOSE WHO EXPERIENCED World War I found it notoriously difficult to write about. Europeans by 1914 were heirs to a coherent set of concepts, images, and a glamorous rhetoric that purported to convey the true meaning of war, full of honor, courage, heroism, self-sacrifice, and manliness.⁸¹ During World War I, official rhetoric in France perpetuated this view, in which, for example, soldiers always "fell on the field of honor." Although Paul Fussell argues that the "eye wash" churned out by the press repulsed British trench fighters,⁸² Annick Cochet's study of French soldiers' letters and Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau's study of trench newspapers find that in their own writings soldiers sustained some of the same myths.⁸³ Especially early in the war, there was no other vocabulary available. Gradually, realist, pessimist, and even absurdist and pacifist modes began to challenge the traditional heroic rhetoric, beginning with Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire* (1916). In the 1930s, a new wave of war literature appeared that deepened the bitter, ironic current, for example, Céline's *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (1932) and Jean Renoir's film, *La grande illusion* (1937).⁸⁴ Although these works have entered the canon, at the time they represented a small ripple in a tidal wave of the Myth of War Experience from which, George Mosse argues, not even such pacifist novels as Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* were exempt.⁸⁵

Women's wartime experience was even more constrained by myth than men's.

⁷⁹ For example, Combarieu, *Les jeunes filles françaises et la guerre*; and Courson, *La femme française*.

⁸⁰ For example, Masson, *Les femmes et la guerre*; Abensour, *Les vaillantes*; Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*; Berthem-Bontoux, *Les françaises et la grande guerre*; Duplessis de Pouzilac, *Les mouettes aux croix-rouges*. This is also true of the novels, which often pitted good nurses against bad, as in Foley, *Sylvette*; de Bussy, *Refugiée*; and Duhamet, *Ces dames de l'hôpital*.

⁸¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975); John Cruickshank, *Variations on Catastrophe: Some French Responses to the Great War* (Oxford, 1982); Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London, 1990); Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

⁸² Fussell, *Great War*, 86–88. Nosheen Khan, *Women's Poetry of the First World War* (Lexington, Ky., 1988), 6, demonstrates that the British trench-fighter poets also coded this "high diction" as feminine even though its main practitioners before the war—Rudyard Kipling, Sir Henry Newbolt, W. E. Henley, Maurice Barrès—had been men. The trench-fighter poets seem to have taken particular umbrage when women adopted this rhetoric—witness Robert Graves's diatribe about the "Little Mother" letter in *Goodbye to All That* (1929). Khan also claims, p. 19, that Wilfred Owen wrote "Dulce et Decorum Est" as a response to a popular poem by Jessie Pope.

⁸³ Annick Cochet, *L'opinion et le moral des soldats en 1916 d'après les archives du contrôle postal*, 2 vols. (Thèse pour le doctorat, Paris X-Nanterre, 1986). Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War*, 82–84, indicates that trench newspapers honored the "cult of the dead" among trench fighters and, 168–73, that although defending German courage, they also reproduced the stereotypes of German cruelty.

⁸⁴ Mary Jean Green, "1914–1918: La grande guerre," in Denis Hollier, ed., *De la littérature française* (Paris, 1993), 795–801.

⁸⁵ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 198–99. Also see Rose Maria Bracco, *Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War, 1919–1939* (Providence, R.I., 1993).

Men, writing from their authenticating experience as soldiers, could place themselves within the rhetoric of heroism, or on its margins, the better to engage it in a kind of guerrilla war, exploding its concepts to reveal the grim and absurd realities beneath. But, one way or the other, they conceived of war as an appropriate male domain; the writers did not have to explain or justify men's relationship to the war—war was a given of masculinity. And their memoirs helped to commemorate World War I as exclusively and obsessively masculine.⁸⁶

By contrast, commentators on women's wartime experience, whether critics, apologists, or memoirists, had to explain and justify women's excursion into war literature and into the experience of war that it claimed to represent. Léonie Godfroy, a Red Cross volunteer nurse who was captured when Noyon fell to the German army, tried to explain in the introduction to her brief memoirs how it was she was writing a war memoir and why it differed so much from other such literature.

But when, giving in to the affectionate curiosity of my friends, I decided to write up part of my memories, I realized that the tableaux I was going to evoke differed in fundamental ways from most of those you see in the newspapers every day. This is caused by a difference in point of view . . . War appears to be something abominable or something sublime, depending upon the side one experiences. I must declare that I saw only the somber side. This is women's share. Those of us whom chance or vocation draw into the vast drama must resign ourselves to seeing only the saddest of realities. To men, in the first rank of danger, go the superb spirits, the epic spectacles of the battlefield. To us, the other side of the picture . . . We don't meddle with the heroes in the apotheosis of combat. They come to us *afterwards*, bloody, exhausted, mute. It's not surprising that our memoirs often seem like nightmares, while there is joy in theirs—a sort of superhuman joy.⁸⁷

Before the war, Georges Goyau had depicted nursing as a women's war, fought "a fold of the landscape" away from the masculine battlefield. Similarly, Godfroy constructed a masculine and a feminine war, operating next to each other, not in space, like Goyau's alternative army, but in time; for Godfroy, the woman's war is the war that happens after the masculine war. And like Goyau, Godfroy and her editor feared that the feminine war would be interpreted as an anti-war.

The simplest way, however, for women to stake a claim on a war experience was not to define a rival feminine war but to embrace the masculine war myth of self-sacrifice for one's country and to claim it for women. The volunteer nurse was well positioned to make this claim, but it excluded her from the critic's position on the margin. Even a pacifist such as the English writer Vera Brittain was unable, in

⁸⁶ This is strikingly obvious in the voluminous literary criticism of World War I writings, which, until the very recent studies by Khan, *Women's Poetry*; Claire M. Tylee, *The Great War and Women's Consciousness: Images of Militarism and Womanhood in Women's Writings, 1914–64* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1990); and Sharon Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women: Identity and Ideology in the First World War* (London, 1994), excluded women's writing by definition from war literature. See, for example, Maurice Rieuneau, *Guerre et révolution dans le roman français de 1919 à 1939* (Paris, 1974), a critical study that follows the bibliography established by Jean-Norton Cru, who explicitly excluded all writings by non-combatants and thus any by women. As Hynes, *War Imagined*, 158–59, points out, combatants alone were presumed to know the truth of the war.

⁸⁷ Léonie Godfroy, *Souvenirs d'ambulance et de captivité (Noyon à Holzminden)* (Paris [1917]), 5. Emphasis in original.

her memoir, to escape the rhetoric of military heroism, and none of her French counterparts was able to sustain even Brittain's degree of critical analysis.⁸⁸ An incident, an episode might elicit a critical response, but this could not encompass the whole experience. To reject the mythic war instantly removed the female author from war's universe and left her no ground from which to launch her reevaluation. To be in the war at all, women had to accept, at least partially, the heroic myth. As a result, it is not surprising that the memoirs of wartime nurses are unconvincing either as literature or as historical records. Few memoirs resolved the tension between the rhetoric of noble suffering and heroic sacrifice and the reality of dirt, pain, fear, and fatigue, with most memoirs swinging from one mode to the other without any attempt at reconciliation. For example, Noëlle Roger began her description of a ward of seriously wounded soldiers with the claim that "each of these men had lived a glorious adventure." She then depicted the shrieking pain of a man brought from the operating table, the rigid terror of a tetanus victim, and the hallucinations of a shell-shock case. However, her intent was not irony; she did not seem to notice—or could not express—that none of these were glorious adventures.⁸⁹

The memoirs of French women who volunteered to nurse during World War I are a mixed genre, including obvious propaganda literature written in the obligatory "high diction" of chivalry as well as more realistic documentation of women's war experience. Propaganda memoirs, such as Hélène Leune's *Tel qu'ils sont: Notes d'une infirmière de la Croix Rouge* (1915), predominated in the early years of the war.⁹⁰ By 1916, the cast of "little heroes" and "white angels" that people the earlier memoirs began to give way to more realistic descriptions of nursing routine. Rather than the relationship of one ideal nurse to "her" wounded, these memoirs usually depicted the institutional shape of nursing. Sometimes, as in Madame Emmanuel Colombel's *Journal d'une infirmière d'Arras: Août-septembre-octobre 1914* (1916) and M. de La Boulaye's *Croix et cocarde* (1919), the life of the hospital or ambulance itself became the subject of the memoir.⁹¹

Not surprisingly, the accounts that broke most consistently with the high diction of the War Myth were published after the war was over. Clemenceau's daughter, Madeleine Clemenceau Jacquemaire, wrote the most hard-hitting of French nursing accounts, *Les hommes de bonne volonté* (1919). It intersperses accounts of soldiers' suffering with vivid depictions of the back-breaking, soul-destroying work

⁸⁸ See Tylee, *Great War and Women's Consciousness*, 47–74; and Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women*, 35. Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (1933).

⁸⁹ Noëlle Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière* (Paris, 1915), 1: 22–29. Roger, a pseudonym for Mme. Hélène Pittard, was a prolific novelist. It is not clear if this work is indeed the diary of an anonymous nurse, as she claims, or the product of her own observation and imagination.

⁹⁰ Hélène Leune, *Tel qu'ils sont: Notes d'une infirmière de la croix rouge* (Paris, 1915); and a similar piece, Eydoux-Demians, *Notes d'une infirmière* (1915), appear to be pseudo-memoirs. They recount, as if personally experienced, standard atrocity and nobility stories that show up in other propaganda of the period. Also in this genre are Berthem-Bontoux, *Les françaises et la grande guerre* (1917); and Yvonne Pitrois, *Les femmes de 1914–1915*, Vol. 2: *Les infirmières héroïques* (Geneva [1915]). Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière* (1915); and d'Ulmes, *Auprès des blessés* (1916), recount uplifting stories of soldiers' heroic sacrifice in which nurses play witness to noble suffering and patriotic last words.

⁹¹ Mme. Emmanuel Colombel, *Journal d'une infirmière d'Arras: Août-septembre-octobre 1914* (Paris, 1916); M. de La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde* (Paris, 1919). Others include Jeanne Antelme, *Avec l'armée d'orient: Notes d'une infirmière à Moudros* (Paris, 1916); and Julie Crémieux, *Croquis d'heures vécues, 1914–1919* (Fourmies, 1934).

of nursing at the front, for, as Dr. Legrand had predicted, the Military Medical Corps was soon forced to admit women to its war-zone facilities. As the title suggests, Jacquemaire wrote this fictionalized memoir to eulogize the honor, courage, and sacrifice of the French Common Man, but in place of the standard "high diction" is an unrelentingly downbeat tone: these men often suffer unnecessarily. Like the trench-fighter memoirists, Jacquemaire depicted a combat in which the main enemy was not the Germans but the living and working conditions of the war, the bureaucratic procedures of the army, and even her own supervisors. And, like Barbusse's famous novel published three years earlier, Jacquemaire's questioned the validity of war and her role in it. In a monologue by her alter-ego, nurse Madame Berton, Jacquemaire imagined the nurse's role as the attendant at the corrida who patches up the wounded horses and whips them back to their feet, once more to face the bull's horns. Yet, in the end, Jacquemaire backed away from Barbusse's concluding call to pacifism: Must we do this? she asked, and replied immediately, "Yes, for it is the price of victory."⁹²

Despite the differences in experience and in discourse, most nursing accounts shared many themes with each other and with the commentary on nurses' war service. Nursing as the feminine equivalent of military service and the nurse as nun or mother were images that the nurses themselves found persuasive. The main differences between their views and those of the commentators were in emphasis. None broke out entirely from the dominant discourse.

Most of the accounts presented volunteer nursing as similar to, or even the equivalent of, men's military service. For example, La Boulaye claimed veteran status for herself and her fellow nurses. After a particularly harrowing operation, she wrote, "French women soon will have two years of campaigning: we are no longer cadets [*des bleues*.]" Actress Lola Noyr explained why she left her career to volunteer as a nurse: "I always wanted to go to the front; I considered myself a soldier and I believed I shouldn't stay behind; I would have thought myself a shirker."⁹³

The nurses almost invariably used a rhetoric of service, sacrifice, and devotion to describe their own motivations in volunteering and to depict the "true" nurse. Sometimes, the ideal nurse was literally a nun;⁹⁴ for others, she was merely nun-like. "Suddenly, personality fades under the uniform. You only feel an immense desire to do good, the absolute consent of your whole self to discipline. You become that anonymous being who obeys the sound of a bell, the doctor's gesture, the patient's call, who stands respectfully at the head of the bed and who takes on every chore, even the most repulsive: these humble chores, how sweet they now seem to me!"⁹⁵

⁹² Madeleine Clemenceau Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté* (Paris, 1919), 265–66. This section, entitled "Les rentrants," was published first in *L'illustration* (March 29, 1919). Two American nursing memoirs, Elle La Motte, *Backwash of War*, published in 1916 and withdrawn in 1918 due to its anti-war message, and Mary Borden, *The Forbidden Zone* (1929), refused to pull the punches of their pacifist convictions (Tylee, *Great War and Women's Consciousness*, 93–102), but Jacquemaire's is the only French nursing memoir to confront the question of whether women should be patching up men to send them back to be killed.

⁹³ La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, 223; Lola Noyr in Camille Clermont, ed., *Souvenirs de parisiennes en temps de guerre* (Paris, 1918), 203. Also see Crémieux, *Croquis d'heures vécues*, 39.

⁹⁴ Eydoux-Demians, *Notes d'une infirmière*, depicts Sister Gabrielle as the perfect nurse; for La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, it is Sister Rosalie.

⁹⁵ Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière*, 2: 11.

Maternal imagery was less pervasive, appearing mostly in the accounts from nurses in convalescent hospitals. In these stories, the wounded were always *petits* and the nurse's job was to wait on them, scold them, and "spoil" them with treats and attention.⁹⁶ Perhaps maternal rhetoric rang less true for some volunteers because they experienced conflict, rather than continuity, between hospital and family roles. While commentators condemned nurses who "deserted" their posts, the nurses themselves discovered that the job of "mothering" wounded soldiers did not exempt them from their own family obligations. Madame Colombel recalled dutifully visiting her husband at his request, although it required her to leave her hospital post in Arras at the height of the German advance in September 1914. And just as dutifully, Juliette Martineau cut short her visit to her family despite her mother's protests to return to her hospital when it was suddenly inundated with wounded.⁹⁷ In neither case did the woman have a clear moral imperative to guide her choice. The analogy of nurse to mother did nothing to clarify the situation.

Although motherhood was attenuated as a motif in nurses' accounts, the romantic or erotic theme that ran through so much of nursing fiction and commentary was entirely absent. In a letter published as part of the preface to Duhamel's novel, a nurse complained about the nursing romances so popular with serial writers.

Please don't believe those cute stories that come out several times a week on the fourth page of the newspaper: the model hospital installed in an old château; the wounded officer, always decorated with the Croix de Guerre, whose wound is always serious but aesthetic; the young nurse, white and blonde under her veil who, this year, has abandoned the tango for the Red Cross . . . Invariably they fall in love, will fall in love, or already have been in love.⁹⁸

Nurses refuted this scenario by portraying themselves either as "white angels," all asexual devotion, or as hard-working, exhausted professionals. Both images banished romance from the scene.

By contrast, the accounts admitted criticisms of snobbery, feminine ambition, and competition in volunteer nursing. Most agreed with commentators that some women were drawn to nursing because it had become fashionable, and some even suggested that they themselves found places through elite connections.⁹⁹ The "false" nurse, when she appeared in their pages, was usually the portrait of the society lady, like Mademoiselle Fachemine, whom La Boulaye used as a foil to her ideal nurse, Sister Rosalie. Fachemine is strongly reminiscent of Madame Heltoux in Foley's novel, *Sylvette et son blessé*, technically well-trained but eaten up with social ambition and without the requisite feminine heart. So pervasive was the cliché of the society nurse in her diamonds that Jacquemaire, by way of pointed contrast, insisted that her heroine's leather wrist watch was her only jewelry.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ For example, Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière*, 2: 4; and Mme. Henry Taudière, *En pensant aux absents: Histoire de l'ambulance de l'Absie (de septembre 1914 à mai 1915)* (Paris, 1915), *passim*.

⁹⁷ Colombel, *Journal d'une infirmière d'Arras*, 83–84; Juliette Martineau, *Journal d'une infirmière* (Angers, 1916), 28–29.

⁹⁸ Docquois preface to Duhamel, *Ces dames de l'hôpital*, 16–17.

⁹⁹ La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, 6, describes her search for a hospital post. "I quickly found what I wanted. In charge of the Red Cross hospital in Sainteville was one of the most select Sisters of Charity, whose family we knew well. She offered me the only position available, in the laundry service! Never was charity better received; I began my work the next day."

¹⁰⁰ La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*; Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 37.

In many accounts, it is not individual nurses who were bad but a system of nursing that pitted women against one another. Both Jacquemaire and La Boulaye claimed that nuns resented Red Cross volunteers and hindered their work when they could.¹⁰¹ And in 1916, when the army medical service created the paid position of temporary military nurse, it also created a new rivalry, suggested in the title of La Boulaye's memoir, *Croix et cocarde*, the cross being the Red Cross badge and the cockade, the insignia of the military nurse.¹⁰² The most disruptive conflict, however, was the rivalry of the three separate Red Cross organizations. The Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires, founded in 1864, saw the Union des Femmes de France (1879) and the Association des Dames Françaises (1881) as interlopers; the more recent foundations accused the Société of snobbish exclusivity. "In the street, [white] vestals come across other vestals dressed in blue. These women who wear on their foreheads the sign of redemption, of mercy and peace—the cross of the Savior Jesus—exchange no greetings. They cough insolently. 'That's the enemy society that competes with us and steals our patients, a worthless society, Johnny-come-latelies . . . civil servants' wives and shop girls.'"¹⁰³ Wartime volunteer nursing, as nurses themselves depicted it in their memoirs and published diaries, was quite similar to the way it was viewed by contemporary commentators. It was the feminine version of national patriotic service, similar, if not equivalent, to military service for men. True nurses were nun-like and maternal; they were also feminine and professionally competent. False nurses, to the extent that nurses admitted they existed, also exhibited many of the qualities of which commentators complained; they were socially ambitious, self-interested, and lacked true devotion to the vocation of nursing France's wounded heroes.

However, nurses did modify the portrait of wartime nursing in interesting ways. In their depiction of the false nurse, for example, they never suggested that romantic or prurient interest was the basis of her failings. Typically, they viewed the inevitable physical contact with strange men that was inherent to the job either neutrally or as a drawback that experience eventually overcame. Several of the nurses recalled their first exposure to the naked male body, and their reaction was either revulsion or aesthetic distancing. Louise Weiss and Lola Noyr recalled being almost paralyzed with disgust on the first day of nursing at contact with male bodies. When the local curé fulminated against a young woman doing such work, Weiss was flabbergasted: "Where I felt nothing but disgust, he imagined sensuality!"¹⁰⁴ Noëlle Roger, M. de La Boulaye, and Madeleine Jacquemaire presented their reactions as aesthetic, Roger comparing the sight of a naked torso to "a painting by the Flemish

¹⁰¹ La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, 137–38; Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 10, 21–22.

¹⁰² Numerous circulars from the Service de Santé bear witness to this rivalry, exacerbated in some cases by some doctors' and hospital administrators' vindictive behavior toward the Red Cross volunteers. See the Service Historique de L'armée de Terre (hereafter, SHAT), 7 N 170 circular 20–6–1916 (June 20, 1916), and 7 N 159 circular 1–8–1916 (August 1, 1916), from the Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat du Service de Santé Militaire. By contrast, Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 161–67, clearly preferred his volunteer Red Cross nurses and heaped scorn on the paid nursing staff. But he also argued that the unpaid status of the Red Cross nurses undermined their authority over their paid subordinates.

¹⁰³ Martineau, *Journal d'une infirmière*, 2–3. Lejars, *Un hôpital militaire*, 156, recommended that Red Cross nurses from different organizations should not be assigned to work together.

¹⁰⁴ Louise Weiss, *Mémoires d'une européenne*, Vol. 1: 1893–1919 (Paris, 1968), 192.

primitives, a van der Weyden," La Boulaye to a painting by Pauline Borghese and Jacquemaire to a Greek vase.¹⁰⁵

The nurses also had a somewhat different view of the organizations in which they served, the Red Cross, the hospital, and the military, than did the commentators. Although commentators accused women of being snobbishly competitive as individuals and thus likely to be bad nurses, the nurses themselves blamed the way wartime nursing was organized for creating and exacerbating competition between nurses and institutions. Particularly in the later memoirs, they often blamed the military authorities that oversaw the administration of their hospitals for many of the problems they faced as nurses. Jacquemaire claimed that, in general, the military authorities hindered rather than helped the Red Cross: "The doctors and officials of the Medical Corps, from the orderlies up to the Inspector-General, do not suffer nurses gladly. 'Women have no place in the army so they should stay home,' they claim."¹⁰⁶ La Boulaye was the most detailed in her criticism, not only of the rivalry among the different kinds of nursing services, as we have seen, but also of how the military ran its medical auxiliaries. Her charity hospital, St. Peter's, was alternately flooded with wounded and then, just as suddenly, depleted and threatened with closure.¹⁰⁷ Nowhere in her account did she editorialize to criticize the military, nor did she need to; the disorganization, inefficiency, and waste she described is sufficient indictment.

In La Boulaye's account and several others—Madame Colombel, Julie Crémieux, Madeleine Jacquemaire—a view of the volunteer nurse tentatively emerged that was not encompassed by the commentary literature and not comprehensible in the terms of its discourse of nuns and mothers. It was the image of the nurse as the feminine equivalent of the trench fighter.¹⁰⁸ These accounts showed war nursing to be a kind of physical and emotional assault, a relentless succession of horrors and exhaustion that would stand—almost—in comparison to the conditions described in Barbusse's *Under Fire*. They depicted the wounded not as noble heroes but as only too frail mortals, torn apart in a brutal war. They certainly provided many examples of great courage in the face of suffering and of human dignity under appalling conditions, but neither did they flinch from showing fear, pain, panic, or venal sins, such as disobedience, drunkenness, or abysmal morale. And although they all surrounded their own work with a frame of feminine devotion and compassion, the picture itself was grim. Colombel described being overwhelmed with horrendously wounded men in a nonstop triage, an exhausting sequence of dressings, operations, and death. Crémieux, working in field hospitals, added 'round-the-clock bombard-

¹⁰⁵ Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière*, 1: 24; La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, 89; Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 151.

¹⁰⁶ Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 91, confirmed by Service de Santé correspondence. Not until 1917 did the Service de Santé begin to try to replace male orderlies with female nurses. See SHAT, 16 N 2682 GQG DA, Service de Santé Personnel.

¹⁰⁷ La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ The most obvious attempt to appropriate trench-fighter status to women is the British novel *Not So Quiet . . . Stepdaughters of War*, by Helen Zenna Smith, a pseudonym for Evadne Price, published in 1930. Not only does the title make the parallel to Remarque's novel, but the structure, language, and denouement of the story parallels that of the "classic" trench-fighter novel, complete with the (spiritual) death of the heroine at the end and the evocation of a Lost (Female) Generation. See Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women*, 36–46.

ment and lack of sleep. To this, Jacquemaire, serving in the Verdun sector, added mud, bone-chilling cold, rats, rotten food, lack of letters, and lack of clean underwear. Jeanne Antelme, on the Turkish front, included brutal heat, polluted water, insects, and a typhoid epidemic; La Boulaye, a pneumonia epidemic. Almost all recalled breaking down emotionally or physically at some point, especially bouts with depression. Both La Boulaye and Antelme stopped keeping their diaries, on which their memoirs are based, due to emotional and mental exhaustion.¹⁰⁹ Many of the nurses even claimed to share the dangers and risk of death with the soldiers. Léonie Godfroy was captured and spent some months in a prison camp. And Roger went them one better; her *Les carnets d'une infirmière*, she claimed, was the diary of a war martyr, a nurse who had died when a flu epidemic swept the hospital in which she worked.¹¹⁰

If, for these nurses, the major enemy was the war itself, the military was not exempt from blame. Like trench-fighter memoirists, a few of the nurses depicted military authority as an obstacle if not an outright enemy. Just as junior officers complained of futile paperwork, Jacquemaire railed against the all-important Form 46 that had to be filled out for each wounded man before medical treatment could begin. The military personnel and the staff doctors, in her account, had rulebooks in place of hearts and put their own comfort and routines ahead of the welfare of the wounded.¹¹¹ At one point, Colombel did the unthinkable from the perspective of the nurse-as-nun; she criticized and disobeyed the surgeon under whom she found herself working, giving chloroform to a howling soldier when the surgeon had refused to sedate him.¹¹² But in one important way, these nursing memoirs differentiated themselves from the accounts of front fighters. In almost all the writings of trench soldiers, the hero was less an individual than a group of buddies, a brotherhood, in Mosse's term. The most famous example is Barbusse's *Under Fire*, subtitled *History of a Squad*. French nursing memoirs, by contrast, did not focus on a team of nurses. Their authors rarely drew portraits of their colleagues except as ideal types—*la vraie* or the society lady. From a few glancing references,¹¹³ we can speculate that in fact the friendships that formed between nurses in hospitals as between men in the trenches were often important to making their lives and work bearable, but such glimpses are few and far between.

Volunteer nurses could easily have portrayed themselves as a feminine collectivity; they had an obvious model right before their eyes in the Catholic nursing orders that had endowed French nursing with both the form and language of sisterhood. However, the nurse-memoirists chose not to do so, and for good reason. By constructing the war as a combat to remasculinize the French nation, the War Myth had not only excluded French women from the war experience, it had

¹⁰⁹ In her novel *Ces dames de l'hôpital*, 156–57, Duhamel set her characters a game of defining depression, but the nursing accounts make it clear that the disorder was no game but was seriously debilitating. See, for example, Colombel, *Journal d'une infirmière d'Arras*, 37–40; Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 235; La Boulaye, *Croix et cocarde*; and Antelme, *Avec l'armée d'orient*.

¹¹⁰ Godfroy, *Souvenirs d'ambulance*; Roger, *Les carnets d'une infirmière*, 1: 5–9.

¹¹¹ Jacquemaire, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, especially the vignettes "Septs cents pieds gelés" and "Les rentrants."

¹¹² Colombel, *Journal d'une infirmière d'Arras*, 100–01.

¹¹³ For example, Jacquemaire's gratitude toward her assistant, *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, 83–84; and Crémieux's description of falling asleep on a friend's shoulder in a dugout; *Croquis d'heures vécues*, 46.

positioned femininity as hostile to the war. Anything women did to contribute to the war, even nursing its wounded heroes, was suspect. Women, by their collective efforts, however well-intentioned, risked losing the real war, the war to restore French masculine supremacy. Inevitably, to represent nursing as a collective female war experience would raise once again the specter of an alternative feminine war undermining or even opposing the national war effort.

Volunteer nurses suppressed the sisterhood of nursing in their memoirs in order to insist that they were fighting the same war as the soldiers, the masculine war, the trench-fighters' war. Their accounts focused almost all the attention on the relationship between the nurse and the wounded soldier, not as a romantic or erotic tie but as comrades in arms and accomplices in suffering, in league against the brutal enemy and the callous authorities. But, even then, nurses could not risk claiming an equal experience to the soldiers', an equal sacrifice to the national cause; since masculinity had to triumph, it was not a camaraderie of equals that they depicted but the nurse as the soldier's disciple.¹¹⁴ Exhausted or frightened or sick as she was, it was his suffering that caused hers. Antelme wrote, "You know, those agonies, they tear the soul, and to know your impotence to stop that suffering, that is the worst of all."¹¹⁵ As her emotional anguish reflected his physical pain, so, too, did her war experience reflect his. Rather than commemorating a unique feminine experience, in account after account memoirists subordinated the nurse's story to the soldier's.

In the end, the nurses' memoirs, like the commentaries, left intact the incongruity, even the opposition, of women and war. Targets of as much criticism as praise, nurses in their memoirs absolved themselves of the charge of pursuing feminine emancipation, solidarity, and values at the expense of masculine suffering by subordinating their wartime experience to the soldier's story. Rather than script a role for the volunteer nurse alongside the soldier in the War Myth, even the grimmest and most "realistic" of the nurses' memoirs placed the wounded soldier on a pedestal and the nurse, head bowed, at his feet, her emotional suffering a tribute to his sacrifice. In their personal accounts, France's nurse memoirists helped erase their own experiences from the public memory of the war. Their works did not reshape the War Myth to include women; instead, they commemorated World War I as the trench-fighters' war and the confirmed essence of the war experience as masculinity.

¹¹⁴ Klaus Theweleit, "Bomb's Womb and the Genders of War," in Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 285, writes: "The war of genders is wonderful for re-winning lost wars because of its very certain result: men never lose, women have to."

¹¹⁵ Antelme, *Avec l'armée d'orient*, 35.

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Introduction: Hans Baron's Renaissance Humanism

PUBLISHED BY PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS in 1955, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* by Hans Baron has become one of the major works on the Italian Renaissance written in this century. Itself the product of decades of research and numerous specialized articles, the book imposed a broad interpretive framework on Italian humanism, endeavoring to relate intellectual change to political and sociological development. In place of the relatively vague evolutionary approach to humanism characteristic of pre-World War II scholarship, Baron sharply contrasted Trecento with Quattrocento humanism, explaining the passage from the first to the second as the result of a crisis. He buttressed his thesis with substantial documentation from literary sources, many of them hitherto neglected. Having established in the *Crisis* to his satisfaction the developmental outlines of the movement in the two centuries, he devoted much of his energy after 1955 to exploring the writings of Petrarch and Machiavelli, the greatest Italian humanists at the beginning and end of the movement's most creative period. Working now with well-known texts, he subjected the writings of these authors to minute scrutiny and produced significant reinterpretations of the lives and writings of both thinkers.

Born in Berlin in 1900 of Jewish parents, Baron studied under an impressive array of teachers at the University of Berlin: Werner Jaeger, Ernst Troeltsch, Friedrich Meinecke, and Walter Goetz among them. Of these, Baron himself recognized Goetz as having had the greatest influence on his intellectual development. As he wrote in dedicating the *Crisis*, "To Walter Goetz, my teacher and friend, who introduced me to the Renaissance and taught me that history should be the study of both politics and culture." Baron was barred from academic advancement because of his Jewish heritage. Suffering the indignities and dangers common to Jews living in Nazi Germany, Baron with his wife Edith and two children went to England in 1937 and then to the United States in 1938. He taught at Queens College in New York City (1939-1942) and was a member of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study (1944-1948). In 1949, he was appointed research fellow and bibliographer at the Newberry Library, where he remained until retirement in 1970. He continued his research and writing until just a few weeks before his death on November 26, 1988.

The *Crisis* appeared in a revised edition in 1966 and in an Italian translation in 1970. Baron's earliest book, *Calvins Staatsanschauung und das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, was published in 1924, and four years later his *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe* appeared. In 1968, he published *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in*

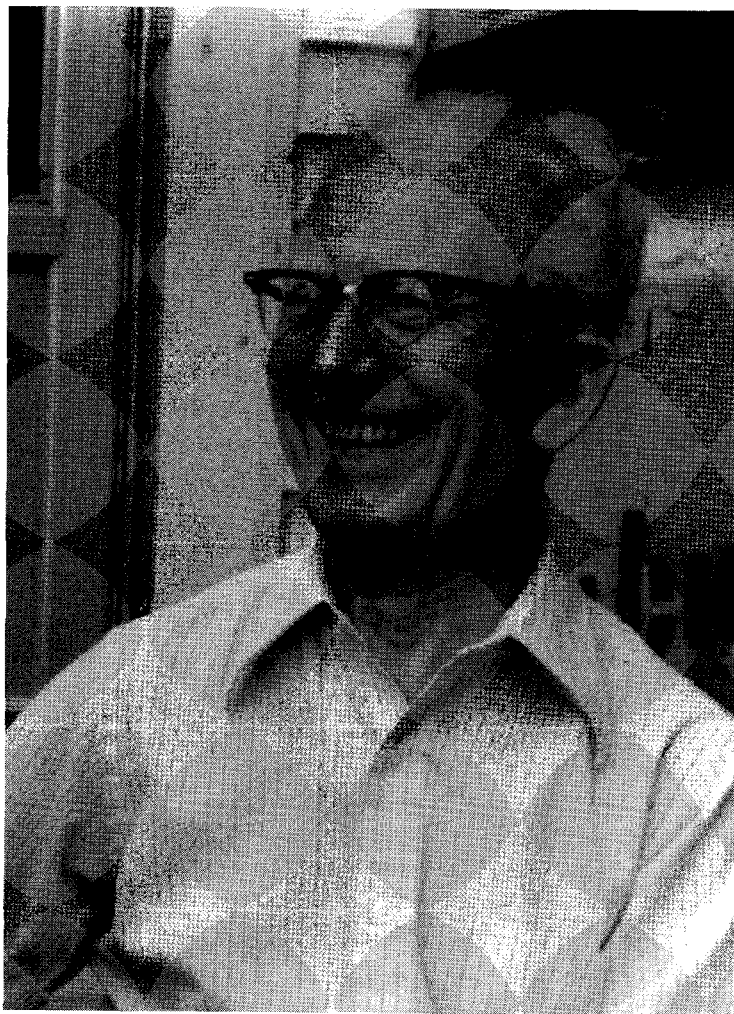
Humanistic and Political Literature; in 1985, Petrarch's "Secretum": Its Making and Its Meaning; and just before his death in 1988, he published a collection of new and revised essays, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*.

Baron's interpretation of what he considered the titanic struggle between Republican Florence and Giangaleazzo Visconti from 1389 to 1402 as a battle between the forces of freedom and those of tyranny has too easily been assumed to be an expression of his own experience in Nazi Germany. For the same reason, the *Crisis* has sometimes been seen as an indictment of ivory-tower German intellectuals too detached from their society to protest the loss of Weimar liberty. In a brilliant article, "Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron," *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992): 541-74, Riccardo Fubini has identified nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century debates among German scholars as the major influences on Baron's thought, and he has traced Baron's first use of the term *Bürgerhumanismus* to 1925, well before Nazism posed a serious threat to the Weimar Republic. While Baron's writings in the 1930s suggest that many of the ideas connected with civic humanism were already well developed by the end of that decade, the war and the subsequent defeat of Hitler may have contributed to the key argument of the *Crisis*, that the new humanism came out of the victory of Florence over Giangaleazzo.

Plagued throughout his mature life by deafness, Hans Baron never held a permanent academic appointment. Nevertheless, both in his position as research fellow at the Newberry Library and afterward in retirement, first in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then in Urbana, Illinois, he played a major role in educating dozens of scholars, mostly American, many no longer young, whose work he read with utmost seriousness. He spent countless hours on our drafts of books and articles, and the returned manuscripts, filled with his comments, were master classes in historical research and writing.

The short papers that follow are substantially those given at a session entitled "Hans Baron's Renaissance Humanism," held at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in January 1995. The intent of the session was to consider critically the contribution of Baron in the three main areas of his scholarship, the *Crisis*, Petrarch, and Machiavelli, at a distance of forty years since the publication of his major book. Of the four speakers, all but one were closely connected with Baron during his life. Because it was felt that personal reminiscences had a bearing on Hans Baron's scholarship, the session, both the papers and the discussion that followed, tended to be somewhat personal. Our main goal, nevertheless, has been to suggest critical and interpretive perspectives for a rethinking of Hans Baron's contribution to Renaissance scholarship.

RONALD WITT



HANS BARON, taken about 1985.

AHR Forum

The Crisis after Forty Years

RONALD WITT

ALTHOUGH HANS BARON first discussed his conception of "civic humanism" in 1925, it was only with the publication of *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* in 1955 that he revealed the full significance of what he believed to have been a fundamental change in the nature of Italian humanism occurring in the years immediately after 1400.¹ In this work, Baron endeavored to establish his thesis that a sharp break existed between Italian humanism of the fourteenth and that of the fifteenth century. Fourteenth-century Italian humanists had been literary and largely apolitical. Basically loyal to medieval beliefs that monarchy was the best form of government, they preferred the contemplative to the active life and considered Roman history as culminating in the rule of Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus.

In the opening years of the fifteenth century, however, the young Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni, originally of Arezzo, revived the ancient Roman republican concept that any form of government short of popular rule was tyrannical, and he insisted that while political freedom stimulates the creative and moral powers of the individual, so the loss of political freedom destroys those powers. Intimately associated with the revival of republicanism was Bruni's insistence that the active life of the citizen was superior to the life of withdrawal and contemplation, and that the decline of the Roman Empire began with the destruction of republican freedom by Caesar and Augustus. Finally, whereas the fourteenth-century humanists looked back on antiquity with melancholy as an age never to be revived, Bruni considered antiquity the source of inspiration for works in contemporary vernacular languages that rivaled ancient Latin literature.

For Baron, these conceptions of civic humanism, first created in early fifteenth-

¹ Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1955). A revised one-volume edn. was published by Princeton in 1966 and a further revised Italian edn. in 1970. I shall be citing the 1966 volume below. In the same year, his *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) provided a more detailed discussion of certain key texts largely concerning the crisis of 1402. A complete bibliography of Baron's writings until 1970 is found in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, A. Molho and A. Tedeschi, eds. (De Kalb, Ill., 1971), lxxi-lxxxvii. The first mention of *Bürgerhumanismus* is in Baron's review of *Soziale Probleme der Renaissance*, by F. Engel-Janosi, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 132 (1925): 136-41; compare Riccardo Fubini, "Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron," *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992): 560, n. 78.

When I delivered this paper in January 1995, I was unable to consider in my discussion the article of James Hankins, "The Baron Thesis after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995): 309-38. Because of the summary nature of this analysis, I have tried to limit the bibliographical references to a minimum.

century Florence, never disappeared down through the centuries, and they were to constitute the major gift of humanism to the modern world. Accordingly, to Bruni and his scholarly contemporaries can ultimately be traced our present heritage of republican thought, its focus on the future rather than the past, and its respect for the notion of culture as an expression of political values.

Why did this change in humanism occur at the turn of the fifteenth century? Baron saw the cause of the transformation in the Florentine-Milanese War, which, beginning in 1389, by the summer of 1402 seemed almost certain to end in the victory of Milan and the capture of Florence itself. This dire threat to liberty finally led the Florentine humanists to reflect on their republican way of life and to use their scholarly gifts in the service of their city-state. Although written, according to Baron, between 1403 and 1404, at least a year after the Milanese threat had been dispelled, Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio florentinae urbis* was nonetheless the first manifestation of the new republican attitude.² Having identified its initial statement, Baron devotes the remainder of the *Crisis* to tracing the construction of a republican tradition from Bruni to Machiavelli and its effects beyond the narrow circle of humanists.

I think it fair to say that no scholarly book in the field of Italian Renaissance studies in this century has provoked more discussion and inspired more research than *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*. Baron's dazzling connection between humanism and Florentine political history and culture played a key role in making the study of Renaissance Florence the international industry it has become since the late 1950s. Personally, the book caused me in the early 1960s as a graduate student to turn from medieval French constitutional history to the Italian Renaissance.

How well have the core elements of the Baron thesis survived under the intense scrutiny they have received since its publication? Generally, critics have attacked the thesis because they question the philological arguments involved in dating crucial evidence documenting the crisis, they deny the originality of Bruni's statement of republicanism, or they question the sincerity of Bruni's republican stance by pointing out inconsistencies between his writings and his actions, as well as the disparity between the realities of Florentine politics and his praise of Florence's republican government.

To take these in order, Baron's thesis rests on the dating, and in several cases redating, of a number of Florentine writings, which up to his time had received only cursory attention. The *Laudatio* was the key document, and Baron, disagreeing with the hitherto-accepted date of 1400/1401, assigned a date to the work of 1403/1404. A second work by Bruni, the *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum*, in which the chief speaker, Niccolò Niccoli, appears to change his mind between the first and second of two

² For the text of the *Laudatio florentinae urbis*, see Hans Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni* (Chicago, 1968), 232–63. V. Zaccaria has published another edition in *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 8 (1967): 529–54. An English translation of the text is found in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, B. G. Kohl and R. G. Witt, eds., with E. B. Welles (Philadelphia, 1978), 135–75. For the dating of the work, see Baron, *Crisis*, 191–224; and *From Petrarch to Bruni*, 102–37. Baron further elucidates his thesis in response to the criticism of Jerrold E. Seigel's "‘Civic Humanism’ of Ciceronian Rhetoric?" *Past and Present*, 34 (1966): 3–48, in Hans Baron, "Leonardo Bruni: ‘Professional Rhetorician’ or ‘Civic Humanist,’" *Past and Present*, 36 (1967): 21–37.

dialogues, Baron dated as 1401 and 1403–1406.³ He explained the altered attitude of Niccoli as a result of the summer of 1402. Proof that Coluccio Salutati, the old humanist chancellor, was also affected by the Milanese threat to the city is found, according to Baron, in Salutati's *Invectiva contra Antonium Luschum Vicentinum*, which was Salutati's reply to the bitter verbal attack on Florence made in 1397 by a humanist in the pay of the duke of Milan.⁴ Although the work is known to have been finished in 1403, Baron saw in the text remains of an earlier version, perhaps contemporary with Loschi's pamphlet, much less republican in its character than the final version completed after 1402. Finally, convinced that a work by Cino Rinuccini, *Risponsiva alla invectiva di messer Antonio Losco*, containing republican themes found in Bruni's *Laudatio*, represented an immediate response in 1397 to Loschi, Baron argued that a non-humanist, unfettered by the tradition of Trecento humanism, grasped the issues at stake in the war before a humanist did.⁵

Despite efforts by critics to impugn Baron's dating of the *Laudatio*, James Hankins has definitively vindicated Baron by dating the work to the summer of 1404.⁶ As for the *Dialogi*, scholars now generally consider the two dialogues to have been conceived as an integrated work from the beginning. Consequently, the second does not represent, as Baron insisted, a later changed attitude of the author. An argument has been made by L. B. Mortensen for dating both parts of the *Dialogi* between 1403 and 1406, and Hankins maintains that the work can be dated even more precisely to between September 1404 and March 1405.⁷ I am, however, convinced by Riccardo Fubini's argument that the *Dialogi* reflects a reworking of the issues involved in the heated exchange of letters between Salutati, the leading humanist in the generation after Petrarch, and Poggio Bracciolini, one of his disciples, conducted in the early winter of 1405 and March 1406. Consequently,

³ The text is found in *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Istrum*, in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, E. Garin, ed. (Milan, 1952), 39–99; for the English translation, see *The Three Crowns of Florence: Humanist Assessments of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio*, D. Thompson and A. F. Nagel, ed. and trans. (New York, 1972). For the dating, see Baron, *Crisis*, 225–90.

⁴ The work was published by Domenico Moreni (Florence, 1826). For Baron's dating of the work, consult his *Humanistic and Political Literature*, 38–47. For the importance of the work for Baron's thesis, see *Crisis*, 83–91, 484–87.

⁵ See Baron, *Humanistic and Political Literature*, 49; as well as *Crisis*, 95–96, for its importance.

⁶ James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1990), 2: 371.

⁷ L. B. Mortensen, "Leonardo Bruni's *Dialogus*: A Ciceronian Debate on the Literary Culture of Florence," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 37 (1986): 259–302; and Hankins, *Plato*, 371. Mortensen's dating is based on the assumption that the fictive dialogue in which Salutati has a role was written before his death in May 1406. Because the *Laudatio* is mentioned as already composed, the *Dialogi* had to have been written after its composition about 1403 (p. 268). Hankins, by contrast, reaches his dating of the work by tackling the thorny problem of the manuscript tradition of *Dialogus* I, which is sometimes found circulating as a single work rather than joined with *Dialogus* II. It is the single version that suggested to Baron that *Dialogus* II was added later after 1402. Hankins argues, *Plato*, 373, that Niccoli's criticism of Dante for having mistaken the age of Cato Uticensis in *Dialogus* I suggests that Bruni was working on Plutarch's *Life of Cato* at the time and probably finished it in rough drafted form by March 1405. Given that Bruni was seeking a position in Rome probably from the end of 1404 and had sent "certain writings" to Rome to impress the curial officials before going there in March 1405 to compete, it seems likely to Hankins that, while the work was fully drafted by this time, only *Dialogus* I was in shape to send. *Dialogus* II would have been completed soon thereafter.

the dialogues were almost certainly composed after Salutati's death in May of 1406.⁸

I have myself demonstrated that Salutati's *Invectiva contra Antonium Luschum* does not in fact have a pre-1402 layer but is an integrated work completed in 1403.⁹ Furthermore, seeing no indication in the work of the civic humanism found in Bruni's *Laudatio*, I have stressed the traditional character of the *Invectiva*. In my view, civic humanism was an affair of the younger generation of humanists. As for Cino Rinuccini's *Risponsiva*, both Giuliano Tanturli and I have argued that the work unquestionably belongs to a time after 1406 and that therefore Cino's work is dependent on Bruni, not vice versa.¹⁰

On balance, current evidence for the dating of Baron's central texts suggests that Bruni's first expression of republicanism begins only in 1404, two years after the crisis in Florence, and only subsequently are his themes taken up by other writers. Salutati, member of the previous generation of humanists, seems to have remained unaffected. Consequently, while the *Invectiva contra Antonium Luschum* and the *Dialogi* no longer provide proof of a dramatic intellectual change occurring in 1402, nonetheless, Bruni's republican writings still appear to be dated after the defeat of Giangaleazzo.

If the new datings attenuate the strength of Baron's assertion that 1402 marked a clear divide in humanist thinking, they have little effect on the validity of the fundamental elements of his *Crisis*. A far more serious attack on the Baron thesis comes from historians who argue that Bruni was only giving his own formulation of the republican ideology that had been circulating in Italy since the thirteenth century. To what extent is this criticism legitimate? Of all the array of putative republican "theorists" discussed by Quentin Skinner, the thirteenth-century Italian *dictatores*, the authors of handbooks for the *podestà*, Brunetto Latini, and in the fourteenth century Ptolemy of Lucca, Remigio dei Girolami, Marsiglio of Padua, the Roman lawyer Bartolus, and the early Paduan humanist Albertino Mussato, only the statements on the nature of liberty and the common good by Ptolemy and

⁸ Riccardo Fubini, "All'uscita dalla Scolastica medievale: Salutati, Bruni, e i *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum*," *Archivio storico italiano*, 110 (1992): 1082–83. David Quint has convincingly argued that Baron failed to see the consistent republican stance of the principal speaker of the work, Niccolò Niccoli, but his position that no real contradiction exists in Niccoli's attitude between the two dialogues seems to me problematical: Quint, "Humanism and Modernity: A Reconsideration of Bruni's *Dialogues*," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), 423–46. Quint, 440, argues that Niccoli's "recantation" in *Dialogus II* of criticisms he had made in the first dialogue of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio was actually no recantation at all. According to Quint, Niccoli's affirmation in *Dialogus II* that Petrarch was superior to Cicero in verse and superior to Virgil in prose was in effect an inside joke, given that antiquity thought little of Cicero's poetry and Virgil's prose; see Anneas Seneca, *Controversiae*, 3 Pref. 8. This, however, is precisely the last position on Petrarch's literary status that Salutati vigorously defended in 1405 against the attack of Poggio, who argued that modern writers, Petrarch included, were incomparably inferior to ancient ones. *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, F. Novati, ed., 4 vols. (Rome, 1891–1916), 4: 143–44. In the light of the ancient context, the position was a weak one from the outset, and its presentation by Niccoli may have served to satisfy the appearance of loyalty while making fun of the argument. The intent, however, is not clear.

⁹ Ronald Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, N.C., 1983), 387–91.

¹⁰ Ronald Witt, "Cino Rinuccini's *Risponsiva alla Invettiva di Messer Antonio Lusco*," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 23 (1970): 133–49; and *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 388–89; Giuliano Tanturli, "Cino Rinuccini e la scuola di Santa Maria in Campo," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 17 (1976): 625–74.

Marsiglio attain the level of republican conceptions.¹¹ Those of the others are merely fragmentary and isolated phrases without elaboration.

Baron was, however, too quick to dismiss the republican thought of Ptolemy of Lucca as lacking a coherent historical critique.¹² Charles T. Davis, the first scholar to demonstrate the breadth of the Dominican's political and historical vision, definitively establishes Ptolemy's claim to be the first medieval defender of republican thought. Here in defense of Baron, however, it is important to note that this Dominican thinker of the early fourteenth century seems to have had no followers among the next generation of Dominicans, and there is no proof that he influenced anyone over the next century. Ptolemy's remarks, blended as they were into his continuation of Thomas Aquinas's *De regimine principum*, perhaps lost their republican contours in a work initially structured to focus on monarchy.

Similarly, in the fourteenth century, Marsiglio of Padua in his *Defensor pacis* clearly chose his home commune of Padua as the model for his discussion of political authority. Nevertheless, seen from the modern perspective as a defense of popular sovereignty, the work with its sophisticated theories and focus on restricting the power of the church seems at the time to have had no effect on Marsiglio's Italian contemporaries' view of republican government. In any case, the effect of Marsiglio's work on the subsequent development of republican thought in Italy has yet to be proved.¹³

Salutati himself was no republican theorist. Despite a number of fragmentary themes articulated within the period of about two years at the height of the War of the Eight Saints in 1376–1377, the Florentine chancellor's republicanism was generally limited to indefinite references to love of liberty and hatred of tyranny together with expressions of patriotic sentiments.¹⁴ In 1400, in an effort to defend Dante's artistic decision to place Cassius and Brutus in the depths of Hell, the old man felt no compunction in defending Caesar's authority in Rome and praising monarchical government, at least at the imperial level.¹⁵

To summarize: forty years of scholarly investigations of Baron's claim to Bruni's originality require that we shift the grounds for that uniqueness. While Bruni now appears not the first in Western European history to articulate an integrated theory of republicanism, as Baron claimed, he was the first to develop in true humanist fashion a theory of republicanism set in historical perspective, together with a civic ethic embodying the theory as a way of life. Furthermore, giving no indication that

¹¹ On Girolamo de' Remigi, see Nicolai Rubinstein, "Marsilius of Padua and the Italian Political Thought of His Time," *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, J. Hale, R. T. Highfield, and B. Smalley, eds. (Evanston, Ill., 1965), 50–59, 62; Charles T. Davis, "An Early Florentine Political Theorist: Fra Remigio de' Girolami," and Davis, "Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic," in *Dante's Italy* (Philadelphia, 1984), 198–223 and 254–88. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), 28–65, discusses not only these two thinkers but also the other groups and individuals mentioned in the text. See as well his "Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 72 (1986): 1–56. He uses the term "constitutional theory" to apply to a wide range of statements, often isolated phrases and sentences.

¹² Baron, *Crisis*, 55, 57.

¹³ See Ronald Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and His Public Letters* (Geneva, 1976), 79. An anonymous Florentine translated Marsiglio's work into Tuscan in 1363: *Defensor pacis nella tradizione in volgare fiorentino del 1363*, Carlo Pincin, ed. (Torino, 1966). From the marginal comments, it appears that the primary interest of the text was its confutation of papal primacy.

¹⁴ Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and His Public Letters*, 50–56, 80–82.

¹⁵ Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 368–86.

he was influenced by Ptolemy or Marsiglio, Bruni becomes the first to make such a theory historically significant. Unlike them, Bruni was not an isolated thinker but had disciples who passed his construction of republicanism with its citizen's ethic down through the fifteenth century and beyond, to make it a permanent possession of the Western heritage.

I turn now to the third general criticism of Baron's thesis, the charge that, given the nature of the Florentine government in Bruni's day, the details of his biography and various statements he made, Bruni's republican commitment was insincere. Among the more serious criticisms of Bruni's sincerity are the following: the Florentine government represented by Bruni in the *Laudatio* as a republic was in fact a tight oligarchy, and Bruni consciously endeavored to hide this reality under a covering of republican propaganda.¹⁶ But Florentine politics by 1400 was far more sophisticated than these critics admit. John M. Najemy describes how the significant increase in citizen participation in government, coupled with centralized control of elections, created a "coexistence of consensus and elitism" by the first decade of the fifteenth century.¹⁷ Consequently, it does not seem to me obvious that Bruni and other Florentines would necessarily have seen their political system as oligarchical at this time. By 1439 perhaps, when Bruni referred to Florence as an aristocracy in *On the Polity of the Florentines*, the oligarchical structure of Florentine politics would have become much more obvious.¹⁸

Critics also point out that Bruni's departure for the papal curia in 1405 and his eleven years of service with the papacy bring into question his commitment to Florence.¹⁹ Not only do I find it hard to judge Bruni's attraction to a lucrative

¹⁶ This position has been defended by a number of scholars, most notably Peter Herde, "Politik und Rhetorik in Florenz am Vorabend der Renaissance: Die ideologische Rechtfertigung der Florentiner Aussenpolitik durch Coluccio Salutati," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965): 141-220; and Herde, "Politische Verhaltensweisen der Florentiner Oligarchie, 1382-1402," *Geschichte und Verfassungsgefüge: Frankfurter Festgabe für Walter Schlesinger* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 156-249. Also see Michael Seidlmayer, *Wege und Wandlungen des Humanismus* (Göttingen, 1965), 47-74; and Jerrold Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 253. Although it is a general treatment on the oligarchical nature of Italian politics in the period, an article by Philip Jones supports Baron's critics on this point: "Communes and Despots: The City-State in Late-Medieval Italy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 15 (1965): 71-96; and see Jones's review of the 2d edn. of *Crisis in History*, 53 (1968): 410-13. Compare Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 317-18.

¹⁷ John M. Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983), 263-65. As Najemy writes, 315: "The coexistence of an expanding political class and a contracting leadership elite implied no contradiction in the minds of those Florentines, like Bruni and Dati, who assumed that the *raison d'être* of the electoral politics of consensus was to achieve a greater degree of stability and unity in the governance of the republic, as far as this was compatible with upper-class interests, than had been possible under either a system of decentralized corporatism or the narrowly based elitism that proved so susceptible to ruinous factionalism." Also see his "Dialogue of Power in Florentine Politics," *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, A. Molho, K. Raabflaub, and J. Emlen, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1991), 269-88, for a convincing analysis of oligarchic power as it applies to Florence and the relationship between power relationships and the needs for a new political discourse.

¹⁸ G. Griffiths, J. Hankins, and D. Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987), 115-16, 171-74.

¹⁹ Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 324-25, questions Bruni's loyalty to Florence on the basis of his papal service. The "evidence" of Bruni's intention to seek a position with Carlo Malatesta in 1409 and with Giovanfrancesco Gonzaga in 1418 is largely circumstantial but cannot be dismissed: Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 325; and based on Paolo Viti, *Leonardo Bruni e Firenze: Studi sulle lettere pubbliche e private* (Rome, 1992), 365-73.

position at the Curia too harshly, but from his correspondence he seems honestly to have felt that he could play a role in healing the larger issue confronting Christendom: the schism.²⁰ Throughout his years with the pope, moreover, he served as an agent of Florentine interests.

Perhaps one of the most serious objections to the sincerity of Bruni's republicanism is found in his reply to a critic of the *Laudatio*. Thirty years after writing the *Laudatio*, Bruni describes his own work as a juvenile exercise composed for popular consumption and given to exaggeration.²¹ While interpreted by James Hankins as proof of the rhetorical character of Bruni's political statements, this description might also be seen as an expression of modesty about the work that launched Bruni's career.²² Certainly, the one exaggeration in the *Laudatio* he specifically mentions is his boast that the Florentines were the heirs of the ancient Romans, when, he admits, they were not in fact the legal heirs. This would suggest that the exaggerations to Bruni's mind were not about fundamental themes in the work.

Whereas Baron appears to have been wrong to insist on absolute consistency in Bruni's dedication both to republican thought and to his adopted city, this does not mean that we must embrace the interpretation that he was a professional rhetorician, with all that implies.²³ In its most elaborate presentation, the rhetorical humanist interpretation begins by depicting Bruni as willing for personal gain to misrepresent Florentine oligarchical government as a republic, to desert Florence when the opportunity for greater personal advantage presented itself, and to play turncoat by embracing the Medici cause and urging strong punishment against his former friends.²⁴ Having raised such serious doubts about the moral integrity of Bruni, it is difficult for historians who offer this interpretation to describe Bruni subsequently as sharing "core political convictions" with Italian humanists of the period throughout Italy "about the value of virtue and eloquence and about the value of classical antiquity as providing models of virtue and eloquence."²⁵ Such a description suggests that Bruni was interested in good government, whatever its constitutional form. The effort to reduce Bruni's republicanism to empty rhetoric renders problematical any claim that Bruni cherished any values at all.

Essentially, however, Bruni's sincerity is irrelevant to the main thrust of Baron's thesis of civic humanism. Whether or not Bruni really saw Florence as the champion of the civic humanism he elaborated, the fact is that Florentine writers such as Cino Rinuccini and Goro Dati almost immediately embraced his identification of republicanism with Florentine political culture, and they were to be followed by others over the next hundred years.²⁶ More significant, Gene Brucker has shown

²⁰ Lucia Gualdo Rosa, "La struttura dell'Epistolario bruniano e il suo significato politico," in *Leonardo Bruni, Cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze: Convegno di Studi (Firenze, 27-29 ottobre 1987)*, Paolo Viti, ed. (Florence, 1990), 382-83.

²¹ Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 325-26.

²² The letter is found in *Leonardi Bruni Aretini Epistolarum libri VIII*, L. Mehus, ed., 2 vols. (Florence, 1741), 2: 110-15. He specifies only one exaggeration he made, p. 113.

²³ The chief proponents of rhetorical humanism have been Peter Herde, Jerrold Seigel, and most recently James Hankins. The focus of Herde's study is *Salutati*. For Seigel, see nn. 2 and 16 above, and for Herde, n. 16.

²⁴ Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 325-30.

²⁵ Hankins, "Baron Thesis after Forty Years," 327-28.

²⁶ On the lay publicist Goro Dati, see Baron, *Crisis*, 158, 168-71, 175-76, 205-06.

that within a decade of the publication of the *Laudatio*, Florentine politicians in their internal debates about policy were conceptualizing their positions in terms similar to those used in Bruni's work.²⁷

In my own view, although I agree with Baron that civic humanism was an innovative and creative contribution to Italian humanism after 1400, I tend to see it as only one of the major lines of humanist thought over the next century and a half, not *the* major one. At the same time, as an explanation for the origins of civic humanism, I stress with Najemy that the Florentine political leadership found it to be an ideal way of representing the new politics of consensus. I would further, however, identify an "internal" cause for its appearance in the massive linguistic shift that occurs generally in humanist writing around 1400.

Petrarch's eclectic theory of stylistic imitation dominated both his own generation and that following of Salutati and Giovanni Conversini.²⁸ For Petrarch, the styles of Latin authors from the first century BC to the fifth century AD provided a fertile field for the humanist, intent on constructing his own style as expression of his personality. This approach proved highly congenial to Petrarch, interested as he was in writing on a wide range of topics from Roman history to the virtues of the monastic life. His classical lexicon was heavily interlarded with ecclesiastical and early Christian vocabulary. Petrarch's example encouraged Salutati to dilute his classical lexicon even further by introducing scholastic words. In constructing their periods, both Petrarch and Salutati frequently resorted to *cursus*, medieval prose metric.

The advent of Baron's civic humanism is closely associated with a revolt against Petrarchan eclecticism in the name of recovering what Poggio refers to as *vetustas*, the flavor of ancient style.²⁹ The key figure in this change was the almost unknown Giovanni Malpaghini, once Petrarch's amanuensis, who in the last decades of the fourteenth century taught rhetoric in Florence. Among Malpaghini's pupils were most of the major humanists of Bruni's generation, including Bruni himself: Vergerio, Roberto Rossi, Jacopo Angeli, Poggio, Guarino, Victorino da Feltre, and Ognibene Scola. As Flavio Biondo writes on Bruni's authority, "he [Malpaghini] inflamed [them] to love of good letters and the imitation of Cicero, even if he was not able to teach adequately what he did not fully know."³⁰

Between 1390 and 1392, Malpaghini's student Vergerio introduced in Padua a new style of oration based on Cicero, replacing the styles of the *artes sermonandi*, manuals on preaching, and *artes arengandi*, manuals on speeches, still used by Petrarch and Salutati. About 1395, Antonio Loschi composed his great work, *Inquisitio artis in orationibus Ciceronis*, a detailed study of the organization and style of eleven of Cicero's orations.³¹ The recovery of the historical Cicero that Baron

²⁷ Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 300–02.

²⁸ Petrarch's pious humanism replaced the highly secular but relatively shallow humanism of the generations of Lovato and Mussato. This is one of the themes of my forthcoming monograph *The Origins of Italian Humanism*.

²⁹ For Poggio's criticism of Petrarch's Latin, see Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 268.

³⁰ For the responsibility of Malpaghini in introducing the First Ciceronianism not merely to Florence but also to Northern Italy through his disciples, see my forthcoming article in *Rinascimento*.

³¹ See Ronald Witt, "Civic Humanism and the Rebirth of the Ciceronian Orator," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 51 (1990): 174–78. Although not named by Bruni, Loschi may have studied with Malpaghini in Florence during 1386–1387.

associates with Vergerio and Bruni, therefore, appears directly connected with the new interest in Ciceronian oration. While Bruni's generation did not espouse a Ciceronianism in the later sense of accepting as proper usage only the syntactical constructions and lexicon used by Cicero, their Latin nonetheless represents a close modeling on Ciceronian linguistic paradigms and vocabulary. Though beautifully adapted for discussions of secular subjects, the new humanist language made it awkward to discuss religious ones and helps in part to account for the secular character of the writings of the first decades of the fifteenth century. The reconstruction of a new religious discourse based on an intensive study of the language of the Latin church fathers required time.

On the one hand, looked at from the direction of the Florentine political situation, these linguistic developments expressed themselves in civic humanism because the Florentines needed a fresh language encoded with new political and ethical associations in order to express the evolving character of their political and civil life. On the other, however, the language evocative of Cicero was not merely a means to express ideas already formed but, rather, the language itself exercised a formative and clarifying role in the generation of the ideas themselves.

It is important to remember that Malpaghini's influence was not restricted only to Florentines. Guarino and Vittorino da Feltre also taught their northern Italian students the lessons they had learned from Malpaghini. If the new Ciceronian language brought with it a mindset that encouraged Bruni to see Florence's conflict with Milan in a context of ancient republican values, the linguistic change, becoming general, also had an effect on political discourse in the writing of contemporary humanists even in dynastic states. Looked at in this larger perspective, the adaptation of these linguistic developments for political purposes promised to provide a new formulation of a civic ethic for both republican and dynastic states as a replacement for the outworn one of the communal governments, on whose wreckage these states were based.

Consequently, if Baron exaggerated in placing civic humanism at the center of the development of the humanist movement in the fifteenth century, he was right to envisage it as at least a major tendency of humanism after 1400 and as marking an abrupt break with the previous two generations of humanists. If 1402 was not the catalyst Baron believed, the Visconti wars were doubtless of significance in forcing Florentines to examine the ideals for which they fought. At the same time, the concept of civic humanism serves to focus the convergence of a new stage in humanism with the demands of a newly evolving political order on the Italian peninsula.

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AHR Forum
Baron's Machiavelli and Renaissance Republicanism

JOHN M. NAJEMY

HANS BARON CAME TO MACHIAVELLI late in his scholarly career. His first important essay on Machiavelli appeared in 1956, the year following the first edition of *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, and was the fruit of studies to which he turned once work on the *Crisis* was complete.¹ In this essay, Baron began his challenge to the then generally accepted beliefs that Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* after drafting the first eighteen or so chapters of the *Discourses* and that the trajectory of his thought thus moved away from the initial idealism and republicanism of the *Discourses* to the realism and the acceptance of the necessity of princely power characteristic of *The Prince*. Baron set out to demonstrate that Machiavelli's ideas migrated in precisely the opposite direction: that *The Prince* preceded the *Discourses* and that Machiavelli's early enthusiasm for a monarchical solution to Italy's woes gave way, in the years that followed, to a reaffirmation of faith in a republicanism grounded in both the experience of Florence and the memory of Rome. This project occupied Baron for much of the next half-dozen years, from the mid-1950s until 1961, when he published his fullest and most important analysis of the problem in the *English Historical Review*.² Even the posthumously published article on the dating of the last chapter of *The Prince* goes back at least to 1968,³ and it seems likely that it, too, had its origins in Baron's thinking of the late 1950s or early 1960s, when his attention was sharply focused on Machiavelli.⁴ Clearly, Machiavelli emerged as a key figure in Baron's pantheon far later than did Bruni or Petrarch, and until this time he seems not to have occupied a significant place in Baron's view of Renaissance humanism or republicanism. The bibliography of Baron's writings published in the 1971 collection of studies in his honor contains very little on Machiavelli before 1956: a two-page review from 1928–1929, a

¹ Hans Baron, "The *Principe* and the Puzzle of the Date of the *Discorsi*," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 18 (1956): 405–28; Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1955).

² Hans Baron, "Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen and the Author of 'The Prince,'" *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961): 217–53; now revised and reprinted in Baron's *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 2: 101–51.

³ Hans Baron, "The *Principe* and the Puzzle of the Date of Chapter 26," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 21 (1991): 83–102. According to the prefatory note by Ronald Witt, Baron first read this paper at the Newberry Library in 1968.

⁴ Baron's other major contribution to Machiavelli studies also comes from this period: "Machiavelli on the Eve of the *Discourses*: The Date and Place of His *Dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua*," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961): 449–76.

half-dozen pages on Machiavelli and Thomas More from 1931, and a few brief discussions in early attempts to sketch a broad synthesis of Renaissance intellectual history.⁵

One of these early attempts at synthesis provides important clues to Baron's limited and generally negative assessment of Machiavelli in the decades before the publication of the *Crisis*. It is an essay of 1932 that Baron selected many decades later for inclusion in the two-volume collection of his papers published just before his death in 1988—one of only two essays in the collection that he “left essentially as they were in order to show the point from which I started out,” and whose title he translated as “New Historical and Psychological Ways of Thinking: From Petrarch to Bruni and Machiavelli.”⁶ Although part of the argument it offers is that Machiavelli inherited from the humanists of the early Quattrocento what Baron called a “causal and psychological approach” to history and politics, the young Baron insisted even more strongly here on the big differences between Machiavelli and Bruni and the characteristic assumptions of their respective ages. “Machiavelli's view of man and history,” he wrote, “did not include the entire legacy of Bruni's age. Even before Machiavelli, the optimism of the first Quattrocento generations, with their unquestioning belief in the positive value of the unrestrained growth of man's full nature, with all its passions, had widely turned to disappointment.” Baron declared, “From the early Quattrocento delight in the discovery that strong emotions can be a spur to moral conduct, the road had led to an understanding of how egotistic tendencies are bound to dilute the ethical purity of political aims [or, in the original version of the essay: ‘die reine Diesseitsethik’].”⁷ The Machiavelli that Baron saw in the early 1930s was one who, together with the rest of his age, had lost faith in this “ethical purity of political aims,” which, according to Baron, had characterized Bruni and his generation:

Responding to the political conditions of his time, [Machiavelli] . . . concluded that the psychological optimism of the early Quattrocento was due to the naiveté of writers who had failed to perceive the evil in man's psyche. This was the reason for his critical assessment of Bruni. [Machiavelli] believed in an active, productive *virtù* only for those few great founders

⁵ The bibliography was prepared by John A. Tedeschi and Andrew Lewis, and published in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi, eds. (Florence, 1971), lxxi–lxxxvii. Hans Baron, review, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 139 (1928–29): 418–19; Baron, “Machiavelli und Morus,” in *Menschen die Geschichte machten*, P. R. Rohden and G. Ostrogorsky, eds., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1931), 2: 212–18.

⁶ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 1: viii; 1: 24–42. The essay was originally published as “Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento,” *Historische Zeitschrift*, 147 (1932–33): 5–20.

⁷ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 1: 38, 41; compare “Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens,” 17–18. The second of these two sentences reads as follows in the original German: “Von dem naiven Frohlocken über den Wert der grossen Leidenschaft für das sittliche Tun des Menschen hat der Weg zur Einsicht in die reale unlösliche Verschlungenheit der idealen und der erdgebundenen Kräfte im sittlichen Haushalt des Menschen, zur Resignation des Glaubens an die reine Diesseitsethik und an das Königsrecht der sich in Freiheit entfaltenden Natur geführt.” The phrase “die reine Diesseitsethik” would actually seem to mean something like “a purely secular ethic,” and it is worth noting that the English translation subtly changes the sense of the passage by attributing purity not to the secular dimension of the ethic itself but to the moral character of the “political aims” that can be advanced within it. Whether initially translated by him or by others, the English version of this essay, like everything of Baron's that was translated from German, received his close scrutiny and had his complete approval. Thus, despite the differences, the English text must also be considered his own.

and rulers of states whose natural vices of greed, self-interest, and desire for power are excused because they are linked to a political mission. In Machiavelli's eyes, the large majority of men belong to the indolent masses and are filled with petty instincts and capable of achieving *virtù* only under the coercion exerted by the state and the law . . . [The] optimistic [early Quattrocento] faith in the free and autonomous development of human energies—in individuals as well as in the body politic—has disappeared . . . Machiavelli's world is shaped by a few great individuals who alone are capable of slowing down the blind race of history through its predestined cycles.⁸

The view advanced by Baron in 1932—that Machiavelli's thought was more a critical and even cynical reaction *against* the humanism of the early Quattrocento than an extension of its legacy—is strikingly at odds with nearly everything he wrote about Machiavelli after the mid-1950s, when he came to see him as the defender and continuator of the civic humanism of the first half of the fifteenth century. As Riccardo Fubini has remarked in his recent and illuminating essay on Baron's intellectual formation, Baron was in fact acutely aware of how much he revised his first opinion of Machiavelli.⁹ In 1988, when he presented the 1932 essay in English, he warned his readers that the "Machiavelli characterized" in this piece "is more contemptuous of the common people and more estranged from the civic traditions of early Quattrocento Florence than I now believe him to have been."¹⁰ Baron thus alerted his readers to the almost complete reversal by which he remade Machiavelli into the faithful heir of the specifically republican humanism of the early fifteenth century. I think it can be shown that his need to change his position emerged from the conflicted and competing images of Machiavelli that surfaced in Baron's most important book, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*.

In the 1955 first edition of the *Crisis*, the necessity of remaking Machiavelli is alluded to but the project is nowhere carried out. The *Crisis* affirms Machiavelli's debt to Bruni and civic humanism in a number of places but without demonstration or analysis. Baron writes, for example, that "Machiavelli carried on and developed Bruni's conception that a wealth of human energies was stifled by Rome's universal Empire . . . and also repeated the early Quattrocento censure of Caesar."¹¹ He likewise states that Bruni viewed the mercenary system "with the same disgust for his own time that three generations later became characteristic of Machiavelli." And on the last page of the book, we find a more dramatic formulation of the link: "What had been achieved" by the middle of the fifteenth century "would reemerge, and eventually remold the conduct and thought of the Florentine citizens, when in the days of Savonarola, Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, and Donato Giannotti the Republic was restored."¹² But, in fact, Machiavelli does not figure prominently

⁸ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 1: 41–42.

⁹ Riccardo Fubini, "Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron," *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992): 541–74; see 551.

¹⁰ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 1: 24.

¹¹ Baron, *Crisis* (1955), 1: 56.

¹² Baron, *Crisis* (1955), 1: 374, 378. By 1966, when Baron issued a second and revised edition, the conclusion put still more emphasis on Machiavelli's role in the survival of republicanism by eliminating Guicciardini and Giannotti from this list: "What had been achieved by then would live on or reemerge and remold conduct and thought when in the days of the Republic of Savonarola and Machiavelli the civic freedom of Florence was restored"; Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, rev. one-volume edn. with an epilogue (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 439.

in the *Crisis*. In his brief and not very frequent appearances, he is merely invoked for the purpose of underscoring the enduring afterlife of Bruni's civic humanism. Baron seems to have realized that he needed Machiavelli as an essential part of the dramatic emplotment of the survival of republicanism from the city-states to the modern age—a story that makes of Bruni and his generation a pivotal point in the birth of modernity. But Baron had not yet overcome or neutralized the negative assessment of Machiavelli he had first expressed in the 1930s. The problem, in short, was that without Machiavelli, or so Baron seemed to believe, early Quattrocento civic humanism ran the risk of being little more than an episode, the already nostalgic yearning of a single generation for a republican liberty in decline. Only with Machiavelli could it be seen as one of the enduring structures of modern thought.

The *Crisis* also preserves hints of the dilemma that held Baron back, even at this point, from fully integrating Machiavelli into the civic humanist paradigm. Its first endnote provides bibliography in support of the claim of a significant link between the Quattrocento humanists and the great historians of the early sixteenth century, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and Giannotti. In the note, Baron begins by recalling the same 1932 essay discussed above and then writes, "The recognition that Machiavelli, in spite of his acrimonious criticism of his humanistic predecessors in historiography, was in vital respects indebted to Bruni's historical outlook and method may be considered an established fact today, even though the consequences for the appraisal of Machiavelli's historical place have not yet been fully drawn by Machiavelli students."¹³ Chief among the "humanistic predecessors" who were the target of what Baron calls Machiavelli's "acrimonious criticism" was Leonardo Bruni. Baron was evidently alluding here to the opening pages of Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories*, where Machiavelli writes that, having first thought it unnecessary to deal with the period before 1434 because Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini had already written that part of Florence's history, he then examined their accounts and found inadequate their treatment of the city's social and factional conflicts.¹⁴ Machiavelli's criticism of Bruni was still troubling Baron, even after more than twenty years. But neither in the early essay nor in the *Crisis* did Baron describe or confront what Machiavelli actually wrote about Bruni.

A second hint of Baron's dilemma vis-à-vis Machiavelli in the *Crisis* is a brief comment, buried in his discussion of Florentine politics in the 1420s, on the description by the fifteenth-century historian Giovanni Cavalcanti of the reaction in Florence to a military defeat near the beginning of a new phase of the long war against Milan. Cavalcanti was an angry critic of the oligarchic regime that preceded the rise to power of Cosimo de' Medici in 1434 and, subsequently, of the Medici regime as well. In his constant excoriation of the ruling oligarchy of the 1420s and early 1430s, Cavalcanti exposed what he saw as the political corruption and hypocrisy that led self-styled civic leaders to put private and factional ends before the common good of the republic.¹⁵ The regime that Cavalcanti criticized so harshly

¹³ Baron, *Crisis* (1955), 2: 443.

¹⁴ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*, Mario Martelli, ed. (Florence, 1971), 632.

¹⁵ On Cavalcanti and the value of his assessment of Florentine politics, see Dale Kent, "The Importance of Being Eccentric: Giovanni Cavalcanti's View of Cosimo de' Medici's Florence," *Journal*

is of course the same one that Leonardo Bruni praised as a model of republican liberty and equality and that employed him as chancellor in 1427 (a position he held until he died, in 1444). Cavalcanti's account of the mood in the city following the defeat of the Florentine forces fighting the Milanese in 1424 highlights fear and dismay among the people and accusations against the inner circle of calculated warmongering for factional and class advantage. According to Cavalcanti, the charges against the ruling group included that of pursuing a deliberate policy of ruinous taxation by which "you have deprived us of our wealth under the pretext of defending the liberty of the fatherland."¹⁶ This was in effect a polemical rejection of claims emerging from the civic humanists and the chancery concerning the moral justification of these wars in the self-defense of Florence and in the mission to protect republicanism and also concerning the alleged civic consensus that permitted the government to tap the wealth of all classes of citizens in prosecuting the wars. Baron rejected Cavalcanti's picture as erroneous, and in so doing he called upon an old tradition of seeing Cavalcanti, in Baron's words, as a "historian known for his graphic but also hate-inspired descriptions of the clashes of the various groups of the citizenry." Baron claimed that "contemporary documents show that [the] scenes of despair [in 1424] merely mark the transition to a more vigorous phase of Florence's history."¹⁷ It should be no surprise therefore that this is the only mention of Cavalcanti in the *Crisis*: the assessment of Florentine politics that he offers could hardly be more at odds with that of Bruni, and Baron resolved this problem by refusing to consider Cavalcanti a reliable source.¹⁸

But Cavalcanti's dissenting voice posed a more difficult dilemma for Baron with regard to Machiavelli. For Machiavelli selected the fierce critic of the ruling group of the first half of the fifteenth century as the chief source for this period in his own *Florentine Histories*.¹⁹ Machiavelli adapted much of Cavalcanti's narrative and interpretive structure to describe the self-destructive policies of the oligarchic regime. Baron's one comment on this in the *Crisis* follows the statement of his belief that contemporary sources reveal the inadequacy of Cavalcanti's depiction of Florentine attitudes in 1424: despite the pitfalls, Baron seems to imply, of relying on Cavalcanti, "later historians, ever since Machiavelli, have used the picture drawn by Cavalcanti as proof of the decay of unity and public spirit among the Florentine citizens." Baron's dilemma was, in short, that, in the evident disagreement between

of *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1979): 101–32; Marcella T. Grendler, *The "Trattato politico-morale" of Giovanni Cavalcanti (1381–c. 1451)* (Geneva, 1973); and Claudio Varese, "Giovanni Cavalcanti storico e scrittore," in the author's *Storia e politica nella prosa del Quattrocento* (Turin, 1961), 93–131.

¹⁶ Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, F. Polidori, ed., 2 vols. (Florence, 1838), 1: 65–67 (book 2, chap. 21); quote on 66.

¹⁷ Baron, *Crisis* (1955), 1: 334–35.

¹⁸ This is not to imply that Baron was necessarily wrong to do so. The question of Cavalcanti's reliability is a complex and debated one that has generated a number of different approaches. See note 15 above for some of the essential bibliography. The best-informed modern assessment of the events of 1424–1425 is by Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 447–71. Brucker accepts much of Cavalcanti's picture of Florentine politics; about the charge of ruinous taxation, he writes (p. 459) that, although Cavalcanti "certainly exaggerated," "the statement does contain a kernel of truth."

¹⁹ On Machiavelli's use of Cavalcanti, especially in the fourth book of the *Istorie*, see Gian Mario Anselmi, *Ricerche sul Machiavelli storico* (Pisa, 1979), 125–28.

Bruni and Cavalcanti over the nature of Florentine political life and the conduct of the ruling group in the early fifteenth century, Machiavelli was very much on Cavalcanti's side.²⁰ It was not only that Machiavelli criticized Bruni as a way of defining his own approach to the writing of history. More fundamentally, grounding his own analysis in Cavalcanti's, he rejected Bruni's laudatory evaluation of the leaders, institutions, and civic ethos of the early fifteenth century and insisted, as he put it in the introductory chapter of Book 4 of the *Florentine Histories*, that Florence after 1400 could not be considered a "well-ordered" republic and that its options were thus no longer liberty and tyranny, as Bruni and the civic humanists proclaimed, but tyranny and anarchy.²¹ Machiavelli's criticism of Bruni was fueled by the judgment that what for Bruni had been the age of republican idealism and citizenship actually witnessed the corruption of republican institutions, the triumph of oligarchic factionalism, and the beginning of the republic's slide toward a principate. And Baron's comment further implied that Machiavelli was more responsible than anyone for popularizing Cavalcanti's account and transmitting it to "later historians." What was Baron going to do with a Machiavelli who aimed such "acrimonious criticism" at Bruni and the political leadership of his time?

The *Crisis* thus contains and does not reconcile two Machiavellis quite at odds with each other—the disillusioned debunker of civic humanist ideals and the republican patriot who rescued and defended those ideals and made them accessible to posterity. At the same time, the claims advanced in the *Crisis* for the long-term legacy of Bruni and the republicanism of his generation demanded a resolution of this deep-rooted ambivalence about Machiavelli. When I first met Hans Baron in 1972, he generously read the dissertation I had just finished, and his first and most urgent question to me was about a throwaway last paragraph in which I had written something about civic humanism's neglect, and Machiavelli's recovery, of the role of the guilds in the fourteenth-century Florentine republican tradition. The dissertation had nothing to do with Bruni or Machiavelli, and I did not then understand how its concluding sentences must have reminded Baron of the dilemma he had, by that time, faced and resolved concerning Machiavelli's relationship to Bruni. Baron expressed considerable skepticism about my claim, and the many discussions that ensued prompted me to write an essay on the subject, which I was working on in Florence in the fall of 1974.²² Baron was due to arrive for a stay that winter, and from Cambridge he wrote to say that he preferred to wait until his arrival before looking at a draft of the essay, because, as he put it, "You and I might have to converse quite a bit about the significance of Bruni's historiographical work in this field." In the same letter, he reported that he himself had lately returned to work on Machiavelli, because, he wrote, "Machiavelli is being partly or even totally misinterpreted by so many people that it suddenly appeared I had to take up these studies" before other things. I had the uncomfortable suspicion that, in Baron's view, I had become one of the many people getting

²⁰ See J. G. A. Pocock's excellent reading of the themes in Cavalcanti that point toward Machiavelli's analysis of the crisis of the republic, in *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 91–98.

²¹ Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*, 715.

²² John M. Najemy, "Arti and Ordini in Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine*," in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, eds., 2 vols. (Florence, 1978), 1: 161–91.

Machiavelli wrong, in particular on the issue of his intellectual relationship to Bruni. The point of this recollection is that, for Baron, the stakes in getting Machiavelli right were never very distant from those involved in getting Bruni right, and vice versa. He made this explicit in the address he gave in accepting the "Galileo Galilei, Forte dei Marmi" prize in 1965, when he said that "the gradual reconstruction of the early Quattrocento world of civic Humanism has assured us that the Florentine environment was capable of producing a far more genuinely 'republican' Machiavelli than his traditional image seemed to admit. It was this realization that led me to work, after composing the *Crisis*, on the problem of the long-accepted chronological order of Machiavelli's . . . writings." And he added, "The transformation which has taken place in our concept of the Quattrocento is clearly a prerequisite for future reappraisals [of Machiavelli]." ²³

The contradictory images of Machiavelli in the *Crisis* led Baron to devote the next few years to the Florentine secretary whom he had originally figured merely as the disillusioned foil to Bruni's "optimistic" civic philosophy. Remaking Machiavelli now became, among other purposes, a way of vindicating Bruni and the republicanism of Bruni's day. Baron must have concluded that Machiavelli's harsh judgments in the *Florentine Histories* on the republican polity of the early fifteenth century could be explained away as an unfortunate echo of Cavalcanti's misguided judgment. Even as he frequently reiterated the conviction that Machiavelli's approach to historical writing was deeply indebted to Bruni's, Baron never wrote more than a few sentences on Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories*. Instead, he turned his attention to the old problem of the chronology of *The Prince* and the *Discourses*, persuaded that, in showing that the republican *Discourses* followed the monarchical *Prince*, which could thus be confined to an initial and not fully mature phase of Machiavelli's thinking, he was demonstrating the more permanent hold on Machiavelli of the republican tradition. He attempted to prove that the *Discourses* are the more historically significant of the two books—which is really what the dispute over chronology is about—and that, after a brief infatuation, born of isolation, with the amoral power-politics of princes, Machiavelli's growing contacts with circles of republican thought brought him back to faith in the participatory politics of free republics.

What was (and is) at stake here, though Baron rarely discussed it, is the nature of Florentine republicanism in Bruni's time and the relationship of civic humanism to the political practice it claimed to sustain and represent. Machiavelli criticized the Florence of the pre-Medicean oligarchy, quite as much as he did the Florence of the Medici, for being a flawed republic, particularly in its attempt to find stability in a system where a few made the decisions while the many were expected only to support those decisions. According to Machiavelli—and he was indeed echoing Cavalcanti's judgments—powerful private citizens had too much authority behind the scenes. Despite the façade of frequent consultation, large legislative assemblies, and more office holders than ever before in the republic's history, the "people," Machiavelli insisted, were denied their proper role in government. ²⁴ But Machia-

²³ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 192.

²⁴ This is the essence of the summary of Machiavelli's views on the politics of the period from 1393 to 1434, which he provided in the 1520 *Discourse on Florentine Affairs after the Death of Lorenzo*;

velli implied something even more troubling about the civic humanists themselves. In the proem to the *Florentine Histories*—the page to which Baron alluded in both the 1932 essay and in the *Crisis*, in which, as we have seen, Machiavelli criticizes Bruni and Poggio for having ignored, or reduced to such a level of insignificance as to be useless to readers, any account of the city's long experience of "civil discord and internal animosities"—Machiavelli comments on this neglect as follows: "I believe they did this either because those events seemed to them so irrelevant that they judged them unworthy of being transmitted to the memory of letters, or because they feared offending the descendants of those they would have to slander in narrating those events. Both reasons . . . seem to me completely unworthy of great men."²⁵

Machiavelli here calls attention to an aspect of civic humanism that Baron, essentially apolitical in his fundamental assumptions about intellectuals, could never bring himself to confront: the political and ideological links that bound the civic humanists to the ruling oligarchy. In speculating that fear of offending the powerful motivated the way they wrote history, Machiavelli was pointing to their complicity in the production of consensus around oligarchic power. Implicitly, Machiavelli saw the ideas of the civic humanists as ideology—as a strategically pursued legitimization of the hegemony of the ruling group. He offered this critique, not because he considered republicanism irrelevant or a lost cause but because he had different notions both of the role of intellectuals in politics and of what constituted a healthy republic: notions built around the revolutionary idea—the most revolutionary of all Machiavelli's political ideas—that liberty can flourish only where political competition between social classes is permitted and even encouraged by law, institutions, and, not least, by intellectuals.

Obviously, Baron could never make his peace with Machiavelli's judgment of the ruling group of the early fifteenth century; even less could he accept the idea that civic humanism functioned as part of the oligarchy's arsenal of power. And he evidently feared that Machiavelli's critique of the republicanism of Quattrocento Florence implied a repudiation of the entire republican tradition. So he set out to prove, not that Machiavelli was wrong about the politics of the fifteenth century (an arena in which Baron never felt comfortable) but that the *real* Machiavelli—the Machiavelli of the *Discourses*—was in fact a committed republican.

I wonder what part Baron's reading of another great book of 1955 may have played in the resolution of his old ambivalence about Machiavelli. The Swiss historian Rudolf von Albertini's magisterial synthesis of the politics and ideas of Florence's transition from republic to principate in the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century must have captured Baron's interest (in fact, he reviewed it in the *American Historical Review* in 1957²⁶). Although a student of Federico

published in *Arte della guerra e scritti politici minori*, S. Bertelli, ed. (Milan, 1961), 261–77; also in Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*, 24–31. On Machiavelli's interpretation of Florentine history in the *Istorie*, see John M. Najemy, "Machiavelli and the Medici: The Lessons of Florentine History," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35 (1982): 551–76; and Gennaro Sasso, *Niccolò Machiavelli*, Vol. 2: *La storiografia* (Bologna, 1993).

²⁵ Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, in *Tutte le opere*, 632.

²⁶ Hans Baron, *AHR*, 62 (1956–57): 909–11.

Chabod, Albertini broke with the reigning orthodoxy in Italy and Europe, according to which Machiavelli had disabused himself of vestigial nostalgia for a moribund communal republicanism and embraced the ineluctability of a monarchical future for Italy. Albertini had no hesitation in affirming that "Machiavelli was a republican" and that "the free and independent community of citizens, which constitutes itself as a political body, gives itself its own laws, and defends itself on its own, represented for Machiavelli the highest form of political life." He even asserted that, in these convictions, Machiavelli "reached back to the political thought of the Renaissance and of Humanism" and that Machiavelli's "greatness consists in having posed for one more time the problem of the republic, the city republic, and in not having lost faith in the possibility of its renewal." The idea that a passionately republican Machiavelli found inspiration in the humanism that preceded him must have opened Baron's eyes, especially when he noticed that Albertini cited a 1952 article of Hans Baron himself to support the claim of the significant survival, even into the second half of the fifteenth century, of what Albertini called "the communal and republican spirit and its social and political foundations," the "humanism of communal traditions."²⁷ Although Bruni receives only one rather rhetorical mention in Albertini's book, Baron did not hesitate, in the second edition of the *Crisis*, to enlist Albertini in support of what he now saw as "the close connection between Bruni's civic Humanism and the historical philosophy of early-sixteenth century Florence," and this in the same, slightly revised endnote in which Machiavelli's "acrimonious criticism" of Bruni still stood as a sign of the obstacle that had long prevented Baron from welcoming Machiavelli into the house of civic humanism.²⁸

Baron's favorite Machiavelli—the Machiavelli of a civic humanist reading of the *Discourses*—was the one who sought the source of political power, as Baron wrote in the 1961 essay that is his most significant contribution to Machiavelli studies, "in the creation of a social and constitutional fabric allowing civic energies and a spirit of political devotion and sacrifice to develop in all classes of a people."²⁹ What I find intriguing here is the similarity over three decades between the concepts of "devotion and sacrifice" that the Baron of 1961 saw as central to Machiavelli's thought and the "ethical purity of political aims" in which, according to the Baron of 1932, the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento (including Machiavelli) could no longer believe. My guess is that this "ethical purity of political aims" was always a crucial component of Baron's understanding of civic humanism and, indeed, the foundation of his judgment of intellectuals of any age.³⁰ To bring Machiavelli into the long history of civic humanism, Baron needed to convert him to an "ethical

²⁷ Rudolf von Albertini, *Das florentinische Staatsbewusstsein im Übergang von der Republik zum Prinzipat* (Bern, 1955); trans. to Italian as *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato: Storia e coscienza politica*, Cesare Cristofolini, trans. (Turin, 1970). The passages quoted are on 52, 66–67, and 13 of the Italian edition. (English translation is mine.) The essay by Baron that Albertini cites is "Die politische Entwicklung der italienischen Renaissance," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 174 (1952): 31–56.

²⁸ Baron, *Crisis* (1966), 465.

²⁹ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 146.

³⁰ Fubini has similarly emphasized the ethical dimension of Baron's thought in the essay cited above in note 9, "Renaissance Historian": "With his *Bürgerhumanismus* . . . Baron was proposing a concrete Italian counterpart to the idealized northern city imbued with the lay piety of the *Devotio moderna* postulated by German and Protestant historiography. [In Baron's view] Florence . . . represented sound, shared communal values capable of being integrated with the models of antiquity . . . and of being presented as a political and ethicocultural model for the future" (pp. 559–60).

purity" of trust and optimism in his fellow citizens and to the possibility of "devotion and sacrifice . . . in all classes of a people." This was no doubt an important corrective to the image of Machiavelli that Baron inherited from his teachers and from the nineteenth century's insistence on the cold pragmatism and ruthless methods traditionally associated with Machiavelli. This conversion also meant, of course, that some essential features of Machiavelli's analysis of republics were lost from Baron's view: most important, the emphasis on social conflict and the necessity of political dissent, but also the harsh polemic against aristocracies (including that of republican Venice), the predatory nature of popular republics, the manipulation of ritual in the creation (among the Romans at least) of the indispensable religious undergirding of the very virtues of "devotion and sacrifice," and the social and military conditions of the periodic slide of republics toward factionalism and corruption. The remaking of Machiavelli made it difficult for Baron to acknowledge the elements of social conflict, ideological manipulation, and hegemonic ambition that Machiavelli himself saw as central to republican politics.

To a large extent, Baron's answer to the dilemma that Machiavelli had posed for him rested on a tendency to displace problems of interpretation onto puzzles of chronology. He tried to remove or diminish the evidence of Machiavelli's simultaneous acceptance and critique of the republicanism he inherited from the humanists by showing that this or that section of a particular text had to have been written at another time. Ultimately, Baron projected his old ambivalence about Machiavelli onto the texts by attributing each of the major works to a different Machiavelli. In the 1961 essay that identifies the "different world of values" separating *The Prince* from the *Discourses*, Baron remarked that the "world [of the republican *Discourses*] often looks as if it had been conceived by another author." And about those troublesome *Florentine Histories*, he wrote, "During the 1520s . . . a third Machiavelli appeared—the first Florentine writer to view Florence's development in the melancholy light in which it was to appear as the sixteenth century advanced." Still bothered by the implications of this last of Machiavelli's works, Baron then added a strange conclusion that resurrected all the old doubts: once the "third" Machiavelli of the *Histories* comes into view, one cannot say that "Machiavelli ever became a steadfast republican with regard to the practical problems of Florence's future . . . From the viewpoint of Florentine republicanism, therefore, Machiavelli was certainly not a good and faithful citizen."³¹ This is remarkable evidence of an enduring ambivalence grounded in the wish for a Machiavelli steeped in, and fully accepting of, the "ethical purity" of republican politics: a wish destined to be frustrated by Machiavelli's irreverence, by his different historical vantage point, and by his absence of fear of self-contradiction.³²

³¹ Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 109, 146–47; and in the original version in the *English Historical Review* of 1961, 223, 249–50.

³² Further evidence of Baron's conflicted view of Machiavelli, and of the extent to which it was always a function of the question of his relationship to Bruni, can be seen in the following note toward the end of the 1961 essay (*In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 149, n. 71): "Machiavelli's relationship to Humanism was, of course, not altogether positive. His pessimistic view of man and explicit subordination of the pursuits of culture to those of power and military efficiency make him in some respects one of the first great antipodes of the humanistic attitude in Italy . . . But this need not prevent us from recognizing that certain other humanistic tendencies are basic to Machiavelli's thought and that he is one of their most important representatives. This is not only true of his classicistic belief that

Hans Baron was, I think, right about the dating and sequence of Machiavelli's major works and, more important, about his genuine republican convictions.³³ Some of the most significant work on Machiavelli in the last twenty years, in Anglophone scholarship at least, has built on Baron's recasting of the differences between *The Prince* and the *Discourses* and his redefinition of Machiavelli's relationship to civic humanism.³⁴ But the irony, I would also say, is that Baron was more right than he realized. He could never accept that Machiavelli's critique of Bruni and the Florentine political world of the early fifteenth century, far from being a threat to Machiavelli's standing within the republican tradition, is actually some of the best evidence for it. If anything, Machiavelli's critique of the politics and civic humanism of fifteenth-century Florence stemmed from republican convictions that were deeper and more committed, precisely because they were more searching and critical, than those of Leonardo Bruni.

contemporary Italy could be regenerated through a 'rebirth' of the political wisdom and the military organization of ancient Rome, but applies also to his relationship to the historical—and even political—outlook of Florentine civic Humanism in pre-Medici Florence, in particular to that of Leonardo Bruni."

³³ On Baron's place in the historiography of republicanism, see William J. Connell, "The Republican Tradition, In and Out of Florence," in *Girolamo Savonarola: Piety, Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Florence*, Donald Weinstein and Valerie R. Hotchkiss, eds. (Dallas, Tex., 1994), 95–105.

³⁴ I am thinking of two works that Baron very much admired: J. G. A. Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, in whose introduction (ix) one reads that "the presence of Hans Baron looms numinously if controversially (and entirely without his prior knowledge) over the whole scene"; and Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Vol. 1, *The Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1978). Emphasizing the central place of political liberty in Machiavelli's *Discourses*, Skinner writes, "It is the achievement of Baron . . . and of Pocock . . . to have made this clear beyond doubt." Baron's influence is also evident in Skinner's insistence on the differences between Machiavelli's two best-known works: "It is arguable that this crucial fact [that in the *Discourses* Machiavelli upholds the values of political liberty] has tended to become obscured by the prevailing tendency to insist that there are no important differences between *The Prince* and the *Discourses* . . . [I]t seems misleading to speak without qualification, as . . . others have recently done, of the 'fundamental unity' between the two books" (p. 156 and n.).

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AHR Forum

The Historical Petrarch

CRAIG KALLENDORF

WHEN WE SURVEY the many books and articles produced by Hans Baron in his long and distinguished scholarly career, we cannot help but be struck by the fact that his interest in Petrarch lasted for decades. Much of Baron's early work was gathered into *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, in which Petrarch was treated as a precursor of civic humanism whose early republican sentiments gave way to an enthusiastic imperialism in his later years. From Baron's perspective, the movement toward imperialism can only be seen as a step backwards, since it led Petrarch away from the decisive fusion of civic humanist attitudes that would take place two generations later in the Florentine republic.¹ As a result, Baron's conclusion is that Petrarch remained more medieval than we had thought—in Baron's words, he is "neither 'medieval' nor 'Renaissance,' but (if I may use the figure) rather a Moses, first to see a new land, but not granted to enter it."²

Beginning with the earliest reactions to the *Crisis*, Baron has been criticized for undervaluing Petrarch's originality³—a position that follows logically from his broader understanding of the development of Italian humanism but that takes little account of the prevailing tendency today to posit Petrarch as "the first modern man."⁴ More important, however, is the fact that the evolution Baron sees in Petrarch's thought has not won universal acceptance. The evidence is unusually difficult to evaluate, which has led to several different interpretations to supplement Baron's. Carlo Steiner, Thomas Bergin, and Alice Wilson have argued that

¹ Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, rev. edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 47–61, 119–20. Some of the relevant points are also developed in Baron, "The Evolution of Petrarch's Thought: Reflections on the State of Petrarch Studies," in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago, 1968), 7–50.

² Hans Baron, "Moot Problems of Renaissance Interpretation: An Answer to Wallace K. Ferguson," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19 (1958): 28.

³ This point is made, for example, by Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Interpretation of Italian Humanism: The Contribution of Hans Baron," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19 (1958): 14–25.

⁴ The phrase can be traced back to Renan, but it received a striking and influential elaboration in the introduction to Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (1892; rpt. edn., Paris, 1907); see also Joseph G. Fucilla, "The Present State of Petrarchan Studies," Aldo Scaglione, ed., *Francis Petrarch, Six Centuries Later: A Symposium* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975), 31–32. In a paper originally delivered in 1960 but not published until a decade later, Baron did acknowledge that there is "something distinctly 'modern'" in Petrarch's interest in the human elements of the personalities of the great men of antiquity; see Hans Baron, "Petrarch: His Inner Struggles and the Humanistic Discovery of Man's Nature," in J. G. Rowe and W. H. Stockdale, eds., *Florilegium Historiale: Essays Presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (Toronto, 1971), 45–46.

Petrarch retained his belief that the republic was superior to the empire, both in ancient Rome and in his own day⁵; Bonaventura Zumbini, Giulio Augusto Levi, and Rodolfo De Mattei have concluded that, like Dante, Petrarch was a consistent admirer of the empire and its founder, Julius Caesar⁶; and Janet Smarr has adopted the one remaining position and argued that as far as Petrarch was concerned, politics was of little importance—that is, “empire or republic does not matter.”⁷ I looked closely at this problem several years ago in another context,⁸ and I would like to revisit the issue briefly now and place my findings in relation to the larger issues raised by Baron in his study of Petrarch.

A major source for Petrarch’s republican sentiments is *Africa*, his epic poem recounting the victory of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal in the Second Punic War. Near the end of Scipio’s dream in Book 2, we find a parade of heroes in which the speaker, Scipio’s father, refers to Julius Caesar in most unflattering terms:

Ah, happy conqueror could he but learn
to set due limits on his flashing blade.
For this the wretched man lacks wit and will;
he lays in madness his victorious hands
upon the state, and laurels won abroad
with blood of fellow Romans he defiles,
in strife unseemly sullyng deserved
triumphs. Ah, shame to mar such high renown
with folly infamous! How brazenly
the lust for office sweeps all else aside
so that the power may lie with one alone!
He for the first, and giving sad example,
will loot the Treasury with rapacious hands
and bind the hapless Senate with new laws!

(*Africa* 2.228–37)

The emperors who follow Augustus fare no better:

But of the herd that follows, what’s to say?
the shame of their forbears and to the world
a laughingstock. For them the Stygian caves
and Tartarus stand ready.

(*Africa* 2.263–65)⁹

⁵ Carlo Steiner, “La fede nell’Impero e il concetto della patria italiana nel Petrarca,” *Il giornale dantesco*, 14, no. 1 (1906): 8–34; and *Petrarch’s Africa*, trans. and annotated by Thomas Bergin and Alice Wilson (New Haven, Conn., 1977), x.

⁶ Bonaventura Zumbini, *Studi sul Petrarca* (Florence, 1895), 161–255; Giulio Augusto Levi, “Il concetto monarchico del Petrarca,” *Da Dante al Machiavelli* (Florence, 1935), 105–17; and Rodolfo De Mattei, *Il sentimento politico del Petrarca* (Florence, 1944), 67–84, 103–28.

⁷ Janet Smarr, “Petrarch: A Vergil without a Rome,” P. A. Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1982), 135.

⁸ Petrarch’s approach to this problem is considered in relation to Dante Alighieri and Cristoforo Landino in Craig Kallendorf, “Virgil, Dante, and Empire in Italian Thought, 1300–1500,” *Vergilius*, 34 (1988): 44–69.

⁹ Quotations from *Africa* are taken from the English translation by Bergin and Wilson, *Petrarch’s Africa*, 30–31, 32.

In Book 3, Laelius also presents a triumphal vision of Roman history in which he argues that Rome remained strong as long as liberty was protected under her republican institutions (lines 773–74).

Baron claims, however, that the failure of Cola di Rienzo's effort to revive republican institutions in Rome led to a change in Petrarch's political sympathies, so that by the early 1350s Caesar surpassed Scipio as praiseworthy hero. *De viris illustribus*, for example, began with a focus on Scipio, but Petrarch continued to work on it in the 1350s and 1360s, during which time Caesar took a prominent place. And there are plenty of favorable references to Caesar in the letters of this period: Caesar ruled gently and loved peace (*Familiars* 19.18), he was moderate in victory and killed by ungrateful men to whom he had shown kindness (*Familiars* 14.1), he used his natural gifts and great learning to develop moderation (*Familiars* 17.3), and so forth. Indeed, Petrarch's *De gestis Caesaris* shows little trace of any anti-imperial bias.¹⁰

So far, Baron's interpretation is defensible; the problem is that when we return to the sources and look more closely, things prove considerably less tidy than Baron would have us believe. For example, between the condemnations of Julius Caesar and the later emperors quoted above from *Africa* is a description of Augustus that praises his military conquests and concludes by declaring him worthy of deification (2.262–63). Later, in Book 8, Lentulus presents a digression on how Rome's republican institutions held her back in her pursuit of greatness:

Your champions of other nations knew
no rival to beset them; envy's bane
did not afflict them in the midst of trials,
and their pursuit of glorious exploits
was not retarded by an idle year.
No enemy at home could interrupt
the term of their command, nor did their folk
forbid them to break camp. No senate's word
recalled them as they stood to win a war.

(*Africa* 8.575–81)¹¹

The system of dual magistracies and mutual restraints had been explicitly praised by Lentulus in *Africa* 3.775–80, yet here Petrarch suggests that Scipio would have accomplished even greater things under a different political system. *Africa*, in short, is not an unequivocally republican poem.

A closer reading of some of the allegedly pro-imperial writings postdating Cola's failed revolution discloses similar ambiguities. For example, in 1351, Petrarch wrote *Familiars* 10.1, a letter to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV, exhorting him to return to Rome and govern there. At one point, he refers to Rome as "head of the

¹⁰ Baron, "Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 28–40. The standard edition of the *Familiars* is edited by Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco in the Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca, vols. 10–13 (Florence, 1933–42). The biography of Caesar appears in *Historia Julii Caesaris*, C. E. C. Schneider, ed. (Leipzig, 1827). A condemnation of the republican hero Brutus, in turn, is found in the *Secretum*, in Francesco Petrarca, *Prose*, G. Martellotti, P. G. Ricci, E. Carrara, and E. Bianchi, eds. (Naples, 1955), 118.

¹¹ Bergin and Wilson, *Petrarch's Africa*, 203.

monarchy," even though he also refers to it in the same letter as a "republic." Similarly, he associates Charles favorably with Julius Caesar, then refers to Brutus a little later as "first author of liberty." When Petrarch gives two examples of those who seized their opportunities decisively, Alexander the Great and Scipio, the great hero of the Roman republic, we can only conclude that the letter is neither unequivocally pro-republican nor unequivocally pro-imperial.

I do not, with due deference to Janet Smarr, believe that Petrarch was indifferent to politics; rather, I believe that an insensitivity to the context in which these political sentiments are developed has led many of Petrarch's modern readers to seek a consistency that is not to be found in this area. *Africa*, for example, was designed to praise the virtues of Scipio according to the principles of epideictic rhetoric,¹² so that Petrarch also tends to praise the city that nurtured him and its own institutions. Since these happened to be republican at this time, there is a certain republican bias that Baron and others have rightly noticed. But the poem praises Scipio, not political institutions as such, and when Rome and its institutions prevent Scipio from exercising his virtue, as in the passage quoted above from Book 8, then these same institutions are open to condemnation as well.

Indeed, once we remind ourselves of how important rhetoric in all its manifestations was to the development of early Italian humanism, it becomes easier to understand how modern scholars interested in Petrarch's political ideas could come to such radically different conclusions. As Victoria Kahn has shown, Renaissance humanists recovered from classical rhetoric the ability to argue both sides of almost any question, to adjust attitudes to circumstances, and to see the ambiguities in complicated problems.¹³ Thus when the need to praise Scipio demands a republican bias, Petrarch provides it, but he is perfectly willing in the same work to criticize the republic when circumstances demand that. Likewise, when Petrarch is exhorting Charles IV to return to Rome and govern there (*Familiare* 10.1), he does so from a suitable pro-imperial beginning place but not from a consistently pro-imperial stance. The rhetorical texture of Petrarch's writing, in short, complicates considerably any effort to find a consistent pattern, evolutionary or otherwise, in Petrarch's political thought.

Insensitivity to these rhetorical principles, I believe, has led Baron to oversimplify Petrarch's attitudes to republicanism and to find an evolutionary progression that I do not think is there. The merit of his approach lies in the effort to anchor his analysis in a larger study of the development of Italian humanism, but at this point it is clear that his interpretation of the evidence is only one of several possible ones.

¹² I have developed this point in Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, N.H., 1989), chap. 2: "Francesco Petrarca: Scipio, Aeneas, and the Epic of Praise," 19–57. A more general treatment of the relationship between epideictic rhetoric and the literature of this period may be found in O. B. Hardison, Jr., *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (1962; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1973).

¹³ Victoria Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 19–88. Kahn has recently extended her approach in *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-Reformation to Milton* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), which offers some interesting implications for Baron's work on Machiavelli.

THE PETRARCHAN WORK to which Baron devoted the most attention was the *Secretum*, to which he returned after completing the *Crisis*. Here as well, Baron sought to identify phases in Petrarch's intellectual development, and his approach remained essentially the same as it had been in the *Crisis*, his magnum opus: he began with a careful redating of key documents, then moved to a gentle teasing out of the implications of this redating, and ended with a bold statement of the conclusion that overturns what we thought we knew about the subject at hand. And, once again, Baron found that the medieval strain in Petrarch's work turns out to be more pronounced than was generally recognized.

Baron's work on Petrarch at this time unfolded in explicit reaction to scholars such as Umberto Bosco, whose influential study states that it is impossible to unravel a line of development in Petrarch's work. To be sure, he argues, there are several drafts of many of Petrarch's writings, but there is no way to write the history of Petrarch's intellectual development from them—it is impossible, as Bosco puts it, to say, "in this period Petrarch was a man like this, and then he changed in this way, and for these reasons." In short, according to Bosco, Petrarch is a man "without a history."¹⁴ Nonsense, says Baron. Everyone knows that Petrarch continued to revise his works until he died—indeed, he tells us this himself in his *Posteritati* and in his letters—so it ought to be possible for the careful reader to find signs of revision ("disturbed areas," as Baron called them) in Petrarch's final drafts. These disturbed areas contain interpolations, passages whose style of expression and direction of thought stand out from the text around them, and Baron is especially interested in interpolations that point in some way or other to a particular, datable event. The interpolations, confirmed as such by sources outside the text being studied, can be grouped together in turn by date of composition, allowing the scholar to identify phases in the intellectual development of the author.¹⁵

It is important to state immediately that Baron was by no means so original in applying this method to Petrarch as he was in applying it to Leonardo Bruni. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, for example, had laid the groundwork for a reconstruction of Petrarch's life as reflected in his works; and, as Baron himself acknowledges, the *Note critiche ai testi* in the two Petrarch anthologies in the Ricciardi series provided him with "safe guides to all chronological questions."¹⁶ Others had studied the various compositional strands in the various works of Petrarch: first Vittorio Rossi, then Giuseppe Billanovich for the *Familiars*, Guido Martellotti for *De viris illustribus* and the *Trionfo della Fama*, B. L. Ullman for *De vita solitaria*, Klaus Heitmann for *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and (most important) Martellotti and Enrico Fenzi for *Africa*.¹⁷ Others had also applied a form of the genetic method to

¹⁴ Umberto Bosco, *Francesco Petrarca*, rev. edn. (Bari, 1961), 9, 7. Baron positions his work in relation to Bosco in "Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 11–12.

¹⁵ Baron discusses his procedure explicitly in Hans Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum: Its Making and Its Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 1–3, 21–23, 123–32; and in Baron, "Petrarch's *Secretum*: Was It Revised—and Why?" in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni*, 58, 86.

¹⁶ See Baron, "Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 14 n. 11.

¹⁷ Vittorio Rossi, "Sulla formazione delle raccolte epistolari petrarchesche," *Annali della Cattedra Petrarcesca*, 3 (1932): 68–73; and Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, Vol. 1: *Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome, 1947); discussed by Baron, "Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 17–23.

Guido Martellotti, "Linee di sviluppo dell'umanesimo petrarchesco," *Studi petrarcheschi*, 2 (1949): 51–82; and *La vita di Scipione l'Africano*, G. Martellotti, ed. (Naples, 1954), 7–22; discussed by Baron,

the *Secretum* itself: Remigio Sabbadini had tried it almost fifty years before Baron,¹⁸ and as we shall see, Baron's studies emerged not in isolation but in creative tension with two other scholars.

It is also important to state immediately that many influential readers of Petrarch today are much closer to Bosco than to Baron. John Freccero, for example, examines the persona of the author in the *Canzoniere* and claims that "the portrait has no temporality; only the most naive reader would take it for authentic autobiography."¹⁹ It is true that at one point Baron makes a move toward exempting the *Canzoniere* from his genetic approach, but he relies explicitly on *Familiare* 4.1, the famous letter describing Petrarch's putative ascent of Mt. Ventoux, as a historical document.²⁰ Yet in his discussion of this letter, Thomas Greene acknowledges that we have no way of knowing whether the ascent was ever made and, if so, when the account of it was written.²¹ Even with the *Secretum* itself, there are scholars who have little interest in anchoring the dialogue into the circumstances of its author's life.²²

It seems to me, however, that life and art are intertwined more closely for Petrarch than they are for most writers; we should not forget, after all, that Petrarch recorded the death of Laura, who inspired his love poetry, in his copy of the poetry of Virgil. Now that a decade has passed since the publication of Baron's major study on the *Secretum*, I welcome the opportunity to stand back and ask what impact Baron's genetic method has had on our understanding of this work. I offer first a fairly narrow assessment of Baron's conclusions, focused on the dialogue of Petrarch's on which Baron himself worked for over twenty years, and then move to

"Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 23–46. Martellotti's work in this area has been collected in *Scritti petrarcheschi*, M. Feo and S. Rizzo, eds. (Padua, 1983); appreciative overviews may be found in two articles in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di lettere e filosofia, ser. 3, 19, no. 1 (1989): E. Garin, "Martellotti e Petrarca," 163–72; and V. Fera, "Gli studi petrarcheschi di G. Martellotti," 209–16.

B. L. Ullman, "The Composition of Petrarch's *De vita solitaria*," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City, 1946), 4: 123; discussed by Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 84, 156–57. Klaus Heitmann, "La genesi del *De remediis utriusque fortune* del Petrarca," *Convivium*, 25 (1957): 25; discussed by Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 85, 167.

Guido Martellotti, "Sulla composizione del *De viris* e dell'*Africa* del Petrarca," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di lettere e filosofia, ser. 2, 10 (1941): 257–58; Martellotti, ed., *Africa*, in Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, trionfi e poesie latine*, Ferdinando Neri, et al., eds. (Milan, 1951), 626–703 (notes) and 863–65 ("nota critica ai testi"); and Enrico Fenzi, "Dall'*Africa* al *Secretum*," Giuseppe Billanovich and Giuseppe Frasso, eds., *Il Petrarca ad Arquà*, Atti del Convegno di Studi nel VI Centenario (1370–1374) (Padua, 1975), 61–115; discussed by Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 82, 124–26, 141–44. See also E. Paratore, "L'elaborazione padovana dell'*Africa*," G. Padoan, ed., *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto* (Florence, 1976), 53–91.

In *La revisione petrarchesca dell'Africa* (Messina, 1984), Vincenzo Fera has identified a series of annotations to *Africa* that can be traced back to Petrarch himself, but they provide few datable references that aid in tracing the various redactions of the poem (see 7–43).

¹⁸ Remigio Sabbadini, "Note filologiche sul '*Secretum*' del Petrarca," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, 45 (1917): 24–37; discussed by Baron, "Evolution of Petrarch's Thought," 53–58; and *Petrarch's Secretum*, 1–2, 72.

¹⁹ John Freccero, "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics," Harold Bloom, ed., *Petrarch* (New York, 1989), 44.

²⁰ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 196–202.

²¹ Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), 104.

²² An example of this perspective is offered by Victoria Kahn, "The Figure of the Reader in Petrarch's *Secretum*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 100, no. 2 (1985): 154–66.

a broader assessment by scrutinizing the methodological assumptions in Baron's work with which many scholars today feel most uncomfortable. My hope is that both the strengths and the weaknesses of Baron's approach will emerge from this analysis.

THE FULLEST STATEMENT OF BARON'S POSITION can be found in *Petrarch's Secretum: Its Making and Its Meaning*. This is a richly textured study whose strength lies in its close analysis of the text and in its marshaling of relevant details, but Baron's key conclusions may be summarized as follows. The composition of the *Secretum* has traditionally been assigned to the period around 1342–1343, the fictional setting of the dialogue; based in part on this assignment, Petrarch has been said to have experienced a religious crisis about this time. Baron, however, argues that the dialogue "is undoubtedly a creation of the year 1347" but that corrections and additions from 1349 and 1353 can be identified.²³ The basic problem with which the dialogue was originally concerned was Petrarch's apparent unfitness for spiritual progress even though his residence in the Vacluse provided ideal conditions for study and prayer. However, a relapse in his sexual behavior led him to rewrite a section on wantonness in 1349, and his trips away from the Vacluse led him to add material on ambition and on travel at the same time. What is more, a growing interest in Stoic philosophy led in 1353 to the dispersal of recognizable Stoic "pockets" throughout the text, and changing circumstances also led to the addition of sections on avarice and spiritual sloth as well. Interpreted in this way, the dialogue no longer provides evidence for a sudden religious conversion around 1342. According to Baron, Petrarch used the *Secretum* to develop a struggle between "the remnants of his medieval heritage" and "the classicism of the *Africa*, the *De viris*, and some of his early letters."²⁴ This struggle is characteristic of Petrarch's middle period (1347–1353), and the dialogue's redating places its evolution between these years; only later did Petrarch succeed in allowing his humanist and religious interests to develop side by side.

It is important to note here that, like the dialogue being studied, Baron's scholarship on Petrarch also evolved over time. In the essays in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni*, which were originally published during the early 1960s, Baron accepted the traditional 1342–1343 dating of the *Secretum*; by 1985, the new 1347–1353 dating had become the cornerstone of his approach. The stimulus for this change (at least in part) was the publication in 1974 of an important book by the Spanish scholar Francisco Rico: *Vida u obra de Petrarca*, Volume 1, titled *Lectura del "Secretum."* Baron makes much of the differences between his method and Rico's, and there is certainly some merit to his claims; nevertheless, both authors struggled with many of the same problems in similar ways, and much of Baron's book reads like a running commentary on Rico's. Rico in turn had engaged in an exchange of articles with an Italian scholar named Bortolo Martinelli, who was also trying to date the *Secretum* and anchor the dialogue in the development of

²³ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 181.

²⁴ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 247.

Petrarch's life and thought. Martinelli published a long review of Baron's book in *Speculum*—reminding us yet again that scholarship seldom develops in a vacuum.²⁵

Unfortunately, a problem emerges when we place Baron's work into this interconnected web of assertion and counterassertion. Baron regularly claims a high degree of certainty about his conclusions: "The surviving version of the *luxuria* section, because it exactly parallels the record in his diary, *must have been written* in 1349." "[T]here can be *little doubt* that virtually everything we recognize as Augustinian in Book I *must have been* part of the original *Secretum*." "[I]n Book II . . . *there is no doubt* how the *Secretum* conversation was structured in the 1340s." "Consequently, the section on *gloria* in Book III *must have been written* before the time when . . .," and so forth.²⁶ The problem is that, using a closely related methodology, Rico concluded that the entire *Secretum* had been recast in 1353—that 1353, in other words, was the essential date of composition, not a time when Petrarch added a few passages to a draft that was basically finished in 1347, as Baron would argue. And to make the whole matter even more distressing, Martinelli (recently supported by Enrico Fenzi and Giovanni Ponte) has continued to insist on the traditional 1342–1343 date of composition—again using the same basic methodology.²⁷

The problem here is not in the application of the method: Martinelli, Rico, and Baron are all fine scholars who have spent years poring over the documents related to Petrarch's life and works. The problem is rather with the method itself. As Charles Trinkaus put it in his review of Baron's book, "Having examined Rico's presentation as well as Baron's objections, I conclude that both positions are arguable because an uncertain date is being established by the similarity of thought or language of passages in the *Secretum* and in other undatable writings of Petrarch."²⁸ Baron's treatment of the making and meaning of the *Secretum*, in short, has proved highly influential. But it is at present one of several competing

²⁵ Francisco Rico, *Vida u obra de Petrarca*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1974); noteworthy reviews are by G. Martellotti, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di lettere e filosofia, ser. 3, 6, no. 4 (1976): 1394–1401; F. Bruni, *Medioevo romanzo*, 3 (1976): 144–52; G. Ponte, *Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 81 (1977): 442–45; D. Phillips, *Italica*, 54 (1977): 300–06; A. D. Scaglione, *Romance Philology*, 30 (1977–78): 116–18; and K. Foster, *Modern Language Review*, 73 (1978): 442–44. The major books and articles on this topic, in addition to those already mentioned, are F. Rico, "Precisazioni di cronologia petrarchesca: Le 'Familiars' VIII.ii–v e i rifacimenti del *Secretum*," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 155 (1978): 481–525; Bortolo Martinelli, *Il "Secretum" conteso* (Naples, 1982); F. Rico, "Sobre la cronología del *Secretum*: Las viejas leyendas y el fantasma nuevo de un lapsus bíblico," *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s., 1 (1984): 51–102; and B. Martinelli, "Sulla data del *Secretum* del Petrarca: Nova et vetera," *Critica letteraria*, 13 (1985): 431–82, 645–93. Martinelli's review of *Petrarch's Secretum* appeared in *Speculum*, 62 (1987): 644–46; other noteworthy reviews of this book are by Charles Trinkaus, *AHR*, 91 (June 1986): 695–96; Franz-Rutger Hausmann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 223 (1986): 225–26; M. Palumbo, *Medioevo romanzo*, 11 (1986): 456–61; F. E. Cranz, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986): 731–32; U. Dotti, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 164 (1987): 120–25; G. Holmes, *English Historical Review*, 103 (1988): 480–81; and N. Mann, *Modern Language Review*, 83 (1988): 751–52.

²⁶ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 26, 36, 47, 137, all emphases mine.

²⁷ Fenzi, "Dall'Africa al *Secretum*," 61–64, esp. 63 n. 4; Giovanni Ponte, "Nella selva del Petrarca: La discussa data del *Secretum*," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 167 (1990): 1–63.

²⁸ Trinkaus, *AHR*, 696; Trinkaus had expressed similar reservations about trying to identify phases in Petrarch's life on the basis of problematic datings of various versions of his writings in *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 53.

treatments, and it appears that the impasse will remain until someone devises a different method with which to approach the problem.

THERE IS, UNFORTUNATELY, MORE AT STAKE with Baron's genetic method than its failure to produce definitive conclusions. Scholarship in the humanities has changed a good deal in the last several decades, and a number of Baron's basic assumptions are likely to make many intellectual and literary historians uncomfortable in 1996.

For instance, Baron falls victim to what Giuseppe Mazzotta has labeled "the biographical fallacy"—the assumption that Petrarch's works "mechanically reflect and correspond to" the events of his life.²⁹ Baron is quite clear about this: "the *Secretum* reflects successive stages in Petrarch's life," it is a text in which "he depicted reality."³⁰ This approach relies on what John Barth once called "the Windex theory of language"—the belief that literary works provide a clear window through which the reader views a "real" world beyond.³¹ From this belief follows logically Baron's reliance on "homologies"—passages in different works that have the same basic structure and derive from the same life event. Since literature can only reflect reality, parallel passages must present the same biographical data, so that if we can date the life event or any one of its literary renditions, we can date the other parallel passages as well.³²

To be sure, there are times when Petrarch's literary works do not appear to record the events of his life accurately, which leads Baron to devote an entire chapter to "The Question of Petrarch's Truthfulness and His Sincerity . . ." The issue is an important one for Baron, for "it is disquieting to discover any insincerity in Petrarch"; several key issues are thus examined with the goal of removing as much disquiet as possible. The ascent of Mt. Ventoux is comparatively easy to evaluate: Baron concludes that it simply happened as described in *Familiars* 4.1 (although most scholars now believe otherwise). More difficult is the matter of Petrarch's acquaintance with Augustine's *De vera religione*, but here Baron applies some pressure to the word *nuper* ("lately") in the Latin text and manages to reconcile what Petrarch says in the *Secretum* with what he says elsewhere. More difficult still is Petrarch's claim that he conquered his sexual urge by the time he turned forty. Baron's solution here is to note that Petrarch did not make this claim until he wrote his *Posteritati* late in life. The claim is not true, and that is a "disquieting" admission for Baron, though men in general seem to find this a difficult area to be honest about. Fortunately, however, things are not as bad as they could be, since "Petrarch was by that time so advanced in age that his memory could easily have failed him."³³

Now, there are other ways to explain what is going on in these passages short of the verbal and logical gymnastics in which Baron is engaging. One explanation is

²⁹ Giuseppe Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 6.

³⁰ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 182, 176, my emphases.

³¹ This phrase was mentioned by John Kronik, "The Web, the Hive, and the Looking Glass: The Art of Self-Consciousness," a lecture delivered at Texas A & M University, November 14, 1994; apparently, Barth had used it in a lecture he delivered at Hamilton College, which Kronik heard.

³² Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 147.

³³ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 212.

that Petrarch reacted differently to the same event on different occasions, that his writings were shaped at least in part by audience or occasion. Factors such as these, however, are rhetorical, and "rhetoric" has consistently negative overtones in Baron's writings on Petrarch.³⁴ When Baron writes that Petrarch's appeal to witnesses who know he is speaking the truth about his ascent of Mt. Ventoux "does not look like a mere rhetorical formula," we suspect that he is equating rhetoric with insincerity—a suspicion that is confirmed a few pages later when Baron dismisses those modern scholars who presume that in *Familiare* 4.1, Petrarch "lied frequently in the interest of mere rhetoric."³⁵ Once rhetorical factors are introduced, language becomes something more than referential, and no amount of Windex will restore it to its pristine clarity.

Another way to deal with the matters troubling Baron is to face directly the question he refuses to confront: the status of the *Secretum* as a literary construct. As Aldo Scaglione reminds us, the *Secretum* is an autobiography, a work of literature that imposes on the past a highly structured pattern of the author's making. At the time Petrarch was finishing his final draft of the *Secretum*, he was also working on his *Familiare*s, a work that is also autobiographical and that, according to most modern scholars, also presents a literary rewriting of reality—a work of self-fashioning in which Petrarch presents the image of himself that he wants the world to see.³⁶ I do not wish to efface the differences between these

³⁴ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 147. I am well aware that there is a certain irony in noting that a historian who authored a classic study on Cicero ("The Memory of Cicero's Roman Civic Spirit in the Medieval Centuries and in the Florentine Renaissance," *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. [Princeton, N.J., 1988], 1: 94–133, a revised version of "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 22 [1938]: 72–97) is mistrustful of rhetoric, yet Baron states clearly that his interest in Cicero is not in "the mere teacher of rhetoric familiar to the Middle Ages" but in the writer who presented "a philosophy of dedication to society and the state" (95–96). This issue arises again in Baron's now-famous exchange with Jerrold Seigel, who claimed that Leonardo Bruni is best understood as a practicing rhetorician rather than a committed devotee of civic humanism ("Civic Humanism" or Ciceronian Rhetoric?" *Past and Present*, 34 [1966]: 1–48). Baron disagreed ("Leonardo Bruni: 'Professional Rhetorician' or 'Civic Humanist,'" *Past and Present*, 36 [1967]: 21–37). Seigel claimed explicitly in his article that Petrarch had recovered Cicero's way of approaching philosophy through the concerns of the orator, and this is the position Baron opposed. Likewise, Enrico Fenzi provided a rhetorical interpretation of Petrarch—in Baron's words, Fenzi argued that "Petrarch reacted differently on different occasions, as seen in his letters, speeches, and canzones, and later made use of these diverse reactions in major works like the *Africa* and the *Secretum* without definitively reorienting his view" (*Petrarch's Secretum*, 133; compare Fenzi, "Dall'Africa al *Secretum*," 81–82)—which Baron pronounced a "rather tortuous notion" (*Petrarch's Secretum*, 133).

Other scholars such as Trinkaus have long felt comfortable with the rhetorical strain in Petrarch's thought (see, for example, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* [Chicago, 1970], 1: 41–50; and *The Poet as Philosopher*, chap. 4, 90–113). An increasing number of scholars are exploring the implications of Petrarch's interest in rhetoric. See, for example, Conrad H. Rawski, "Notes on the Rhetoric in Petrarch's *Invective contra medicum*," Scaglione, ed., *Francis Petrarch, Six Centuries Later*, 249–77; Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas*, 19–57; Massimo Verdicchio, "The Rhetoric of Enumeration in Petrarch's *Trionfi*," Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci, eds., *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottawa, 1990), 135–46; and Ronald Witt, "Petrarch and Pre-Petrarchan Humanism: Stylistic Imitation and the Origins of Italian Humanism," John W. O'Malley, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, eds., *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus* (Leiden, 1993), 73–101.

³⁵ Baron, *Petrarch's Secretum*, 198, 201, my emphasis.

³⁶ Nicholas Mann has brought out this point both in his *Petrarch* (Oxford, 1984), chap. 6, 87–104; and in his review of *Petrarch's Secretum*, 752 (see n. 25 above). The point is also developed with sensitivity by Aldo Scaglione, "Classical Heritage and Petrarchan Self-Consciousness in the Literary Emergence of the Interior 'I,'" Bloom, ed., *Petrarch*, 125–37. Marguerite Waller, *Petrarch's Poetics and Literary*

works, for there is definitely a difference of some sort in their intended audiences. Nor do I wish to claim that Petrarch never “told the truth” about himself. But to insist that this is what he was supposed to be doing every time he set pen to paper is to begin with an assumption about literature that is profoundly disquieting in the theoretical climate of the 1990s.

AS WE HAVE SEEN, in both his analysis of Petrarch’s republican sentiments and in his efforts to redate the *Secretum* and trace its evolution, Baron found more “medieval” features in Petrarch’s thought than many other scholars of his day. He also showed persistent discomfort in the face of the literary and rhetorical aspects of the documents he was studying. Sometimes, as with Petrarch’s political attitudes, this led to what I see as an oversimplification of the evidence. At other times, as with his analysis of the *Secretum*, Baron ended up asking questions about areas (such as authorial sincerity) that strike many scholars today as tangential to what the documents can actually reveal.

Yet, even if some of Baron’s work raises questions on methodological grounds, I have no wish to underestimate his contributions to studies on Petrarch. To claim with Bosco that Petrarch is a man “without a history” is to take the easy way out—and Baron never did that. Here, as elsewhere, he returned to the documents, and his writings show the fruits of long hours of study and intimate familiarity with hundreds of pages of primary sources. From this familiarity came the claim that Petrarch’s early enthusiasm for classical antiquity was followed by a period of conflict between the classical and religious strains in his thought, followed in turn by a mature phase in which both strains developed side by side. It is possible to accept a version of this claim whether or not one accepts all the details of, say, Baron’s account of the composition and revision of the *Secretum*, and Petrarchan studies have been significantly enriched by this work. Finally, it is important to note that at a time when many scholars were examining the writings of the past according to isolated, single-disciplinary models, Baron insisted on reading the poetry and prose of Petrarch as part of the broader political and cultural currents of its day.³⁷ This insistence is in line with several currently fashionable approaches to Renaissance texts, and my guess is that much of the best work on Petrarch in the near future will ask versions of Baron’s questions from a variety of methodological perspectives that a scholar of his age could not be expected to have anticipated. That, I believe, is a record any scholar should be proud of.

History (Amherst, Mass., 1980), 13–20, discusses the *Secretum* from the position that “history is redefined by Petrarch as a literary construct, open to the same possibilities and subject to the same limitations as other literary constructs” (p. 10).

³⁷ Denys Hay, “The Place of Hans Baron in Renaissance Historiography,” Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi, eds., *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron* (De Kalb, Ill., 1971), xi–xxix.

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Hans Baron's Renaissance Humanism: A Comment

WERNER GUNDERSHEIMER

THESE THREE THOUGHTFUL ARTICLES revisit topics that Baron himself reviewed with varying frequency over his long career. Ronald Witt considers Leonardo Bruni's centrality to the articulation and diffusion of republican values in the light of post-Baronian and anti-Baronian chronological and analytical strategies. John M. Najemy assesses Machiavelli's late but crucial appropriation into the pantheon of—from Hans Baron's standpoint—politically correct writers on governance. Craig Kallendorf deftly examines recent efforts to advance the discussion of the transitional stature of Petrarch to the emergence of "civic humanism."

These authors all recognize that, despite the long-familiar defects in certain of Baron's methods, and growing recognition that his work suffers from questionable premises that he regarded as unassailable and dubious arguments that he regarded as incontrovertible, his overarching interpretation of the evolution and significance of Italian humanism has properly made, and rightly continues to make, a profound difference in the way Italian civilization is understood and interpreted.

Baron himself would not be entirely happy with the idea that his arguments were only partially, or even largely, accepted, let alone with what may actually be the prevailing view, that his major thesis was magnificently and fruitfully overstated. He was probably one of the last great historical scholars who believed that something like absolute truth was attainable in matters of interpretation. His indefatigable labors were directed toward that end. Indeed, Baron's stance toward his work was precisely opposite to the current fashion of "moving on" to some new or unrelated topic, once a "project" is finished. Instead, he carried on a series of lifelong conversations—face-to-face, by letter, in print, and above all, I think, in the more efficient theater of his own capacious intellect—with his teachers, friends, junior colleagues, critics, and especially with the dead souls of the Italian humanists into whom it became his mission to infuse vibrant new life.

Many have observed the passionate intensity underlying his work, and Riccardo Fubini has written with admirable warmth and detachment of Baron's formative engagement with his teachers and contemporaries in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany. Fubini proposes that, unlike many other refugee historians, Baron remained firmly within the ideological paradigm of his early studies, making few if any adjustments to the different American academic and intellectual environment. This, for Fubini, helps to explain the internal cohesion of Baron's work—the fact

that, as Baron himself put it, "all my later studies have been an effort to prove that my first impression was correct."¹

Two absolutist vocabularies coexist in Baron's work, demanding an uncompromising allegiance to his conclusions that few of us can fully accept. In effect, his own rhetorical strategies served to raise to an unusually high emotional level the stakes of assenting to, or dissenting from, his views. The first of these vocabularies is that of scientism—mathematical precision, the language of proof or correctness. Even when that goal is unattainable, it provides the controlling imagery by which interpretive success is to be judged. In the epilogue to the second edition of the *Crisis*, for example, Baron writes of his goal of "measuring the republican or the tyrannical contribution in quantitative terms." While lamenting that there can be "no final gauge," and recognizing that accounts will "hardly ever succeed in determining the relative significance of the component elements definitively," he claims to have attained a new "clarity and precision."² In a letter dated October 16, 1966, he describes his reaction to the famous article by Jerrold Seigel, which he had just discovered in *Past and Present*. While "a direct answer . . . is not (or should not be) needed, I want to reformulate . . . my chronology of Florentine literature in such a way that . . . there is 100% assurance." He goes on to say, "Not a single word of what is found in *Crisis* and *Humanistic and Political Literature* needs to be modified."³

The second vocabulary is that of modern historical events compared by analogy to late medieval circumstances in unequivocal, even absolutist, terms. The *locus classicus* of this characteristic stance of Baron's appears early in the *Crisis*, when he writes:

One cannot trace the history of this explosive stage in the genesis of the states-system of the Renaissance without being struck by its resemblance to events in modern history. In a like fashion, Napoleon and Hitler, poised on the coast of the English channel and made confident by their victories over every relevant power but one, waited for the propitious time for their final leap . . . This is the *only perspective* from which one can adequately reconstruct the crisis of the summer of 1402 and grasp its material and psychological significance for the political history of the Renaissance, and in particular for the growth of the Florentine civic spirit.⁴

Though a German refugee myself, I was always struck by the singular inappropriateness of the homology of Giangaleazzo Visconti with Napoleon and Hitler, as well as the analogy between the British Empire and the Florentine republic. But what now seems even more remarkable about Baron's rhetorical technique is its exclusivism—"one cannot trace," "this is the only perspective." This point of view helps to explain Baron's lifelong insistence that the only alternative to republican civic virtue is what—closely following Bruni—he recurrently calls "tyranny," a term that loses any precise significance and becomes an all-purpose pejorative synonym for monarchical regimes of various types. Even in his last reply to unbelievers, written in 1970 and published with revisions as the final chapter of his collected

¹ R. Fubini, "Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron," *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992): 541–74.

² Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, rev. one-volume edn. with epilogue (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 456.

³ Typewritten letter from Hans Baron to Werner Gundersheimer, in possession of the author, italics mine.

⁴ Baron, *Crisis*, 40, italics mine.

essays *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism* (1988), Baron repeatedly refers to the dynastic states as "tyrant courts," "tyrant states," and "tyrannies." If those are the standard terms of comparison, then Florence—a narrowing, bellicose mercantilist oligarchy lumbering toward personal rule—can begin to take on the roseate coloring of a populist Utopia.

Baron's approach clearly fused scholarly ambitions and political passions of a high order. His work, though reflective of the cultural constructs of its time and place of origin (like the man himself), has something of the character of an isolate. It is crucial to recognize that, unlike most refugee scholars in America, Baron never held a regular academic appointment. He pursued his research in the interstices of his responsibilities as a bibliographer at the Newberry Library, which in his day had not yet become the center of scholarly interchange into which it evolved. He therefore had no students and, for many years, few real colleagues in the profession. In addition to the linguistic difficulties of the refugee, which he overcame wonderfully, he suffered for much of his life from a severe hearing impairment, which served further to isolate this essentially gentle and collegial person. Perhaps it therefore became natural for him to think of scholarship as a kind of battlefield, not unlike the rough, contested terrain which separated the Milanese from the Florentines. Thus he described Nino Valeri not as a colleague but as an "ally" in what must have felt like an endless *Kulturkampf*.

Over more than sixty years of painstaking research and writing, Hans Baron built a unique and magnificent scholarly edifice. Using construction techniques that were, even then, somewhat dated and engineering principles that were very much his own, he placed that edifice on foundations capable of surviving all sorts of stresses, cracks, and fissures, and even some major quakes. The articles by Professors Witt, Najemy, and Kallendorf have addressed both the weaknesses and the enduring strengths of Hans Baron's scholarship with sensitivity and skill. While he was still at work, the author himself provided full-time maintenance of the entire edifice, rushing to shore up its late *dugento* foundations, patching the walls of Petrarch's secret room, manning the fifteenth-century barricades, and anticipating generations of new occupants. Now that he is gone, the task of preserving the essential parts of this Renaissance palace falls to his successors. Above all, it is for those of us who knew him to remember, and help others less favored to realize, that despite his absolutist rhetoric, he himself was in no way a tyrant. Larger and more powerful than a baron, we might think of him as a prince of Renaissance studies and of ourselves as in some measure his subjects.

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Featured Review

KLAUS HILDEBRAND. *Das vergangene Reich: Deutsche Außenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871–1945*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Pp. 1054. DM 148.

Lothar Gall, one of Klaus Hildebrand's few peers among German historians, rightly calls this book "the definitive history of the foreign policy of the German Reich for many years." Crowning Hildebrand's many earlier contributions, it is a magisterial survey based on virtually exhaustive research in the German literature and sources and wide reading in the even vaster general literature. As impressive as the research are the range of issues and controversial questions taken up and the thoroughness, judicious balance, many-sidedness, and depth of the discussion. No work, of course, answers all its questions for all time. This one will encounter disagreements (a few here, as will be seen). But it will not be rivaled for a long time.

A short summary cannot make clear its character and contribution, and might even suggest that it was a conventional survey presenting consensus views. It praises Otto von Bismarck for the usual reasons: his recognition of the restraints which Germany's situation after unification imposed on it and his moderation and skill in preserving general peace and Germany's limited freedom of maneuver. It criticizes his successors, especially Bernhard Heinrich von Bülow, for first abandoning Bismarck's elaborate scheme of checks and balances and then, after Germany's continental position had deteriorated, trying to break through to a world position by force and bluff. It defends Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg for his attempt to avoid war through an approach to Britain, but not his risk strategy of July 1914. It insists on the mixed, fluid nature of Germany's war aims, while recognizing that these always included victory and some form of European hegemony, and dwelling on the proto-Nazi imperialism represented by Erich von Ludendorff and Brest Litovsk. The Versailles Treaty is roundly condemned, Gustav Stresemann's peaceful revisionism defended, and the aggressive tactics of his successors in seeking domestic stability through foreign policy success sharply criticized. Finally, in the longest and most impressive section of the book, the horrors and crimes of Nazi foreign policy and the catastrophes they

brought on Germany and Europe are portrayed in unsparing detail.

To point out that these interpretations are fairly standard is no criticism; some are simply inescapable. A reader might, however, wonder why 900 pages of dense, closely reasoned argument are needed in their support, especially since the book deals fairly strictly with German foreign policy, not the general history of Germany or of international politics. Domestic politics, economics, military developments, social conditions, and culture and ideas all enter in, but only as supporting actors never occupying center stage.

Part of the answer lies in the wealth of detail, insights, characterizations, and striking formulations the work offers. Hildebrand is especially good at detecting paradox, pointing out contradictions, and synthesizing the apparently incompatible, with often illuminating results. The main value of the book, however, derives from its character as an idea-oriented, almost philosophical, history of foreign policy. Hildebrand operates from the premise, repeatedly asserted and supported by evidence, that international politics involves a primacy not of foreign policy per se, but of the external situation, the system, and the restraints, limits, and possibilities it imposes and affords. Within that premise, he conceives foreign policy not as a contest waged over power and scarce resources or a product of the interaction between societal forces, but as a setting for actions of purposive agency, a collective practice in which leaders of states and communities create and pursue particular goals within the limits and restraints of their specific environment, the international society and system. Thus, any deep and satisfying explanation of German foreign policy requires an analysis of the ideas, aims, and ultimate goals of leading actors, the explicit or hidden assumptions and world view underlying them, and the relation of these to the objective possibilities and limits set by Germany's situation within a constantly changing international system.

This premise dictates Hildebrand's method, one of

painstakingly assessing every important action and decision from various points of view, with careful attention to implications and possible outcomes, and largely accounts for the book's length and density. It also means that even where Hildebrand's judgment on a particular policy seems conventional, his explanation of it is often subtly or strikingly different. For example, his overall negative verdict on German *Weltpolitik* is standard; his discussion of its universal and particular origins, including its connection to the Prussian heritage, is not.

Most important, this approach yields a clear, coherent theme and story line for German foreign policy over the whole period. Germany, a late, incomplete nation-state created audaciously during a brief window of opportunity afforded by the post-Crimean War disorganization of Europe and the distraction and isolation of Britain and Russia, remained from birth penned in between them and other powers. This fact rendered Germany from the outset both unusually dependent on the international situation and in latent rebellion against that condition; torn between hubris and insecurity, between an expansionist urge fueled by international competition and its own military and economic dynamism, and the immobility and renunciation required for its acceptance and peaceful survival in Europe; burdened by its exposed position and the awkward dimensions of its power, too great for the its neighbors' comfort, too small for unchallenged security and hegemony; striving for independence between East and West, but repeatedly pushed toward an invidious choice between Britain and Russia bound to mean dependence and exploitation in one direction and dangerous rivalry in the other. Frustrated at having to walk the narrow, sometimes vanishing ridge between self-assertion and self-denial, Germans were constantly tempted to break the restraints in a flight forward, expansion by force. The absence of a persuasive integrating and legitimating state idea and mission for the new Germany, and the confused mixture of modern nation-state and traditional Reich ideas that substituted for it, only increased the danger. Hence, though Hildebrand rejects determinism, constantly insisting that Germany's constraints still left choices and alternate courses open, his story is principally one of irony and tragedy, folly and crime—temptations not resisted, favorable opportunities in the 1920s and 1930s thrown away, lessons not heeded, limits transgressed, and finally, unprecedented crimes committed. It is more impressive for being told without anger (although sometimes with horror), and without apologies, whitewash, or nostalgia. Hildebrand sees the failure of the experiment at creating a German nation-state and world power compatible with European and world peace and security as absolutely final (*das vergangene Reich* means "the Empire gone forever") and views its demise with a certain philosophical resignation, but without regret. The present German nation-state, although arising from the same founda-

tions, has even less historic continuity with the Second and Third Reichs than those did with the First.

I share Hildebrand's general outlook and approach, and I endorse the great majority of his judgments, including some bound to be controversial (for example, that earlier liberalization and democratization might have made Imperial Germany more dangerous and less acceptable to Europe rather than the reverse). The book also overcame my initial skepticism on numerous points (for example, the depth and persistence of Adolf Hitler's "English illusion" right up to the end of the war). But, inevitably, there are points of possible dispute, and two of them are worth mentioning here. A work concentrating on German foreign policy naturally cannot do full justice to those of other states, yet I felt that the portrayal of French policy was sometimes too harsh, especially after 1919. As after 1871, French policy was driven not by resentment at the loss of hegemony or the desire for territory and revenge, but by fear, insecurity, and lost confidence in French competitiveness: the specter of an immediate economic and an ultimate military threat from Germany. This fear was basically justified; French policy may not have been wise or practical, but it is certainly understandable. The point is connected with Hildebrand's perhaps too favorable view of Stresemann's policy of peaceful revisionism through economics. It is hardly fair to criticize France after Locarno for reluctance to enter into genuine partnership with Germany. The critical question was not Stresemann's "*Gallia, quo vadis?*" but "*Germania, quo vadis?*" Stresemann's right-wing opponents were of course fanatics, as Hildebrand says, in accusing him of a politics of renunciation. But they put their finger thereby on the core issue: Germany's (and Stresemann's) unwillingness to renounce anything for the sake of peaceful revision except the use of force that it did not possess, or to set any fixed bounds to that revisionism. Meanwhile, France by 1927 had renounced a great deal important for its security: occupation rights, reparations, strict armaments controls, productive guarantees, and so on. We know why no better policy was possible or seriously considered in Weimar Germany, for Hildebrand tells us: because this was the most Stresemann could hope to carry through domestically, and because virtually all Germans, including Stresemann, really wanted at bottom to reverse the outcome of World War I. If Stresemann and the Foreign Office thought of achieving this end peacefully by economic weapons and Bismarckian tactics (although now in Great German dimensions), too many on the Right were already thinking like Ludendorff or Hitler, and the people as a whole like Wilhelm II. Therefore, Stresemann's revisionism, although peaceful, was nonetheless dangerous, and it easily led to the provocative challenges of his successors and the criminal aims of Hitler.

This is a minor blemish. Rather more serious is the book's relative neglect and misunderstanding of the policy of that state which was arguably more important to Germany than any other before 1918, and equally

important as a target of German expansionist aims thereafter: the Habsburg Monarchy and the Austrian Republic. Not only is Austria-Hungary accorded less attention than other great powers, especially after 1879, but also the interpretation of its position and policy seem to me significantly off the mark. The Balkans were never historically divided into east-west spheres between Russia and Austria, and could not be. A host of factors—geographic, strategic, political, economic, religious, ethnic, and historic—pulled each Balkan state simultaneously in divergent directions. Romania, the easternmost, was almost always in the Austro-German camp, Montenegro, the westernmost, was always in Russia's, Greece was never in either, and Serbia and Bulgaria at different times were in both. Thus, the only possible Russo-Austrian working arrangement for the Balkans was a mutual restraining partnership between hostile allies. Such a relationship, not territorial expansion or confrontation with Russia, was always Austria's goal, at least initially, in every crisis, including particularly the Bosnian crisis of 1908, and the policy worked tolerably well until that time.

This misunderstanding of Austria's Balkan position and policy affects the interpretation of German policy; Bismarck and later Germans, for example, are given too much credit for restraining Austria's alleged expansionism and hostility toward Russia. The same is true for some significant facts about German policy toward Austria, overlooked or slighted: that Bismarck used the Dual Alliance, among other things, to keep the Dual Monarchy dominated by Germans and Hungarians and to fight any move toward Slav-led federalism; that the price paid for Anglo-German cooperation in preventing a general war resulting from the Balkan Wars was Austria's accepting a first-class political defeat; that Germany was Austria's worst economic rival in the Balkans, especially Serbia, and helped Serbia defeat Austrian economic pressure in the Pig War of 1903–08; that German war aims sometimes included drastic changes in the monarchy's constitution and territories; that Austria steadily resisted German wartime plans for Poland and tried far

more seriously than Germany for peace in 1916–18, and that the ultimate German response in May 1918 was to bring the monarchy more completely under its thumb. Even after 1918 there are points to debate. Did the breakup of the Dual Monarchy represent simply a strategic gain for Germany after 1919, part of an unexpected opportunity to realize revisionist and Great German goals in the long term despite defeat? Or did it not also present Germany and Europe with a Pandora's box of racist, expansionist, and anti-Semitic dangers? Were Austrians really eager to join Greater Germany in 1919 and 1938, or mainly bewildered and despairing of rump Austria?

None of this would be worth mentioning if it were not connected to the book's central themes of Germany's limited options and dependence on the international situation and system and its repeated efforts to break through its limits. Some elements of the German-Austro-Hungarian relationship fit beautifully into Hildebrand's emphasis on paradox, contradiction, and the synthesis of incompatibles: the paradox of Bismarck's fighting three wars to create a Prussia and Little Germany free from Austria, only to see them finally become more entangled with Austria than ever; the contradictions of the Dual Alliance, with Austria simultaneously Germany's burden, problem, and indispensable asset; the irony and tragedy of Austria's dragging Germany into war, and then being unable to drag Germany into peace; the ways in which Hitler and Nazism both arose from, and broke with, Austrian history as well as German.

A full discussion of how more attention to the Austro-German relationship as an element of German policy might both enrich and modify Hildebrand's central thesis about Germany's hemmed-in status and its limits and possibilities would, however, transcend the bounds of this review, and must be left for another occasion. Meanwhile, I congratulate Hildebrand on a splendid achievement.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

ARIF DIRLIK. *After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Conn. 1994. Pp. viii, 131. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

Arif Dirlik's little book is big in scale and spirit. This "self-criticism" of Marxism is not a book for novices but an urbane polemic for Marxist theory in an era of capitalist triumphalism. It is lively, yet learned, and is as unforgiving of much Marxist thought as it is of liberalism.

Dirlik's central concern is the changing bond of Marxism to capitalism. Many Marxists have treated capitalism ahistorically, insensitive to the wide range in its institutions and its power as it varies over time and place. For instance, in our present era of "flexible production," capitalism has cast aside its former territoriality, yet Marxism has not kept pace, and still gives primacy to the nation-state in most analyses. This is because Marxism has been a part of capitalism's history, not just an effort to come to terms with that history. Like all sets of ideas, Marxism has felt the weight of capitalism's hegemony, limiting its ability to imagine plausible alternatives, "to which the ruins of 'socialist' societies stand as sad testimonials" (p. 11).

Because Marxism has "internalized the narrative of capitalism as its informing principle" (p. 39), radicals must cast aside their concern for "productivist socialism," a kind of catch-up effort in which the socialists can never win. The Left in power always scrambled for faster modernization on terms set by capitalism, turning to ever more unattractive methods to achieve an impossible "autonomous development." I wonder why Dirlik did not carry his argument a step further: Marxists might well declare good riddance to state "socialism," which inevitably became state capitalism and invited the weakening of analysis by historical sentiment for the "Left." Dirlik also cautions against abandoning the central concept of class to focus primarily on divisions of gender and ethnicity. Identity politics are important, but ultimately reductionist. "It is possible to imagine a capitalism that has assimilated different genders, ethnicities, and so on into its structure; it is not possible to imagine capitalism without classes" (p. 9).

Readers who know Dirlik as a historian of China should not presume that this is another China book. Do not judge it by the representation of an Andy Warhol portrait of Mao Zedong on the cover: Mao sits at an ironic tilt, with a postmodern typesetter's pointing finger at its corner. Mao, like most Marxism, is askew. Yet Dirlik cannot ignore China, and he offers a succinct treatment of the nationalist overtones of Chinese Marxism as a response to global imperialism.

But this kind of nationalist revolution, with its quest for socialist autarky, is of little interest in a world in which capitalist production is no longer characterized by a drive to homogenization but to fragmentation. Dirlik suggests that the flexible guerrilla style of Mao's Marxism may ultimately be the model for future Marxist analyses of capitalism's rootless flexible production.

As befits a good polemicist, Dirlik does not spare his allies. He faults postmodernism for its "morbid preoccupation with the death of the subject" (p. 77), which renders the world seemingly too complex to challenge. Dirlik criticizes the literature of "postcolonialism" for supinely accepting Eurocentric terms of discourse while forgetting that capitalism is no longer primarily European. Many radical critics have thus been drawn into divisive identity politics that grow from always looking back at capitalism's legacy and neglect capitalism's ongoing restructuring of our world.

I have a minor quibble and a major one. Dirlik begins his book with a preface, "Smart Bombs, Dumb People," in which he uncharacteristically accepts Pentagon claims, now discredited, for the accuracy of their weapons in the Gulf War. Perhaps the most important topic missing from this engaging volume is the environmental side of capitalist development. How does Dirlik respond to Green thinking on the apparent triumph of capitalism?

RICHARD KRAUS
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J. M. BLAUT. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: Guilford. 1993. Pp. viii, 246. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

The stated aim of this book is "to undermine one of the most powerful beliefs of our time . . . the notion that European civilization—"The West"—has had some unique historical advantage . . . which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities, at all times in history and down to the present" (p. 1). J. M. Blaut, a geographer by training, argues that this belief, which he terms Eurocentric diffusionism or "the colonizer's model of the world," pervades contemporary historical scholarship. He claims to expose the fallacies of this scholarship and reveal the truth about Europe's rise to world predominance: that it was due, not to any features inherent to European culture and society, but rather to the wealth extracted from the Americas after 1492.

Although it certainly can be said that Western historiography has exhibited—and in some cases continues to exhibit—a Eurocentric bias, it is simple nonsense to suggest that most historians share a belief in the "permanent superiority" of Europe over other parts of the world. "The colonizer's model of the world" is in fact a model of Blaut's own making. He presents a list of fourteen historical propositions that he identifies as truisms among historians and offers as evidence of their complicity in the doctrine of Eurocentric diffusionism. As one would expect, most of the items concern efforts to credit Europe as the home for such things as democracy, class society, the modern state, and capitalism, but others address matters whose relevance seems more obscure, among them the claims that the neolithic revolution and monotheism originated in the Middle East. Blaut proceeds to develop his case through a reductionist process that consigns any historian who accepts any of these propositions (some of which he acknowledges to be true) to the category of Eurocentric diffusionist.

Despite the sweeping nature of his charges, he examines the work of relatively few scholars. His most frequent targets are the historical sociologists John A. Hall and Michael Mann and the economic historian E. L. Jones, whose *The European Miracle* (1981) is seen as especially indicative of the views of historians. Curiously, Blaut makes no mention of Jones's more recent book, *Growth Recurring* (1988), which explicitly rejects a Eurocentric perspective. Nor does he acknowledge the existence of many other works that one might expect to appear in a study of this sort. Absent both from text and bibliography, for example, are William McNeill's *Rise of the West* (1963) and *The Pursuit of Power* (1982), Fernand Braudel's trilogy on civilization and capitalism, Philip Curtin's *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (1984), and Alfred Crosby's *Ecological Imperialism* (1986). Influential figures such as Edward Said, Immanuel Wallerstein, Eric Wolf, and Janet Abu-Lughod receive little more than passing nods, although (or perhaps because) they challenge many of the assumptions that Blaut claims pervade current scholarship. It is only through the willful neglect of much of the most important work that has been published in recent years that the

historiography of Europe's rise to global dominance can be seen as homogeneous or married to any particular model.

Blaut makes matters worse by presenting his case in a manner that is hyperbolic and sophistic. He refers time and again to what "many" or "most" historians think about this or that issue without the slightest indication of how he arrived at such sweeping generalizations. He distorts interpretations that run counter to his own through various rhetorical devices, as when he suggests that studies of the environmental constraints on agriculture in tropical Africa have portrayed its soils as "bad" and "evil." He dismisses scholars whose views he opposes with *ad-hominem* accusations, as in his innuendo that the distinguished Africanists Philip Curtin and Joseph Miller have denigrated Africans. When the meaning of a term does not conform to the claims Blaut wishes to make, he simply supplies it with a new definition. For example, he transforms feudalism into a generic description of landlord-tenant relations so as to show that medieval Europe did not differ from contemporaneous societies in Asia and Africa. If the facts do not support an argument that Blaut wants to make, he simply asserts that the information needed to prove him right "has not yet been sought with sufficient diligence by diffusionist scholarship" (p. 153). Thus, he insists in the absence of any evidence that Africa was experiencing the same social and economic transformations in the fourteenth century that Europe underwent.

What makes all of this especially dismaying is that the book is being promoted by its publisher as a text for courses. It is perhaps indicative of Blaut's blithe disregard for the distinction between uninformed opinion and informed analysis that his book ends with a call for the critique of diffusionism in other fields, including astrophysics' "big bang" theory.

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JAMES MULDOON. *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 239. \$32.95.

This book on the justification for the Spanish conquest and colonization of the New World returns to themes put forward by Lewis Hanke three generations ago but from a somewhat different vantage point. James Muldoon argues strongly for the persistence of medieval ideas and concepts well into the early modern period and the primacy of the Christian religion, both vital in shaping relations between Spaniards and New World inhabitants.

Muldoon focuses on Juan de Solórzano Pereira (1574–1654), a Spanish civil servant and author of a political treatise (*De Indiarum Jure*) justifying the Spanish conquest and occupation of the New World. More specifically, Muldoon analyzes the second book

of the first volume on "the just or legitimate search for, acquisition of, and continued possession of the Americas" (p. 13). He quite rightly uses the original Latin version rather than the later vernacular editions from which some of the original text was deleted. Using a thematic approach, the author first considers each of the ten titles supporting Spanish claims to the New World, then Solórzano's views on the history of Christian relations with the infidels and their conversion in Europe, the evolution of societies from simple to complex entities, imperial and papal legitimation of the Spanish conquest, and ways to achieve a harmonious world order.

Of the ten reasons legitimizing Spanish possession of the New World, Solórzano believed that papal donation constituted the basic justification for continued Spanish occupation of America. Other moral or religious reasons were either insufficient or illegitimate. He could not accept that it was God's divine will that the Spaniards discover and settle America or that Spain had the obligation to civilize barbarous Indian infidels because of their violation of natural law. Christian perceptions of these violations, he asserted, were idiosyncratic and did not apply universally: they were violations only in the eyes of Christians. Solórzano believed Indians were rational and that their degree of political order was more important than their moral behavior. Even the existence of tyranny, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and idolatry in the New World could not justify conquest. More persuasive arguments could be made for the need to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of the New World or to make war on them for rejecting missionaries. He considered carefully, too, the right of the Holy Roman emperor to award infidel lands to Christians, but in the end, blending historical examples with the writings of noted political theorists, Solórzano moved inexorably to the dualist position that the pope had both temporal and spiritual power over the world. Thus, he found papal donation the most defensible justification for continued Spanish presence in the New World, primarily because the pope would ensure the "right order of relations between Catholic and infidel societies" (p. 36) and would not challenge continued Spanish domination of the New World. In fact the papacy would become the dominant force to direct and achieve a harmonious world order.

Muldoon is an able analyst, particularly apt at discerning nuance. Like a latter-day scholastic political theorist of the seventeenth century, he immerses himself and his reader in prevailing views on justification of colonial enterprise deeply rooted in medieval history and medieval concepts and notions about the nature of the world. Muldoon seems to admire Solórzano, to get inside him, in a way that Solórzano's views become Muldoon's, a virtue of this book, which can be read profitably today by those vexed by the need to justify intervention in the affairs of other nations or

societies where tyranny, monumental injustice, exploitation, and inhumanity prevail.

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THEODORE W. ALLEN. *The Invention of the White Race. Volume 1, Racial Oppression and Social Control.* (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1994. Pp. ix, 310. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is not easy to read or to assess. Part of a projected two-volume set, it repeatedly makes reference to future material that cannot be examined. This demands the benefit of the doubt for what is difficult organization. Theodore W. Allen jumps from a treatment of the origins of racial slavery and societal racism in early English North America to a long middle section covering Ireland from the Anglo-Norman conquest to Catholic Emancipation before returning to ethnic and race relations in the mid-nineteenth-century United States. The challenge in reading this book of broad sweep is compounded by Allen's tendency to treat some subjects in excruciating detail and others superficially.

Allen states his thesis plainly: "racial oppression" is "sociogenic" rather than "phylogenetic" (p. 1). It is not rooted in physical dissimilarity but is a concocted method of social control. Most students of racism will certainly agree that "race" is as much social as morphological. But for Allen this conclusion "contains the root of a general theory of United States history, more consistent than others that have been advanced" (p. 1). In short, this is an exercise in metahistory, with race relations only an example. One's assessment of Allen's work, accordingly, depends on one's view of metahistory.

My own experience with metahistories is that they are prone to defensiveness, false dichotomies, and the tendency to overlook contradictions in evidence. Perhaps they do so because, as "grand theory," so much rides on them. Allen certainly oversimplifies the historiographical debate on the origins of racial slavery in English North America, turning it into a dialectic. On the one hand, there is the "Jordan-Degler psycho-cultural analysis" (p. 15)—never mind that Winthrop Jordan and Carl Degler are not exactly peas in a pod—and on the other hand the "opposition" (among whom Allen numbers himself). Allegedly, historical scholarship offers a clear-cut debate with historians seated on opposing "sides of the aisle" (p. 20). Because everyone apparently must be on one side or the other, Allen forces Edmund Morgan (who offers a decidedly different interpretation of the origin of Anglo-American racial slavery from either Jordan or Degler) into the "Jordan-Degler" camp, evidently because Morgan had the temerity to propose that nonslaveholding, proletarian white colonists could have derived ego satisfactions from the oppression of the black race.

Allen's decision to jump back and forth across the Atlantic seems based on the assumption that if there is

evidence of "race" being employed in a "system of oppression" (p. 28) that victimized both white Irish and black Africans, then it proves that racism was not connected with phenotype but was an artificial social control mechanism. I am not sure that this needs to be proved and am even less sure that the case of Ireland proves it. Doubtless the English used Ireland to hone their skills for subjugating and administering foreign peoples and they used "race" very loosely in their description of the "wild Irish." But I do not think that Allen will satisfy many by claiming that it makes no difference that the Irish were phenotypically like the English and that Africans or African Americans were not or that the English system of social control took advantage of the religious and cultural attributes of the Irish whereas it took advantage of race in North America. The evidence just will not stand up to close scrutiny. Allen himself reports on the liberating consequences of "becoming" Protestant in subjugated Ireland and even on the incentives created for Catholics to do so. Few African Americans could "become" white, and they certainly were not encouraged to "pass." Likewise, Allen treats the English rapprochement with the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie in the early nineteenth century as a refinement of social control. Can one imagine a similar white alignment with a black "middle class" many places in the antebellum South? In the end, Allen waffles, resorting to calling English domination in Ireland "religio-racial oppression" (p. 97).

Allen proposes that there was an "Irish mirror" (p. 159) that offers a clearer view of American race relations. But when Allen turns from Ireland to the antebellum United States, his treatment is so superficial that it is difficult to make out an image at all. To attribute the attraction of the immigrant Irish to the Democratic Party wholly to Jacksonian readiness to coopt them by awarding the privileges of the white race is to overlook both the travails of Whiggery and the role of nativism. Returning, in the end, to the same dichotomous treatment of historians with which he began, Allen requires all scholars to agree either that the northern white working class had no rational economic reason to feel anxious about slavery's end (hence their racism was manipulated) or that white workers legitimately feared "negro strikebreakers" (p. 192), an interpretation that no one has seriously advanced in forty years (see Allen's own footnotes). Metahistory is always problematic. Perhaps the jury can remain out on this exercise in metahistory until the second volume is in.

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TIMOTHY YATES. *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 275. \$59.95.

Whatever happened to the world mission of Christianity? Until recently, the question was rarely asked

outside of ecclesiastical circles, where the answers given were almost invariably the function of some theological *parti pris*. The evangelicals spoke of failure of nerve, the liberals warned of the perils of triumphalism in "conversionist" foreign missions, and the odd secularist or heretic with an interest in the subject tended to be bemused, if not appalled, by the spectacle of internecine bloodletting within the religion of love.

Yet the history of Christian mission is of world-historical importance, and Timothy Yates has traced its development, decade by decade, since 1900. There are chapters on "Mission as Expansion 1900-1910," "Mission as the Church of a People (*Volkskirche*) 1910-1920," "Mission Appraised 1920-1940," "Mission as Presence and Dialogue 1950-1960," "Mission as Proclamation, Dialogue and Liberation 1960-1970," "Mission as Proclamation and Church Growth 1970-1980," and so forth. Although the larger story rarely emerges from such ready-made chronological segments, the author has succeeded in constructing a basic narrative, grounded in mastery of the primary sources, in which other scholars can have considerable confidence. The author's personal sympathies are with the evangelical wing of the Church of England, as exemplified by such missionary-scholars as Max Warren and Stephen Neill, but Yates is studiously fair to every reasonable shade of partisan opinion, from the conservative evangelicals (one of whom held that "German theology is no good in a revival") to disillusioned liberals such as Wilfred Cantwell Smith, who described traditional missionary claims as "blasphemy," to radical proponents of Latin American liberation theology such as Gustavo Gutierrez and the Brazilian brothers Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff.

But the book has its inherent limitations. Yates flies so close to the ground that we are rarely able to see the larger narrative of how "mainstream" Christianity has been transformed from a traditional missionary religion into one in which the missionary instinct typically takes the form of enthusiasm for the ecumenical movement and for interfaith dialogue. These are arguably exalted causes, but it is pointless to deny that something essential has changed, and that the missionary impulse has metamorphosed in some rather unexpected ways. Meanwhile, the mission field has been left pretty much to the fundamentalists and the evangelicals. In many respects, this is an astonishing development.

The author's inability to explain these general developments reflects a limitation in his viewpoint, strictly speaking, which derives from placing Protestantism at the center of the story (the Catholics, although they supported more missionaries, do not really appear until 1962 with the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, the famous *Nostra Aetate*), from overemphasis on the historical theology of missions as distinct from missionary practice, and from a research strategy that focuses on the documentary evidence generated by the mainline Protestant denom-

inations in Europe and North America and by the numerous, yet not necessarily influential, international missionary conferences. For example, the world missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910 was of genuine historical importance, but the successor meetings at Lausanne in 1974, convened under evangelical auspices, or at Vancouver in 1983, under the World Council of Churches, were of declining significance regardless of theological orientation. The intellectual and social context of Christian missions had changed, but Yates never adequately accounts for this.

In this conscientious, well-crafted study, Yates has cut into a fascinating theme in modern world history. Somehow I doubt that he will resent me for suggesting that his useful book, despite its obvious merits, never quite succeeds in viewing its subject *sub specie aeternitatis*.

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MICHAEL BARKUN. *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 290. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.95.

In the 1980s, a shadowy, virulently anti-Semitic religious movement known as Christian Identity was linked to a number of disparate groups that captured national notoriety. A violent terrorist cell in the Northwest known as The Order emerged, along with an armed survivalist cult in the Ozarks called The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, various Posse Comitatus organizations in the Midwest, and the Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian, with its headquarters compound in Idaho.

Little has been known of the origins of Christian Identity until Michael Barkun's book appeared, a remarkable contribution to our understanding of this important—and still developing—chapter in the history of the far Right in America.

Barkun traces the roots of Christian Identity to British-Israelism, a curious late-nineteenth-century social movement whose adherents argued that the British—not the Jews—were the lineal descendants of the ancient Israelites. Piecing together the strands of the story through a close reading of the work of numerous writers and an exhaustive study of other available primary sources—notably movement newspapers, pamphlets, and correspondence—Barkun describes how this small, eccentric, relatively benign society spawned a very different phenomenon in America.

This is a fascinating study in historical reconstruction. Barkun is an authority on millenarian movements, and he shows how the mildly philo-Semitic views of early British-Israelites changed to anti-Semitism in the work of American activists. Important early figures in this transformation in the 1920s and 1930s were Howard Rand, an attorney and prolific writer and organizer, and William J. Cameron, a key aide to

Henry Ford and a major force in Ford's anti-Semitic publications, including the *Dearborn Independent*.

During the 1940s and 1950s, Gerald L. K. Smith, America's most prominent anti-Semite who was living then in southern California, served as mentor to a group of younger men who would complete the reshaping of British-Israelism into the Christian Identity vision. Three individuals were major players in this development: Bertrand Comparet, a right-wing attorney, William Potter Gale, a former aide to General Douglas MacArthur, and Wesley Swift. Swift, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian (because, he claimed, Jesus was not a Jew), was particularly influential in completing and propagating Identity teachings.

Jews were now seen not only as not the heirs of the Israelites and as the evil financial and political manipulators described in the works of earlier anti-Semites but also as the literal biological offspring of Satan in the line of Cain. Barkun ranges across the work of many millenarian writers in telling this tale of the demonization of the Jews in Identity thought.

What emerges is a world in which Identity adherents saw Jews as an immensely powerful and Satanic adversary, controlling the government, media, judiciary, universities, and all important institutions in American life. They lived in ZOG, the Zionist Occupation Government. It was a closed system of thought: Identity believers rejected any arguments of prestigious academic, church, or government officials because these authoritative individuals had to be dupes of the conspirators or part of the Jewish conspiracy of power.

Barkun distinguishes between the teachings of the Identity preachers and the views of the fundamentalists of the contemporary religious Right. And he notes the ways in which different groups of Identity advocates have acted on their beliefs: a few have engaged in terrorist confrontations, others have retreated into survivalist separatism, many now call for a territorial solution, envisioning a white, Aryan "homeland" in the Northwest. All the Identity true believers share hostility to the power of federal and state governments and their "radical localism" is reflected in the teachings of other right-wing extremists emerging in recent days.

Barkun cannot, of course, link this movement to those paramilitary militia groups proliferating across the United States only in 1995. But understanding the origins and ideology of Christian Identity will help students both of past and present movements better assess the nature of far-Right activism in America.

DAVID H. BENNETT
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FRANCIS J. BREMER. *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610–1692*. (New England Studies.) Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 355. \$45.00.

Francis J. Bremer's excellent book on Puritanism covers the much-studied seventeenth-century transatlantic movement in amazing detail, yet its thesis can be summed up in a simple phrase. Whatever else it was theologically, ecclesiastically, socioeconomically, or politically, Puritanism was a case of "friends helping friends" (p. 234). Throughout the century, with the winds of fortune shifting now for them and now against them, "on both sides of the Atlantic Congregational friends continued to rely upon each other's assistance to sustain and nourish their faith" (p. 233). Bremer, author of numerous books and articles on Puritanism and editor of *The Winthrop Papers*, documents his work with seventy pages of citations to an impressive range of primary sources.

This study is an analysis of how Puritan experience with a particular element of their spirituality, the discipline of "godly conference" or "communion of saints," developed over time. Bremer helpfully supplements the portrait of Puritans as individuals who defined themselves by "the experience of grace and the sense of being born again." "In the process of conversion" they "shared in a godly communion that heightened their spiritual sense of election, provided them with friends to share their burdens, and opened them toward processes of shared responsibility" (p. xii). Puritanism was essentially a communalist enterprise based on mutual trust (a word Bremer uses repeatedly). It was the fellowship of communion that formed Puritanism as an identifiable movement and bonded particular groups within the movement. Bremer's focus is on Congregationalist clergy, but he shows how warm, creative friendships extended among laity and also, in various ways depending on the decade, across the Presbyterian to Baptist Calvinist spectrum. Bremer uses his topic as a window through which to view the religious and political history of the century, from the rise of the movement among friends at Cambridge University, to the days of extreme pressure under Bishop Laud and the establishment of New England as an exemplary godly society, through the Restoration and Glorious Revolution when "trans-Atlantic friends would once again cooperate in any effort to achieve religious unity and the protection of their common faith" (p. 221).

Bremer offers a fresh perspective on several scholarly debates, as with his level-headed view of the Puritans' sense of eschatology and mission: of England as "elect nation" and New England as "errand into the wilderness." He argues (against Theodore Dwight Bozeman) that Puritans did believe they were on a millennial mission, but as one contributor among many toward the international Protestant reform of the church that would herald the Kingdom of God. His portrayal of New England's religious history in its transatlantic context is a persuasive corrective to the scholarly tendency to treat the colonies in isolation. Especially helpful is Bremer's discussion of New England's active theological, political, and prayerful involvement in the Puritan Revolution of the 1640s and

1650s. A full century of transatlantic Puritan collegiality bore final fruit with the work of Increase Mather in England on behalf of the colonies prior to and during the Glorious Revolution. Eighteenth-century English Dissenters and New Englanders still communicated with one another, but "communion as it had sustained and shaped the Congregational Puritan clergy . . . had passed; an era of religious history had come to an end" (p. 257).

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NEVILLE KIRK. *Labour and Society in Britain and the USA*. Volume 1, *Capitalism, Custom and Protest, 1780–1850*; volume 2, *Challenge and Accommodation, 1850–1939*. Aldershot, U.K.: Scolar; distributed by Ashgate, Brookfield, Vt. 1994. Pp. viii, 226; 424. \$119.95 the set.

A decade after American scholars gathered to wrestle with "the problem of synthesis" that the "new" labor history generated, Neville Kirk offers an immense comparative synthesis that curiously side-steps the substantive divisions between cultural and class-struggle approaches so evident in the proceedings of a conference held in 1984 (J. C. Moody and Alice Kessler-Harris, eds., *Perspectives on American Labor History* [1989]). Kirk locates his study "within the broad tradition of historical materialism," shorn of its "mechanistic, lawed, linear and teleological" features, and pledges his concern for both "gender and gender-based differences, divisions, and inequalities" and "politics, culture, and ideology" (vol. 1, pp. 5, 8, 9). At the center of the work is a chronological evaluation of "workers, organized labour, and society in Britain and North America," with emphasis on "labour movement organizations and protests" (vol. 1, p. 1). Thus, workplace struggles, unionizing and political initiatives, and ideological matters are exhaustively examined. Gender, culture, community, and race/ethnicity occupy peripheral spaces, lacking, as Nick Salvatore noted in reviewing *Perspectives*, "sustained analysis" that links them to both volumes' "central category, class" (*Business History Review* [1990], p. 168). Kirk's profound interest in comparing class formation, organization, and consciousness is evident throughout, as is his rejection of American exceptionalism, extending a debate Sean Wilentz reopened (*International Labor and Working Class History* [1984–85], nos. 26–28). These emphases make the title misleading; *Labour and Society* might better have been labeled *Class and Politics*, for cultural matters are brought forward chiefly as aids or obstacles to class formation.

Volume 1 opens with a discussion of "capitalist transformation," which voices familiar critiques of ahistorical market determinisms derived from neoclassical economics, then reviews production, politics, and protest in agriculture, households, workshops, and factories through the early 1860s. In two long, succeeding chapters, Kirk builds on Wilentz's "no-exceptionalism" position, arguing for "comparable . . . patterns

of thought and behavior" among U.S. and British workers during two eras: a generation of rising labor consciousness, self-organization, and protest (ca. 1820–40s) and another featuring fragmentation of "class-based ties" into the 1860s (vol. 1, pp. 85–86). Considering criteria of "constituency, conflict/hostility, and independence," the core similarities initially surface on ideological levels; differences dominate in regard to institutions, economic relations, or background conditions (that is, voting rights, urbanization, slavery politics versus Chartism). Moreover, in Britain, "class . . . saturated both the patterns and common-sense of everyday life, of culture," more than in the United States, where "anti-capitalist consciousness" and "independent radicalism" were far weaker (vol. 1, pp. 139, 145). In engaging labor's fragmentation, Kirk credits private and public "concessions and initiatives to organized labour on the part of the rich and powerful" in Britain, but he notes a half-dozen quite different sources for American decay (vol. 1, p. 190).

Volume 2 carries the narrative through the "crisis of competitive capitalism" that triggered an American, but not a British, merger movement. It treats major labor upheavals from the 1880s through the early 1920s (far more violent and bitterly opposed in the United States than in Britain), plus a vigorous-then-destroyed American socialism and an expanded suffrage that helped construct a durable British Labour Party. It closes with the two nations' differently volatile 1920s and the global economic crisis that confirmed Tory governments, wrecked Republican political power, and authored the New Deal's conditional legitimization of mass unionization. Again Kirk finds more similarities in rhetoric and intentions ("to 'civilise,' 'moralise,' 'tame,' and . . . transform . . . the capitalism of unregulated markets") than in institutions or politics ("the continued absence of mass-based independent labour politics in the United States"), but finally he argues that the "revival and strength of class among 1930s American workers . . . invalidates the notion of American exceptionalism" (vol. 2, p. 366).

This is all most peculiar. Kirk devotes 650 pages to crushing the straw-man "absolute notion of American 'exceptionalism'" (vol. 2, p. 367), yet he does not use the extensive documentation his narrative provides to outline an alternative concept (relative exceptionalism?). Perhaps he refrained because the idea of an exception entails the idea of a rule, here a standard for capitalist development or labor movement forms, ideologies, and practices not empirically sustainable. The paradox of critical neo-Marxism in this regard is that, in setting aside expectations of "lawed," universal dynamics, arguments about exceptions become pointless. Similarly, Kirk's struggle to resuscitate class as the core concept for analysis in labor history flounders. Despite his invocations of multiple influences on workers' agency, he remains committed to seeing "racism, ethnic conflicts and other sources of working-class fragmentation" as "instrumental in undermining . . . class" (vol. 2, p. 368), not as, together with gender,

workplace, and political experiences, constituting diverse modes of agency in which class is a contingent component, rather than an anchor or a destination. At times, Kirk personifies (fetishizes?) class: "In Britain, class was forced to contend with competing loyalties" (vol. 2, p. 368), as if the concept ought to be endowed with agency. This is disappointing, particularly when an author is quick to assert the methodological and theoretical shortcomings of historians supportive of alternative approaches. Kirk rightly lauds studies by Wilentz, Bruce Laurie, E. P. Thompson (his mainstays for volume 1), David Montgomery, and Eric Hobsbawm (volume 2), but he dismisses in a phrase or a paragraph others (John Bodnar, Jonathan Zeitlin, Gareth Stedman Jones) with whom he differs, without exploring in depth the bases for those disagreements.

Kirk has tried to do too much, and too little. On the "too-much" count, mixing a massive cross-national comparative analysis, an effort to flay "exceptionalism" and revitalize "class," and a series of in-text battles with scholarly colleagues overwhelms the capacities of the narrative. On the "too-little" side, failing to engage culture and gender fundamentally yields a traditional tale, not a provocative synthesis. That the writing is tedious, repetitive, and tiresomely cross-referenced internally ("As noted in Chapter X") only adds to the reader's burdens. This work may be of some value to graduate students seeking a partial overview of the American and British labor-history literatures, but it hardly resolves the synthesis problem articulated a decade ago.

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LOUIS DUPRÉ. *Passage to Modernity: An Essay in the Hermeneutics of Nature and Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 300.

This book belongs to the high devolutionist branch of "historical modernology." Its modernity is the creation of a few late-medieval theologians with some assistance from early Renaissance humanists and a clinching confirmation in the seventeenth century, especially from Descartes; its "passage" is a fall from an "onto-theological synthesis" to what Louis Dupré likes to call our "small souls." The subtitle adds another genre distinction. As "an essay in . . . hermeneutics," the book means to be neither a history of ideas nor an analysis of social and economic changes. Intellectual historians give us "a mere history of . . . succession" (p. 9); non-intellectual historians cannot "explain the inner cohesiveness of ideal forms" (p. 10). Dupré thinks his hermeneutical alternative is to seek out lasting truths (more than relativizing historians can) while recognizing (more than ahistorical scholarship will) that truth is always but only provisionally disclosed through time.

Historians, whether their souls are depleted or not,

will fault this project as short on context and causes. But the historiography of early modern Europe is already full of claims for Great Transformations. The field is constituted by the marking out of boundaries between the "traditional" and the "modern," and its persistent debates about, say, Jakob Burckhardt's Renaissance Italians, Max Weber's Protestants, Karl Marx's capitalists, or Alexis de Tocqueville's centralizers are not necessarily less categorical than the preoccupation with intellectual synthesis and fragmentation. Dupré believes that he is actually defending the historical specificity of early modern European culture from the lumpers who think that a modern outcome was implicit in the beginnings of Western thought (for example, Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida) or the trimmers who would date a cultural break later, not (at least) before the Enlightenment.

The materials for this exercise are the texts of mostly canonical thinkers and writers from the old Western Civilization syllabus. A few artists are added for good measure. The trajectory runs from the Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle, who "have more to say to us than any of our contemporaries" (p. 7), to medieval systematizers, especially Thomas Aquinas, and then to the dismantlers. These include in the first instance nominalism; more ambivalently humanism, Neoplatonism, and magisterial Protestantism; most definitively Copernicanism and Cartesianism. Synthesizing selectively from a wide secondary literature and his own readings of important textual sources, Dupré elaborates the implications of notions about the cosmos, man, and God as a tale of dissolution and diminution: before 1300 a predominant classical and medieval sense of interconnectedness; afterward a characteristically modern separation of form and matter, subject and object, nature and transcendence. There are a few reprieves along the way, among them the would-be new syntheses of Nicholas of Cusa, Marsiglio Ficino, or the Baroque, but these instances fail to withstand the dichotomizing pull.

We are supposed to take this narrative as a challenge to modern or, as it may be by now, postmodern sensibility. But far from being news, the plot of a synthesis and its schizophrenic modern demise is dreadfully familiar and out of phase with the hard-earned picture of turbulent cultural diversity that has emerged on the periodic tables of medievalists and early modern historians for more than a generation. Dupré's version of modernity as an intellectual rupture is largely taken over from Hans Blumenberg, but with only grudging allowances for the productive flexibility of post-nominalist thinking that Blumenberg wanted to rescue in *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (1983). Although avowing that modern culture "requires a hermeneutic before admitting a critique" (p. 5), Dupré is nothing if not critical; although insisting that there can be no turning back to premodern premises, he wears his nostalgia for the "Golden Age of Synthesis" after 1200 on his hermeneutical sleeve.

However badly one might think about this account

as history, one cannot not think very well of it as hermeneutics. A stronger recognition of difficulty and difference across cultural horizons should complicate any assurance that there ever was an all-embracing "ontotheological synthesis." The modesty Dupré proclaims for his project (p. 6) might have tempered his judgment, and his acknowledgement of complexity might have given him more respect for the differences in the circumstances and genres of his evidence. It might even have occurred to him that metaphysical anxiety is not necessarily the worst of the world's perils and predicaments.

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JOHN T. GRAHAM. *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Life in Ortega y Gasset*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 421. \$44.95.

This book is not the usual introduction to José Ortega y Gasset's life and thought. For that kind of work the reader would be better advised to consult the studies by scholars such as Rockwell Gray, Andrew Dobson, José Ferrater Mora, or Julián Marías. John T. Graham, by contrast, follows a different tack, arguing one major thesis (accompanied by a number of smaller ones): that underlying nearly the entire corpus of Ortega's work is the hitherto barely noticed presence of William James.

Nearly twenty years ago Philip Silver argued a roughly similar thesis with respect to Edmund Husserl's impact on Ortega (*Ortega y Gasset as Phenomenologist* [1978]). According to Silver, it was Husserl's phenomenology, first acquired by Ortega in his twenties, that played the central role in the formation of his thought. Graham, while not denying the influence of Husserl after 1912, nonetheless claims that Husserl's work overlays the earlier, deeper, and more long-lasting influence of James's pragmatism (acquired before Ortega turned his attention to Husserl). In Graham's view, the inspiration for many of Ortega's key ideas—including his notions of "radical empiricism," life as "basic reality," and "living reason"—came from the three or four books by James that, Graham says, Ortega "probably" read between ca. 1908 and 1916. Graham does not deny that Husserl provided Ortega with both a method of investigation (phenomenology) and a set of useful terms, but he maintains that James supplied most of the essential elements of Ortega's thought until he was well into middle age, at which time the work of Wilhelm Dilthey began to assume a greater degree of importance.

On the face of it, Graham's claim regarding James's influence seems indefensible given two facts that Graham himself acknowledges. First, Ortega never once mentioned James by name in any works published during his lifetime; apparently the only occasion on which Ortega specifically referred to James as an "influence," at least in writing, was in an unfinished

autobiographical fragment dating from the early 1950s and not published until 1980, twenty-five years after Ortega's death. Second, nearly all the references Ortega made to pragmatism throughout his career were critical if not scornful, especially in the first two decades of this century, when, if Graham is to be believed, Ortega was making the pragmatic outlook integral to his own "philosophy of life."

To suggest, despite such strong opposing evidence, that James's pragmatism was the pivotal influence on Ortega's thought would appear to be an unlikely proposition, but this is precisely what Graham sets out to demonstrate in nearly 400 carefully argued pages. In a masterful job of scholarship, he first explains why Ortega remained silent about his alleged borrowings from James (the explanation is plausible) and then proceeds to analyze the ideas and even the language and metaphors of both thinkers in order to indicate how much the thought of the Spaniard depended on, or, as Graham puts it, "echoed" that of the American.

Thanks to the overall force of his argumentation, Graham is persuasive for the most part, but there are still some problems. Much of his evidence, as he himself admits, relies on inference: "apparent" connections and "probable" borrowings. What Graham sees as direct links from the older to the younger thinker could just as well be coincidences based on parallel ways of thinking. Furthermore, some of the ideas Graham claims Ortega took from James could have been acquired from others. The notion of perspectivism, for example, which became an important concept for Ortega, could have been picked up from Friedrich Nietzsche or Max Scheler (both of whom Ortega is known to have read early on) and not solely from James. The same could be said of many of Ortega's other ideas.

For most readers, this will be a demanding book. For those with a sufficient background in intellectual history and modern philosophy, however, it will also prove to be an interesting and compelling work, for Graham opens up new angles of vision not only on Ortega's ideas but on twentieth-century thought in general. Not more than a handful of scholars writing today are as familiar as Graham with the many subtle shifts and changes in Ortega's *oeuvre* over a half-century of writing. This intimate knowledge serves him well. It will no doubt also enrich the two additional works he has planned as part of a larger "critical synthesis" of Ortega's thought. Unlike the present book, which deals mainly with Ortega's philosophy, the two projected volumes will treat his views on society, aesthetics, education, politics, and history. The end result is likely to be the best and most comprehensive treatment of Ortega y Gasset in any language.

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J. P. D. DUNBABIN. *International Relations since 1945: A History in Two Volumes*. Volume 1, *The Cold War: The*

Great Powers and Their Allies; volume 2, *The Post-Imperial Age: The Great Powers and the Wider World*. (The Postwar World.) New York: Longman. 1994. Pp. xx, 513; xii, 549.

The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s immediately sparked a search for the era's historical significance. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* celebrated the moment by pushing back the minute hand on its ominous nuclear clock. Francis Fukuyama famously if not prematurely declared the end of history. Some analysts lamented the Cold War's extravagant defense budgets, disastrous military interventions, and diversion of attention from domestic needs in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Others, awed by the chaos of the new world order, concluded that the Soviet-American rivalry had produced an era of "long peace" marked by relative stability in international relations.

J. P. D. Dunbabin's two volumes offer no such provocative conclusions. They do give an encyclopedic survey of international politics from 1945 to the early 1990s. The first volume focuses on the superpowers and their allies and the cycles of confrontation and detente that characterized fifty years of Cold War. The second volume explores global issues that arose first during the Cold War era, but seem destined to endure into the future: decolonization and the North-South dialogue, the economic rise of the Pacific Rim, the continuing saga of the Middle East, the organization of the United Nations, and international trade and finance. Some topics, such as the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the struggle against South African apartheid, are covered in both books.

Dunbabin's approach has its strengths and weaknesses. The books deserve high praise simply for their breadth. Given the array of subjects covered, they will no doubt be useful in college courses on both diplomatic history and international relations. They also have considerable merit as reference books, and each includes a lengthy bibliographical essay.

Dunbabin should also be commended for presenting the history of the Cold War from an international perspective. In addition to examining Soviet and American policies, the first volume guides readers through political trends in both Eastern and Western Europe and examines the impact of power politics on non-Western regions. The second volume probes more fully major developments in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America and highlights the changing role of multinational corporations, the United Nations, and regional trading blocs in international relations. Although neither book draws extensively on primary sources, aside from memoirs and occasional references to *Foreign Relations of the United States*, each synthesizes a variety of secondary works. Relying heavily on the published bulletins of the Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson

Center, the author occasionally includes an admittedly sketchy discussion of Soviet and Chinese sources.

In spite of these strengths, the two books are at times disappointing because of the author's reluctance to explore interpretive questions. Almost all aspects of the Cold War have generated spirited debate over the years, yet only brief mention of the differing viewpoints appear in this work. The realist-revisionist arguments on the origins of the Cold War are briefly outlined, yet other chapters convey a misleading sense of scholarly consensus. Was the Korean War initially a civil or a Cold War conflict? Was the Vietnam War winnable? Did bureaucratic forces, a drive for raw materials, or anticommunist paranoia rank as the primary catalyst for the United States military intervention in Southeast Asia? Perhaps most surprising, Dunbabin's account of the 1980s and early 1990s does not attempt to sort out and weigh the relative importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, Ronald Reagan's military build-up, arms negotiations, and the decline of both American and Soviet hegemony in bringing about an end to the Cold War.

Dunbabin nonetheless provides a thoughtful and thought-provoking narrative. He draws on a conceptual framework that is probably most akin to what John Lewis Gaddis has labeled "post-revisionism." Accenting the geopolitical and ideological determinants of international behavior, the author places responsibility for starting and perpetuating the Cold War on both of the superpowers and their allies. Soviet policy is portrayed as more consistently aggressive and expansionistic, U.S. initiatives for the most part as defensive. Both sides frequently misunderstood the power of nationalism in the Third World and overestimated their influence in developing areas. The impact of economics on foreign policy is downplayed. The growing international relations scholarship on culture, gender, and race does not seem to have strongly influenced this work.

Although specialists will be familiar with much of the material presented in these two volumes, they will appreciate the broad, sweeping synthesis of international security issues and politics since 1945. Classroom instructors will welcome Dunbabin's clear and highly readable treatment of the Cold War as a crucial era in global history.

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PAUL G. HALPERN. *A Naval History of World War I*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 591. \$55.00.

This is an essential book. As historians we often feel that only our methodologies and the primary sources are truly essential. We write specialized monographs and tend to dwell on them when asked to choose those books most important to our field. Unfortunately, that view often leads us to neglect vital elementary works

by true authorities on a subject. Experienced historians occasionally perceive the need for comprehensive works to propose profitable future directions, to suggest careful balance in treatment, and to offer a coherent general context for the best monographic studies. With this book Paul G. Halpern has ably provided all of these services for those studying the naval history of World War I.

Too often obscured in the shadow of its military cousin, naval history has over the last half-century independently developed an international community of capable practitioners and an excellent and insightful literature. Responsible himself for some of that literature, Halpern in his previous work focused on the naval situation in the Mediterranean at the turn of the century and during World War I. This excellent background not only qualifies him to write a general study of the naval war but also his experience with second-rank naval powers, such as Austria-Hungary and Italy, has brought an important balance to this volume. Too often historians and students of the war at sea portray their subject as the Anglo-German naval confrontation writ large. In Halpern's carefully comprehensive treatment, more famous actions like Dogger Bank and Jutland are arrayed next to campaigns and actions in the Baltic, Adriatic, eastern Mediterranean, and the Black seas. He also includes well-crafted discussions of naval activity in the colonies around the globe and riverine warfare on the Danube. Neither does he focus almost exclusively on the activities involving the larger capital ships and Germany's innovative use of the U-boat. This book also offers an excellent discussion of convoying, antisubmarine warfare, naval aviation, and the use of mines as an effective weapon by all of the major combatants.

As one might expect from a good primer, this book provides an excellent bibliography, leading readers to the best the naval literature has to offer. Although Halpern does employ a combination of primary sources and secondary works in his exposition, he draws the reader's attention in his scholarly apparatus to the best historical analysis available on any given subject. He arranges his secondary bibliography according to each participating nation and provides his reader with both those books needed to acquire basic knowledge as well as more specialized studies. The only flaw in this compilation includes some background works conspicuous by their absence. Eckart Kehr's now classic *Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik* (1930) must appear in any German list of readings if only as a counterpoint in the debate with the works of Walther Hubatsch and for its significance in shaping German naval historiography for the last sixty years. In addition, the Tirpitz propaganda machine so well appreciated by Halpern emerges clearly and vividly from the worthy work of Wilhelm Deist on the German naval news bureau.

These critical asides in no way detract from the strong positive feeling expressed in the opening sentence of this review. Halpern has written a work that

balances the political, strategic, tactical, national, and technical aspects of World War I at sea in a way that does not overwhelm but rather informs, educates, and entertains. At the risk of employing a phrase too carelessly used, but in this situation absolutely valid, this is a book that both specialists and new students need to read. It will profitably stimulate both audiences.

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WOLFGANG F. STOLPER. *Joseph Alois Schumpeter: The Public Life of a Private Man*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 400. \$49.50.

Joseph A. Schumpeter is remembered today chiefly for his scholarly accomplishments, which is fitting because he spent most of his career in academic appointments. But that is not all he did. He aspired to play a role in the political and business affairs of his time, and to some extent he succeeded. This was particularly so in the years just after World War I, when for a brief period he served terms as both minister of finance and president of the central bank in his native Austria-Hungary. And throughout his career as a scholar and teacher, he was involved in ongoing commentary on current events.

Although he ended up being more a private than a public figure, therefore, he had a public role of sorts. And it is that aspect of his life that Wolfgang F. Stolper, who himself is a distinguished economist, aims to bring to light in this biography. More precisely, it is the relationship between the scholarly views Schumpeter developed and his conduct as a participant in the practical affairs of the day that is Stolper's subject, for the stated purpose of the book is to bring to light the "remarkable unity" Schumpeter's policy recommendations and actions shared with the ideas he advanced in his scholarship.

This consistency, however, is not the only issue. The essential soundness and even wisdom of those views is also in question. Stolper writes as an apologist. He is someone who clearly is very much taken with the understanding of modern life that found expression in works such as Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942). Much of what Stolper has to say is given over, in turn, to making a case for its continuing value. The story he tells is punctuated with detailed references to the events of our time, and the clear implication of all he has to say in this vein is that in retrospect Schumpeter's view of the likely development of modern societies holds up quite well, so well, in fact, that it deserves to be seen as a "truer vision than most (even all) others" (p. 313).

What makes this a startling—and politically charged—claim, is the fact that it is the feature of Schumpeter's thinking that now makes it appear most dated that Stolper has in mind. Stolper does not refer to Schumpeter's famous cynicism about the demo-

cratic process; that line of argument (which is today becoming fashionable again) barely comes up. Instead, it is the contention that market economies are destined, as part of their natural evolution, inevitably to take on an increasingly socialized (if not specifically socialist) character, which, needless to say, is distinctly out of fashion these days. But Stolper insists that if this claim is understood in the technical sense Schumpeter (as a conservative) gave to it, it still is a good guide to what is actually happening in our time; far better than the Hayekian alternative that has enjoyed such political influence of late.

None of this is really argued, however. It is just posited as part of the portrait Stolper is trying to sketch. So it ends up being little more than a provocative hypothesis. But it is one that, to me at least, makes a lot of sense.

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JOHN A. WILLIAMS. *Classroom in Conflict: Teaching Controversial Subjects in a Diverse Society*. (SUNY Series, The Philosophy of Education.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 204. \$16.95.

G. W. F. Hegel advised that a mended sock was better than a torn one, yet such should not be the case with self-consciousness. Effective instruction must surely involve the tearing of students' consciousness in order to expand their minds. John A. Williams's book on teaching controversial subjects calls Hegel to mind.

A by-product of the "culture wars" and debates over the liberal arts canon, this book assumes the posture of a cautionary tale for teachers based not on partisan ideology but on its author's actual experience and reflection. How—and whether—we can teach controversial subjects in an ideologically charged climate, even when some students might be offended, is never far from our collective minds. Williams's approach is intended as a counterbalance to the abstract and polemical approaches that permeate op-ed pages and political debates. Because, he contends, neither side in the culture wars provides solutions that work in the classroom, his concern is "with the group-based claims for cultural expression and economic justice and with the preservation of individual liberties" (pp. 14–15); his strategy is to pursue "Gandhian truth," a belief that truth exists but is not obtainable by any single person. What he offers, then, is praxis as theory, and praxis as praxis.

Williams's musings on teaching are sound, and he invites us into his head as he explains the value his approach has for teachers and students alike (for example, teaching students to think historically is to instill "a habit of intellectual tentativeness and self-criticism . . . as an alternative to the more frequently encountered affectation of relativism" [pp. 39–40]). With well-reasoned arguments he tears into such subjects as insiderism (that is, only members of a group

are qualified to teach its history), offering realistic strategies for teaching colonial and comparative history, nationalism, racism, and sensitive subjects in general. Inevitably, there are some points or approaches with which to disagree (too much detail on African history), but ultimately Williams forces us to think about how and what we teach and about our assumptions, perspectives, values, and what we consider truth. Because we need to think about our subjects in order to stay vibrant and responsive, this book does our profession a service.

With only occasional lapses into pedantry, key points are made and repeated as Williams guides us, like Virgil, through a potentially educational hell. We end up realizing we can discover partial, lowercase "truths," that none of us "is on sure enough ground to punish others for 'heresy,' or to refuse to consider another's perspective" (p. 174). He sees this approach—with its development of an awareness of the common humanity of peoples from varying backgrounds—as educationally superior to cultural relativism in a pluralistic society. Thus, not only students and teachers across the ethnic-political-religious rainbow would profit from this book, but guest speakers and college presidents would as well.

I do not know how successful Williams is in his own classroom—in the act of teaching—but his book strikes me as a great teacher's primer on some of what it takes to be effective in developing young minds to think independently.

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ANCIENT

CLIFFORD ORWIN. *The Humanity of Thucydides*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 235. \$35.00.

Whether Thucydides's epic history of the Peloponnesian War is the "possession for all times" that he intended it to be can be disputed. That it has proven to be a possession for our time cannot. In 1947, George C. Marshall, then America's Secretary of State, expressed to a Princeton University audience doubts as to whether "a man can think with full wisdom and with deep convictions regarding certain of the basic international issues today who has not at least reviewed in his mind the period of the Peloponnesian War and the Fall of Athens." Thirty-six years thereafter, the Polish poet Czeslaw Milosz remarked that "the sudden crumbling of all current notions and criteria is a rare occurrence . . . characteristic of only the most stormy periods in history" and then added, with regard to "the rapid and violent changes of [our] century," that the "only possible analogy may be the time of the Peloponnesian War, as we know it from Thucydides."

One consequence of this widespread perception has been that an extraordinary range of capable scholars

has devoted attention to the ancient Greek historian. Since the publication of Jaqueline de Romilly's seminal *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism* (1947), there has been a flood of essays, books, and commentaries by figures too numerous to mention. Well might one ask what Clifford Orwin has to add.

A great deal, as it turns out. By focusing on what his predecessors have generally ignored and by making piety the central theme of his study, Orwin accounts for much in the text that is otherwise inexplicable. In the process, he allows us to see Thucydides's entire work in a fresh light. No one who reads this carefully crafted, wittily written study will emerge with his or her vision unchanged.

When he speaks of piety, Orwin has in mind not only the belief in divine providence; he is also sensitive to the fact that many of those who make no mention of the gods nonetheless persist in believing that the particular political community to which they belong is somehow sheltered from the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. There is, as he insists with an eye on Pericles's Funeral Oration, something religious about Athenian imperialism.

Orwin begins with that speech and with its sequel, the last oration that Pericles delivered. He then examines the origins of the war and the various imputations of blame. He is especially interested in assessing what Romilly dubbed "the Athenian thesis": the argument that Athens was compelled to take up the burden of empire by its natural concern with safety, honor, and profit. And he pays careful attention as well to what he calls "the Spartan thesis," the presumption that no such compulsion exists, that cities are free to comport themselves in accord with the dictates of justice, and that the gods punish the guilty and reward the blameless. After weighing the claims of the Mytilenians, the Plataeans, the Thebans, and the Spartans against their behavior, he concludes that there is much to be said for the Athenian assertion that, their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, all cities comport themselves in a manner consistent with the Athenian thesis.

Orwin then puzzles over the fact that, despite all of this, the Athenians themselves insist that they are somehow an exception to the rule, that—within the limits imposed by necessity—there is room for free choice, that within that sphere their behavior is both noble and just, and that they are deserving of the favor of the gods. With this problem in mind, he takes a close look at the exchanges that took place between the Athenians and the Boeotians in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Delium, and he reexamines the Melian Dialogue, the Sicilian Expedition, the speeches of Diodotus and Hermocrates, and the roots of civil disorder at Corcyra, at Athens, and elsewhere.

Orwin is in full control of the secondary literature on Thucydides, his handling of philological questions is magisterial, and if the passages that he discusses are familiar, his treatment of them is not. This may be the best book to appear on the subject thus far, and given

the quality of the secondary literature produced in the last half-century, that is saying a lot.

PAUL A. RAHE
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NANCY DEMAND. *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 276. \$39.95.

Nancy Demand's book offers a Foucauldian reading of Greek medical practice as a means of exercising male social control over female reproduction. Greek doctors provided scientific rationales for early marriage, frequent parturition, and remarriage. Pregnancy and intercourse were the primary cures for symptoms produced by dysmenorrhea or the wandering of the (unattached) womb around the female body. Oversight of the reproductive process by male doctors lessened the likelihood of surreptitious abortion and the introduction of suppositious male children into the household by women and midwives. The anxiety to produce legitimate heirs for the Attic household here overrode popular knowledge that early childbearing could be unhealthy for women. By contrast, Spartan women were permitted to marry later because the citizen body was easier to define in this closed, traditional society. The concern with legitimacy may also explain the Hippocratic neglect of pediatrics; child care was apparently left to women.

Demand's book differs from previous treatments of these same themes in making more extensive use of the Hippocratic *Epidemics*, as well as the now familiar treatises on the diseases of women and virgins. Hence she argues in more detail than previous studies about the risks of childbirth in the classical period. Although puerperal fever was clearly responsible for some maternal deaths, she makes the case that malaria and tuberculosis were critical risk factors that medical practice did nothing to alleviate. A valuable appendix includes translations of the cases from *Epidemics* under discussion.

On the vexed question of the relation of Hippocratic doctors to traditional medicine practiced by female herbalists and midwives, Demand adopts a compromise position, arguing that Hippocratic treatises often reflect traditional female lore, but as perceived through the lens of male conceptual systems. In her view, Greek doctors raised the status of those midwives who cooperated with them, but fiercely criticized religious competitors, such as the *manteis* (often women) who attributed female diseases to demons and prescribed as cures expensive dedications to deities such as the goddess Artemis.

In her discussion of the social and religious systems served by Greek medicine, Demand is necessarily superficial about topics that have been treated with more depth and complexity elsewhere. Her interpretation of the iconography of Attic tombstones showing women who died in childbirth is more interesting.

Here she argues against recent scholarship that Greek ideology did not equate death in childbirth with heroic death in battle. These women are passive, pathetic victims, whereas warriors meet death in action. Some of these tombstones may in fact commemorate midwives rather than mothers. By contrast, in discussing Attic rites to Artemis that prepared young women for marriage, Demand seems excessively speculative in arguing that rites designed to prepare young women for marriage instead produced "diseases of maidens," because the presence of more developed girls made those less mature feel inadequate to their future reproductive roles. Finally, her often helpful use of modern anthropological material is at times seriously anachronistic or misleading, particularly in her superficial treatment of Greek male homosexuality.

HELENE P. FOLEY
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VINCENT GABRIELSEN. *Financing the Athenian Fleet: Public Taxation and Social Relations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 306. \$45.00.

Although classical Athenian democracy employed many measures to distance the exercise of public authority from the influence of personal wealth, the wealthy were needed for functions more effectively managed by their personal means and experience than by randomly allotted public officials. Vincent Gabrielsen examines the most expensive of the liturgies, or public services, the wealthy were called on to perform, the operation of a state-owned warship.

This book is about the trierarchy, "command of a trireme," as this liturgy was called. Gabrielsen does not attempt to quantify the expenses of operating the Athenian fleet borne by the state (construction and outfitting of ships, and provision of nominal pay for crews). He discusses trierarchic expenses (maintenance of state property and supplemental pay to crews) sufficiently to illustrate the wide range of variables affecting the actual cost of a trierarchy. Gabrielsen focuses primarily on the qualifications and responsibilities of trierarchs and how these changed in response to stresses on the liturgical system.

Gabrielsen convincingly demonstrates that no official census determined trierarchic liability. Rather, the display of wealth in a number of ways could result in nomination for the liturgy, and if one felt the burden insupportable, the only recourse was to prove before a jury court that someone else could better bear the expense. The trierarchic class was thus largely responsible for regulating itself within a legal framework.

Throughout his book, Gabrielsen illustrates how the institutions of the trierarchy balanced incentive and compulsion. From its beginnings, the trierarchy provided the wealthy a politically acceptable display of munificence and prowess. By the late fifth century, as financial ability became more critical than military prowess, the state mitigated the burden by creating a

system of collective responsibility, first through joint trierarchies and later, through Periandros's reform of 358/357, by defining those liable to the trierarchy as a body of the 1,200 wealthiest men, divided into twenty groups (*symmories*, or "partnerships") of sixty, each group funding an equal portion of the fleet.

Legal requirements were often not fulfilled in actual practice. The inability of the *symmory* system to operate as intended is known from Demosthenes's critiques. Gabrielsen discusses this and other aberrations from legal norms, generally due to the contradictions inherent in an institution operating by both public mandate and private initiative. For example, naval records indicate that significant quantities of ships' gear remained, illegally, in the hands of individuals sometimes for a decade or more. Gabrielsen notes the infrequency of punitive sanctions as evidence for official tolerance intended not to discourage participation in the trierarchy. Although Gabrielsen does not consider why gear was so commonly misappropriated, one wonders if this practice indicates private transactions by trierarchs preferring to deal among themselves rather than with the vagaries of the public arsenal.

Readers unfamiliar with the sources for the study of Athenian naval institutions will find Gabrielsen's close analysis difficult to follow at times. Specialists will find many useful insights. All will appreciate the significance of Gabrielsen's book, for he has demonstrated, more clearly than his predecessors in studies of the trierarchy, the delicate balance between the state and the "private sector" in this supreme military institution.

MARK MUNN
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GARY REGER. *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314–167 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 14.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 396. \$55.00.

It is ironic that Delos, one of the smallest states in antiquity, should provide our most abundant store of economic data. In hundreds of inscriptions set up by the *hieropoioi* (the priests who administered the temple, estates, and houses belonging to Apollo), income and expenditures were recorded throughout the entire period of Delian independence, 314–167 B.C. In this book, Gary Reger subjects this data to straight-line regression analysis. This statistical approach enables him to grasp the data as a whole and to recognize instantly any anomalies. He brings to the task a good measure of common sense about the ancient economy and a healthy skepticism toward the assumptions that have underlain previous attempts to utilize the material.

In four introductory chapters he argues that the Cyclades formed a political unit and an economic unit with many regional variations. The basis of this economy was not trade but peasant agriculture. Conse-

quently, the conventional picture of Delos as the commercial center of a vast trading network reaching from Egypt to the Black Sea where prices moved in unison must be discarded. The economic phenomena observable on Delos are best explained in terms of local, not world-wide, considerations. In this regional Cycladic economy, he argues, Delos could produce 10 percent of its needed grain. The 90 percent that had to be imported amounted to no more than a shipload or two a month and, except in times of severe shortage, it could be supplied from the surplus produced in the Cyclades. Forty percent of these imports, he believes, came from the nearby islands of Myconos and Rheneia, where Apollo also had estates.

Much of this is hypothetical, but it is based on the most up-to-date scholarship and Reger is careful to avoid dogmatic pronouncements. This same caution guides his use of statistics, where he limits himself to data that can safely be subjected to statistical analysis. In one chapter he analyzes the prices of pigs, firewood, and olive oil, which were purchased monthly. For each commodity he examines price fluctuation within the year, the long-term trend of prices, and the interrelation of the price history of all three items. This analysis leaves little doubt that the prices of all three commodities, both in the short and long term, were locally determined. Although there is insufficient data to analyze rents prior to 280 B.C., thereafter he detects some interesting correlations between rents and commodity prices. Much is known about some of the estates and he can even show that the rent paid for estates with few vines or none at all was directly linked to the price of olive oil and barley. In a concluding chapter he identifies three periods in the economic history of Delos. There are four appendixes (two of which conveniently summarize, in tables, the commodity and rent prices on which the statistics are based), two indexes, and a comprehensive bibliography. The notes, conveniently located at the bottom of each page, are full.

This is an exciting work. Reger is in complete command of the material from start to finish and possesses sound historical judgment. He makes a compelling case for his views and where he has no explanation, he freely admits it. There is no reason for anyone to be deterred by his use of statistics; the volume is lucidly written and numerous tables and graphs enable easy comprehension. Although his every conclusion may not stand the test of time, this is surely the most important work on the economic history of the Hellenistic world in a long time.

THOMAS KELLY
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PAUL CORBY FINNEY. *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 319. \$45.00.

This is a detailed and welcome study of the attitudes toward art in the Christian community of the pre-Constantinian era. Paul Corby Finney first reviews the prior interpretation of the topic, citing the iconoclastic controversy, John Calvin's rejection of pictures, and the early twentieth-century monograph of Hugo Koch (*Die altchristliche Bilderfrage*) as decisive stages in shaping the scholarly consensus about art in the early church. Then he challenges the consensus.

The earliest literary evidence comes from the apologists who defended Christianity in the second and third centuries, when its adherents "lacked distinct political, social, economic, and ethnic identities. This fact had both advantages and disadvantages" (p. 21). Christians, although relatively inconspicuous, were nevertheless subject to misunderstanding and enmity. One line of defense developed by the apologists was an attack on Greek art, which appealed to philosophically minded Greeks and Romans who associated art with magic and superstition. The aniconic character of Christianity could then be used to refute charges of atheism, superstition and sexual misconduct, but it would not become a barrier to art. The use, from the time of Trajan on, of the emperor's image in the courtroom as a test of loyalty to the state for those suspected of being Christians may also have resulted in "a dampening effect on Christian attitudes toward public art in general, or at the very least toward portraits (political or otherwise) that were pressed into cultic usage" (p. 86). This may explain the lack of portraits of Jesus, Mary, and the apostles in pre-Constantinian Christian art.

The central chapter of this study is Finney's explanation of "the absence of Christian art before the year 200" (p. 99). After acknowledging that a single discovery could undercut his argument, he reviews some of the traditional explanations for this absence of evidence, the most important being the aniconic character of Judaism. But if that were the governing principle, why should Christian art appear in the early third century? What had changed? Not a principle, but the material circumstances. There is no distinctively Christian material culture before 200 because "Christians lacked land and capital. Art required both" (p. 108). Finney also argues that Christians had adapted to their environment in order to keep a low profile, but the changing social and political circumstances of the third century made it easier for them to express themselves and to acquire property for religious purposes. As well argued as this chapter is, one still wonders whether there would not have been some distinctively Christian art in the homes of those who provided meeting places for Christians in the first or second century.

The second half of the book is of immense value for its detailed examination of the paintings in the catacomb of Callistus in Rome. They provide primary evidence for Finney's theses on attitudes toward art among Christians around 200. He analyzes both their iconography and style, with many illustrations. Comparisons are made with the nearby Domitilla catacomb,

and there are appendixes on Christian burials in the Piazzuola beneath the church of San Sebastiano and paintings in the Randanini and Torlonia catacombs, which contain Jewish burials.

The final chapter deals with the social event reflected in the Callistus frescoes. Death provides the context. The images are "tokens of God's works and deeds, his saving intervention on behalf of his people . . . not cult images" (p. 281). Finney's claim that they "reflect a primitive Christian tradition of funerary prayer" (p. 282) is not a new conclusion, but it is certainly a plausible one. He concludes that the condemnation of art by the apologists and the decoration of the catacombs by Roman Christians were not contradictory phenomena. There was a shared desire "to make people 'see' their God and . . . to put the best possible public face on the new religion" (p. 293). Both were part of achieving a distinct Christian identity in Greco-Roman culture.

GREGORY T. ARMSTRONG
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MEDIEVAL

MARTIN IRVINE. *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, number 19.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 604. \$59.95.

For Martin Irvine, grammar was not just the first liberal art studied in ancient and early medieval schools but the most formative verbal art; containing an implicit or explicit semiotic theory; creating genres for the understanding of literature; and producing and reinforcing textual communities in a sense wider than that employed by Brian Stock (*The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* [1983]), extending to political, social, and religious texts that were valorized by ancient and medieval writers in order to define individual and collective identities. Although Irvine is sensitive to the fact that textuality and orality were intertwined in the period and that texts were written to be read or recited aloud, his main thesis is that by the eleventh century a grammatical culture had arisen, based on the authority of texts. There was by then a clear hierarchy between canonical or primary works and glosses on them or second-order works, distinctions visible in the texts' *mise-en-page* in manuscripts no less than in the organization of compilations and library catalogues. Irvine concludes with a consideration of Old English literature from the ninth to the eleventh century. Essential as the earlier parts of his book are to this last chapter, they are also important in their own right for the in-depth if sometimes selective history of grammar and semiotics they provide.

Irvine mixes a chronological with a thematic approach. After two chapters on grammar and linguistic theory from Plato to Ausonius, he offers four chapters

on the subdivisions of grammar, commentary as a grammatical genre (illustrated by commentaries on Vergil), the application of grammar to biblical exegesis and religious education by early medieval Christian writers, and allegoresis. He then reverts to a historical treatment of grammar: its handbooks, manuscripts, compilations, and glosses from the Northumbrian and Carolingian renaissances to late Old English literature. This scheme leads to some redundancy, especially in the case of allegoresis, which appears in more than one chapter. It also leads to the mangling of works like Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, which Irvine parcels out among several chapters; the work's rhetorical framework, which does not militate against its grammatical and semiotic content, he dismisses. Under the heading of omissions, Irvine's account of Plato does not acknowledge his idea that words, being sensible signs, are inferior to pure ideas as indicators of truth. He ignores Aristotle's view that the direct signs of things are concepts, not words. He accents the influence of the Stoics yet has to admit that their theory of the natural denotation of words was generally rejected in favor of the theory of the conventional denotation of words. He omits the Neoplatonists and their notion of apophatic language as properly applied to the deity, along with theological language and its generic problems as a subset of grammar and linguistics. Irvine's defense of the importance of grammar could also have been strengthened had he included the use of grammatical arguments in speculative contexts by authors such as Augustine, Gottschalk of Orbais, Berengar of Tours, and Anselm of Canterbury, all of whom are discussed in the secondary literature that he cites.

These flaws and others, such as Irvine's inability to choose between St. Gall and St. Callen and his misspelling of Augustine's *Retractationes* (p. 337), do not seriously weaken the central contribution of this book. He has produced the most extensive history of grammar in the early Middle Ages presently available. He succeeds in showing the pedagogical centrality of this discipline in the period covered. And he makes his case that Old English vernacular literature was informed by classical and Christian-Latin grammar and literature, in both overtly classicizing or Christianizing works and those that were not. The book is completed by an index of names and titles, a subject index, twenty plates illustrating the *mise-en-page* of glossed texts, a list of 109 composite codices indicating their content and arrangement, and a list of manuscripts consulted. Irvine's conclusion also sketches the themes of the sequel he plans to write, on grammar from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

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PHILIPPE BUC. *L'Ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge*. Foreword by JACQUES LE GOFF. (Théologie historique, number 95.) Paris: Beauchesne. 1994. Pp. xvi, 427. 270 fr.

The "book" of the title of this satisfying work is the Bible and its "ambiguity" both a feature of the biblical text and a result of the medieval practice of commentary and gloss, in which the tendency of exegesis was to balance and reconcile inherited oppositions. Philippe Buc's interest is in the "liturgy of power" (p. 190), or what Jacques Le Goff in the useful preface calls political anthropology; Buc specifically explores the relations between society and exegesis. In the rich introduction Buc sets the terms of the discussion: an examination of the language and metaphors used in the schools of northern France to describe and reform society from 1100 to 1350. Paris, with its simultaneous development of theology and monarchy, stands at the book's center. Buc's main focus is on generally unedited marginal and interlinear glosses, and he usefully prints many of these. Buc analyzes how metaphors worked to express social meaning. In part 2, on knowledge and violence, for instance, he shows how polysemic, double-faced metaphors of eating expressed the violence of state-building; such metaphors could convey both a Eucharistic eating, which builds up the social body, and a diabolical eating, in which the tyrant devours his people. Central is the idea of *rééquilibrage* (rebalancing), balancing one part of tradition against another to speak to a new situation. Buc is particularly good at showing how various exegetes explored tensions present in the original biblical texts. Much of his discussion deals with hierarchical and egalitarian tendencies evident in texts. The particularly strong chapters of part 1, on the politics of Eden and of the end of time, focus on medieval exegesis of what the Bible says about the origin and final state of *potestas*. Buc's categories of analysis (theocracy, monarchy, and democracy or constitutionalism) perhaps too much reflect the perspectives of the twentieth century and the limited analytical frameworks of scholars such as Walter Ullmann, but in the analysis of specific texts he appropriately shows the limitations of such a system of classification. Buc's attempt to correlate society and exegesis at points gives us a story narrower than need be. For example, he vaguely links the support university exegesis provided for hierarchical understandings of society to the fact that exegetes themselves belonged to hierarchical organizations (p. 147) and also to their dependence on patronage (chap. 3). He does not, however, mention that, Aristotle aside, a growth in critical capacity might have had some bearing on the rejection of the Edenic egalitarian fantasies of the early church fathers. But these are minor criticisms of an outstanding study.

In part 3, Buc traces terms such as *populus*, especially treating the question of the rights of the people in relation to the king. He shows that constitutional tendencies were defined against both earlier, less differentiated ideas of kingship and the growth of a centralized monarchy. In the conclusion Buc reflects on the equilibrium of institutions achieved by a standing opposition between hierarchical and egalitarian tendencies and shows the inadequacy of various ideo-

logical and sociological systems, some of which are found in the works of Georges Duby, for explaining the social meaning of exegetical metaphors.

GLENN W. OLSEN
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MARK R. COHEN. *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 280. \$29.95.

Jewish refugees from Almohad persecutions seeking refuge in areas of Christian Spain may have distorted an ancient midrash to suit their situation: "Better [to live] under Edom [Christendom] than under Ishmael [Islam]." The comparative history of Jewish experience under Edom and Ishmael in the medieval period is the subject of Mark R. Cohen's book.

In an illuminating opening chapter on the myths and countermyths surrounding the historical, religious, and cultural symbiosis of Judaism and Islam, Cohen demonstrates how the various players in the contemporary Arab-Israeli conflict exploit the myth of a medieval interfaith utopia for their own purposes and interests. He then proceeds to survey the legal position and the economic role of Jews under Christianity and Islam. He also discusses the Jews as townspeople, and he treats social issues and interreligious polemics in a comparative manner.

The only new material and fresh approaches, as Cohen admits, appear in the chapters "Hierarchy, Marginality and Ethnicity," and "Persecution and Collective Memory." Cohen helpfully points out that, despite Jewish-Christian social interchange, the Jews were never integral to Christian society; because they were not an element of the encompassing whole, marginality could degenerate into exclusion. The situation under Islam differed markedly. Jews and other *dhimmis* might have been subject to humiliation, yet their position was a peculiarity *within* that social order. As such, they could never be totally excluded as they could be in Christian society.

This distinguishing feature of Islamic society may also explain why the Jews under Islam, unlike those under Christianity, never produced a literature based on a collective memory of suffering. Jews and other *dhimmis* freely took part in almost all aspects of Islamic society in ways Jews in Christian lands did not. It was this more open and free association across a variety of frontiers that created a drastically different environment under Islam from that which obtained under Christendom.

There are a few minor problems in matters of interpretation. Maimonides did *not* permit Jews to drink wine touched by a Muslim (p. 176; see *Mishneh Torah, Uncleaness of Foodstuffs* 11:7), nor did he assert, as Cohen implies, that Jews could accept Islam outwardly while adhering secretly to Judaism, that is, some sort of "Marrano" existence (p. 176). What he really suggested is that if Jews, especially under duress, converted to Islam, they should be treated with great

leniency if they wished to return to Judaism (*Mishneh Torah, Foundations of the Torah* 5, and *Epistle to Yemen*).

This is a work aimed at "both scholars and the general readers, the latter including college students" (p. ix). Cohen admits that he is not a specialist on Latin Christendom, and much of what he presents is familiar to Jewish historians and general medievalists. His systematic, comparative approach, however, makes this a useful book for courses in general medieval history and Jewish history. Cohen presents the differences between the history of Jewish life under Edom and Ishmael in a lucid and comprehensible manner.

STEPHEN D. BENIN
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KARL LEYSER. *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottoman Centuries*. Edited by TIMOTHY REUTER. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 244.

KARL LEYSER. *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*. Edited by TIMOTHY REUTER. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xxv, 214. \$60.00.

Few historians have been as at home in the early and high medieval Roman empire as Karl Leyser. His unexpected death on May 27, 1992, thus was not only a personal loss for all who experienced his kindness and the generosity with which he shared his vast knowledge but also a great loss for the study of medieval Germany. This two-volume collection of twenty-four of the British scholar's papers and essays, edited by Timothy Reuter, is therefore a signal service. The pieces cover the period from ca.800 to ca.1200 and range from succinct biographies (such as the one of Nithard, Widukind of Corvey, and Thietmar of Merseburg in vol. 1, pp. 19–28) and review essays ("The Anglo-Saxons 'At Home,'" vol. 1, pp. 105–10; "A Recent View of the German College of Electors," vol. 2, pp. 177–88) to extensive sociological and philosophical discussions of, for instance, the revolutionary character of the Gregorian church reform of the eleventh century ("The First European Revolution," vol. 2, 1–19), or the political centrality of Anglo-Saxon Wessex at the time of the Ottonians ("The Ottonians and Wessex," vol. 1, pp. 73–104). Three papers and parts of another have never been published before, and Reuter has translated one paper originally published in German.

Together with *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours 900–1250* (1982) and *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (1979), these volumes constitute a precious record of Leyser's profound insight and intimate knowledge of the primary sources of the period. Leyser's originality in approach yields stimulating and sparkling results, as in "The Crisis of Medieval Germany" (vol. 2, pp. 21–49). Because of the large number of papers contained in these volumes,

not all of them can be discussed here. Although Leyser's chief interest is medieval Germany, and especially Saxony, he also addresses Byzantium and Anglo-Saxon as well as Anglo-Norman and Angevin England. The primary sources range from the great medieval historians to canon law, liturgy, charters, and papal registers. Readers will be most grateful for the fine index and, last but not least, Reuter's essay, "Karl Leyser the Historian."

UTA-RENAE BLUMENTHAL
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PAUL EDWARD DUTTON. *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire*. (Recent Studies in Medieval Culture.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 329. \$40.00.

Paul Edward Dutton leads us on a tour of the other world as it was imagined by ninth-century clerics—past infernal scenes of demons pouring molten gold down the throats of greedy counts and sinful kings being consumed by worms and on to the shining valley of paradise, where good emperors sat resplendent on thrones of precious stone. Dutton's concern is not with the development of ideas about the afterlife in the early Middle Ages, but rather with what he calls "political oneirocriticism." He focuses on some two dozen Latin dream and vision narratives that employed supernatural imagery to condemn abuses of power and celebrate good rulers. He examines the production, dissemination, and interpretation of these narratives within the context of ninth-century politics.

Political dreams were common in the ancient world, but few have survived from the period between the fifth and the eighth century. Dutton believes that political oneirocriticism blossomed once more in the ninth century because of new political circumstances. By the late eighth century, groups of learned clerics were closely associated with the royal court and deeply invested in the conduct of kings. This did not lead to the composition of political dream texts during the reign of Charlemagne, for he was too powerful to be criticized in this way. It was the reform of the court under Louis the Pious that inadvertently fostered the genre by allowing complaints about Louis's predecessor to surface. It was nevertheless still too dangerous to condemn even a dead king directly, so reform-minded clerics adopted a strategy of indirection, using the words of dreamers and visionaries to divert attention from their own querulous voices. Political dreams flourished throughout much of the ninth century, only to disappear again as Carolingian power waned, royal courts ceased to be major cultural centers, and clerics began to develop new strategies for dealing with the changed political circumstances of the tenth century.

This volume is in many ways a delightful book: lively, rich in texture, and beautifully written. Much of the material presented here is already well known, but some interesting new twists are added. Particularly intriguing is the suggestion that Einhard's charming

portrait of Charlemagne's domestic life was intended as a response to the condemnation of the emperor's sexual misconduct in the famous *Vision of Wetti*. Some of Dutton's assertions, however, are not well supported by the evidence he cites. He attempts to argue, for example, that clerical dream texts had begun to influence kings by the second half of the ninth century. His primary evidence is a passage from the *Annals of Fulda* that tells how Louis the German dreamed of his father, Louis the Pious, suffering in the next world. According to Dutton, similarities in wording between this passage and the well-known *Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon* "must mean" that Louis the German was "a reader of selected dream texts" (p. 220). But the verbal parallels cited are not striking, and similar formulae can be found in a wide variety of liturgical and devotional texts from this period. In any case, such parallels tell us more about the reading of the monk who recorded the dream than about that of Louis the German.

If Dutton's arguments are not always as rigorous as one might like, the material he has assembled is fascinating and his interpretations generally convincing. This is a valuable work that will repay the attention of anyone interested in early medieval politics or in the history of visions and dreams.

MEGAN McLAUGHLIN
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MEGAN McLAUGHLIN. *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 306. \$32.50.

Drawing on theological and liturgical texts, hagiography, and charters, Megan McLaughlin makes an intriguing argument about the social significance and symbolism of prayer for the dead in early medieval France. She demonstrates how between the eighth and the late eleventh centuries, prayers for the dead possessed an associative meaning, linking the person prayed for with a group of efficient intercessors. Such prayers lost this meaning in the later Middle Ages, becoming "reified" and quantifiable units (typically masses) used to diminish the individual's purgatorial sufferings. But, as McLaughlin points out, scholars examining medieval practices of intercession for the dead have generally taken this later form as normative. She seeks instead to understand early medieval practice on its own terms.

McLaughlin first examines the development and structure of funerary rituals, arguing that their expression of anxiety about the individual's fate after death translated into a desire to place the deceased into a relationship with a community of powerful intercessors: saints and/or a ritual liturgical community. Next she explores how the dead were granted their place both in the daily Christian liturgical round and in the Christian calendar. These liturgical developments involved not special masses for individuals, but rather

forms such as the *libri memoriales* and necrologies that associated the dead with a specific liturgical community. As McLaughlin points out, such commemorative texts mentioned by name only certain dead, invariably members of monastic and clerical communities, and their *familiares*. But this association between an individual and a specific community also characterized prayers for the laity in general and those people not mentioned by name, the humble and the poor.

McLaughlin describes how the parish system was articulated as the framework not only for the life but also the death of the common people. But although she promises to do so, she never explores what these people actually thought about the prayers the parish priest said for them. Given the limitations of her sources (which she recognizes), such a promise would indeed be hard to fulfill. But she might have discussed beliefs about the dead and their fate condemned as superstitious practices by clerical authors. Here we might have caught a glimpse (however distorted) of what the nonaristocratic laity thought or believed.

McLaughlin's discussion of the ties between the powerful members of lay society, the aristocrats, and specific liturgical communities is much more successful; indeed, it is the most interesting and textured part of this book. She shows quite convincingly that nobles did not give donations to get prayers. Rather, by acting as donors, nobles established themselves in a relationship of gift-giving with the great monasteries and cathedral communities. The nobles made gifts for the sake of the relationship, not for the sake of the gift (prayers) these communities of intercessors would give in exchange. Here, as McLaughlin recognizes, her findings complement those of historians such as Constance Bouchard, Barbara Rosenwein, and Stephen White working in related areas.

In the final section of the book McLaughlin turns to the "ideology" of prayers for the dead. She chooses this term partly to emphasize the divergence between theology and more widespread beliefs. Although theological writings explained that the soul would be judged on its individual merits, other sorts of texts focused on the power of such intercessors as saints, secular clerics, and monks to rescue even sinful souls. She finds in this ideological emphasis on intercessors further evidence of the associative quality of prayer for the dead. Somewhat surprisingly, given the work of scholars such as Patrick Corbet (*Les saints ottoniens: saintete dynastique, saintete royale, et saintete feminine autour l'an mil* [1986]) on the image of women as intercessors, McLaughlin does not consider here the issue of gender, nor does she elsewhere in the book. She never raises, for example, the pertinent question of whether male and female intercessors were accorded equal powers and roles.

The elision of gender is even more surprising in a discussion of ideology, given that both relate to the construction of power. Indeed, McLaughlin states that she uses the term ideology because formulations of the intercessor's power projected various forms of earthly

power and authority. But this very issue—the relationship between prayers for the dead and the articulation of power—is treated with too much reticence both here and throughout this study. This book is in some ways an analysis of the perspective of the elites, social and ecclesiastical, on the development of a set of practices that enhanced their own power, but McLaughlin does not fully engage with this issue. McLaughlin's argument about association is persuasive. But, as she herself admits, such association was voluntary on the part of the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, although it was obligatory on the part of the *humiles*. Did not such association thus have a different significance and function according to one's social status and relationship to power? McLaughlin needs to address this and other questions more directly to make the full implications of her intriguing argument evident.

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RALPH V. TURNER. *King John*. (The Medieval World.) New York: Longman. 1994. Pp. xii, 306.

Ralph V. Turner's book is an updated survey of the perennially famous and infamous Lackland that focuses on the major topical aspects of the king before and after his accession. Turner examines his youth and pre-1199 career, his trans-Channel Angevin state, financial needs and strategies, the loss of Normandy, relations with the church, and the baronial rebellion and Magna Carta. In support of these topics are discussions of aristocratic family sociology, customs of inheritance, the changing nature of feudalism, governmental machinery, curial personalities, political analysis, and competing notions of kingship. The work's strength derives in part from the author's diminution of the images of John created by biased medieval chroniclers, from its selective infusions of recent Johannine scholarship, and from Turner's own judgments on the sources for the reign; in part by various apt comparisons drawn between the king and his Angevin predecessors, Henry II and Richard I, and his continental overlord and nemesis, Philip II of France. What emerges is a portrait of John that should change a number of the more popularly held views of the king, such as his military lethargy, responsibility for the loss of Normandy, and impiety. Turner's *King John* does not attempt to exorcise the king's demons and faults; it makes them more understandable. The plotting count of Mortain and ever-mistrustful king were in some measure products of both Lackland's insecure youth and of models of disloyalty provided by members of his own family; the king's murder of his nephew Arthur of Brittany, by a combination of the boy's treasonous behavior and John's own insecurity. Turner makes sense of a monarch who could preside over a judicial system that by the standards of his day dispensed justice to commoners and could be manipulated to dominate tenants-in-chief. Turner also rightly makes

John's royal predecessors share some of the responsibility for the rebellion that culminated in Magna Carta.

Brief surveys such as this are by definition selective and understandably treat subjects briefly. But this said, one might look for more attention to the one-time count of Mortain and the king's well-documented relationships with his first and ultimately ex-wife Isabelle, heiress to the fabulously rich earldom of Gloucester. Her treatment by Henry II, then by John as wife, ex-wife, and royal ward, and then commodity for sale, encompasses a variety of personal and governmental aspects of John. Isabelle is the example *par excellence* of the royal wardship and marriage prerogatives. And the king's treatment of Isabelle's second husband Geoffrey de Mandeville, following the earl's failure to keep up his payments for the right to marry her, helps to explain Geoffrey's membership in the baronial party opposing John in 1215. But this is a book scholars will read to enjoy a review of their positions about John, and it is a most valuable introduction to the general reader to a monarch whose reign was crucial in the development of England.

ROBERT B. PATTERSON
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LAURA ACKERMAN SMOLLER. *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350-1420*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 233. \$35.00.

Almost the whole of Pierre d'Ailly's adult life coincided with the great schism that shook the Catholic church between 1378 and 1417. He was twenty-eight years old when it began and sixty-seven when it ended, just three years prior to his death in 1420. The schism that divided the Western church for some thirty-nine years was primarily a struggle between rival popes elected by rival colleges of Cardinals. This calamitous event led many—especially d'Ailly—to ponder its significance for the church, the fate of the human race, and the future of the world.

D'Ailly was both a scholar and a public servant. He became a master of arts in 1367 and then taught in the faculty of arts, even as he matriculated toward the doctorate in theology, which he received in 1381. In the course of his career, d'Ailly was a productive author, although not an original one. His productivity, Laura Ackerman Smoller argues, profited enormously from "generous liftings from earlier writers" (p. 10). His prolific output is also a measure of his deep concern over the great schism. As he sought to explain this disturbing event he found it necessary to grapple with a series of interrelated subjects that immersed him in astrology, prophecy, revelation, theology, the apocalypse, and the history of the world. In her sophisticated and important study, Smoller shows how d'Ailly used these subjects to interpret the meaning of the great schism and, ultimately, the fate of the world.

Smoller interweaves d'Ailly's evolving interpretations of the great schism with his use of astrology,

prophecy, revelation, and history. In the years before 1400, d'Ailly interpreted the schism apocalyptically, as a sign of the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment, thereby fulfilling predictions found in the Bible and made by numerous theologians and church fathers. The schism was thus a prelude to the end of the world. After 1400, however, d'Ailly altered his beliefs and concluded that if the schism could be ended, the apocalypse could be avoided. Astrology played a crucial role in causing this dramatic turnaround.

By 1410, d'Ailly abandoned his early hesitation about the efficacy of astrology and came to accept it as a rational science capable of providing accurate predictions of the future. Between 1410 and 1414, d'Ailly wrote a number of astrological treatises. Although revelation could foretell what significant events might occur in the future, it did not say when those events would come to pass. Astrology was fully capable of providing that information. On the eve of the Council of Constance in 1414, d'Ailly predicted, on astrological grounds, that the Antichrist would not arrive until 1789. Since the Antichrist was not due until 1789, d'Ailly was convinced that the Council would end the schism, as it did. Christianity and the Western church still had a future.

What makes Smoller's book unusual is the interweaving of astrology, on the one hand, and apocalyptic visions and pronouncements derived from the Bible and church theologians, on the other hand. At first glance, one would expect that traditional orthodoxy would have kept these two radically different approaches to the world distinct. D'Ailly, however, brought them all together. Smoller has presented a fine descriptive and analytic account of why and how he did it.

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CHRISTOPHER DYER. *Everyday Life in Medieval England*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 336.

This volume consists of fifteen articles, all originally published between 1982 and 1992 in English or French journals. Christopher Dyer describes the subject matter as the "history of 'everyday life,'" adding that this involves a "descriptive type of writing in which all aspects of past existence—villages and towns, houses, work, clothes, food, customs—are recorded." The articles actually go beyond this, dealing with the social structures and economies that underlie and support the material culture. Indeed, they constitute a valiant attempt at a *histoire totale* of late-medieval English peasant society.

Taken together, these essays form a history of the peasant classes that made up at least three-quarters of the total population of England. Dyer's geographical focus is on the West Midlands, but his coverage

sometimes extends to East Anglia and much of southern Britain. The essays are neatly arranged, starting with the physical aspects of human settlement, then turning to diet and housing. Three papers discuss labor conditions and popular grievances in the aftermath of the Black Death, including two on the unrest that culminated in the Peasant Revolt of 1381. Treatments of urban settlement, markets and internal trade, and the late-medieval origins of capitalism conclude this remarkable collection.

Organization and content together give this group of essays a remarkable sense of unity, as if they had been conceived as a whole. Dyer combines the approach and techniques of the historian with the insights of the archaeologist, the sociologist, and even the geographer. The result is a breadth of coverage and a depth of understanding that is rarely encountered. Indeed, few have the technical competence to achieve such a synthesis. At the interface between two or more disciplines Dyer makes his most telling contributions.

Whether he is dealing with the peasant house, the abandonment of village settlements in Midland England, the medieval consumption of fish and garden vegetables, or the social and economic factors in the Peasant Revolt, Dyer is always a trenchant critic of conventional views. In their place he offers explanations that are more complex but also more securely grounded in the sources.

Many years ago R. H. Tawney said that what his fellow historians needed was not more documents but stronger boots. Dyer laments the fact that documents are inadequate or lacking, but there is no question of his boots. These essays are illuminated throughout by fieldwork. He has walked the fields, measured the fragmentary remains of cottages, and studied the physical evidence for gardens and fish stews. He is no armchair historian. But this must not be allowed to detract from the immense amount of archival research that underlies these studies. He has drawn heavily on England's rich collections of court rolls and ministers' accounts, and his lavish footnoting will itself be an inspiration and a guide to those who follow in his footsteps. Few scholars or libraries will possess all the serials in which these articles originally appeared. They should be grateful for this volume that gathers together part at least of Dyer's output during the 1980s.

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EVERETT U. CROSBY. *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 23.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 450. \$64.95.

The separation of the finances of the bishop from those of his cathedral chapter or convent is of clear importance in the history of the development of

church institutions. Everett U. Crosby here investigates the shift for England in detail for the first time. Control of income is a large element of independence because it conferred power and allowed institutional development. External influences, such as the king or pope, might hasten or delay the process of separation, as could other less-predictable factors, such as short episcopates and dominant personalities among the bishops, deans, and priors. Changes in ideas about endowment and ownership, profit, responsibility, and management inevitably occurred. Although Crosby concentrates on the twelfth century in England, he traces the history back to the first endowments in the period prior to the Domesday inquest of 1086, when the property was held in common. He also has an eye to the future, to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: he shows how, when the division of the *mensa* took place, as happened nearly everywhere by the 1150s, the separation of constitutional and jurisdictional powers followed. Chapters then emerged as separate self-governing corporations, with separate archives, sometimes constructing walls around their enclaves to emphasize their independence.

Crosby's book is perceptive and interesting. There is a feast of material, mostly from charters, albeit in print. This gratifyingly reflects the healthy state of charter studies in England and the growing number of texts in print. Before episcopal registers, accounts, cartularies and act books were kept, Crosby notes, charters are the historian's bedrock. He is aware, however, of the danger of forgeries. In such a wide-ranging study, covering a much greater period than the title indicates, it would be ungenerous not to signal the high merits of Crosby's book and his flashes of insight. But the arrangement, proceeding alphabetically through the monastic and secular cathedrals, produces a rehearsal of individual instances, often of the same experiences. Crosby admits the problems confronting the monks and the secular canons were the same as well the solutions; he speaks of little difference between secular and monastic cathedrals. So why has he plumped for the separate treatment?

Crosby is generally well-read and thoughtful. He is sensitive to the nuances of particular instances and aware of general trends. He emphasizes that the separation of assets was a long process, however much the timetable varied from one location to another, and that the definition of jurisdictional rights was also slow and complex. In many cases the bishop and the chapter derived income from different parts of the same estate; witnesses were often unclear about exact boundaries, and bishops or convents sometimes preferred avoiding exact definition in case it brought loss. The lack of deeds of title, and clarification when it came, usually engendered further controversy. Crosby discusses the importance of regalian right and the imposition of the *servitium debitum* in the division of the *mensa*, but in each separate case, not as a general rule. The right to elect the dean or prior affected all the institutions, as did visitation and *sede vacante* jurisdiction. If Crosby's

enquiry had been conducted and written along the lines of the first two chapters and the last, we would have had a powerful book. As it is, we have to work hard to find the shafts of light.

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J. R. MADDICOTT. *Simon de Montfort*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 404. \$69.95.

Twenty-five years ago J. R. Maddicott with *Thomas of Lancaster* provided a model for medieval (non-royal) political biography. His numerous publications since that time on thirteenth and fourteenth-century political society have secured his position at the forefront of historians of medieval England, and his new biography of Simon de Montfort will surely be considered his finest and most important scholarly achievement. In fact, the appearance of this book is a major historiographical event. It marks, along with such other recent works as David Carpenter's *The Minority of Henry III* (1990), the full-fledged emergence of a much needed rethinking and rewriting of thirteenth-century English political history. As biography, Maddicott builds on, yet firmly supersedes at every point, the earlier studies by Charles Bémont (*Simon de Montfort* [1884; English edition, 1930]) and Margaret Wade Labarge (*Simon de Montfort*, [1962]). As interpretation, by providing the finest account to date of the Provisions of Oxford movement and the civil war of the 1260s, Maddicott likewise displaces the classic account in R. F. Treharne's *The Baronial Plan of Reform* (1932), and the central narrative portions of F. M. Powicke's *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (1947).

Maddicott engages and challenges the reader from the outset. His Montfort is an individual of fundamental self-contradiction, at once both a fervent idealist, championing political and moral reform, and also a venal, somewhat shabby opportunist. Like Bémont and Labarge, but in greater detail and with greater power of argument, Maddicott stresses this constant tension between his subject's private agenda and his public persona. An outsider whose marriage into the royal family remained as mysterious as it became vexatious, Montfort never fully gained the confidence and support of the English political elites. Unlike Treharne, who portrayed Montfort as always selfless and right, Maddicott properly emphasizes his ambiguous standing and his penchant for exploitative self-aggrandizement as sources of both his spectacular political success and his rapid downfall. As Maddicott aptly puts it, even at his apogee in 1263–64, Montfort had "more power than authority, but not enough of either" (p. 241). Yet, like Treharne, Maddicott sees in Montfort a capacity for largeness and even greatness of vision that escaped his contemporaries—especially Henry III, who is pictured throughout the book as reckless and incompetent. The new interest in the thirteenth cen-

tury has as its conceptual core an old theme, a constitutionalism (or anti-royalism) more profound and creative than any prior to the seventeenth century; and indeed in some ways anticipatory of the latter. Maddicott clearly admires Montfort as an embodiment or at least a harbinger of that tradition. Explicit seventeenth-century references or analogies are rare, but they provide an unmistakable background model. Because of his scrupulous scholarship and balance, Maddicott avoids the pitfalls of anachronism or teleology. Only on one occasion does he lose control, when he compares Simon's inspirational abilities in 1264 with those of Winston Churchill in 1940 (p. 291), a jarringly wrong note. This statement, however, neither represents nor detracts from the quality of this book. That Montfort was a major figure is hardly in dispute, and he has now been accorded a major modern study worthy of his importance.

MICHAEL ALTSCHUL
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PIERRE CHAPLAIS. *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 150. \$29.95.

Pierre Chaplais is well known as a leading authority on the diplomatic and administrative history of late-medieval England, and he is also a highly respected paleographer. It is not surprising, therefore, that in bringing his various talents to bear on the question of the nature of the relationship that existed between Edward II and Piers Gaveston, Chaplais has produced some original and intriguing, if not always entirely convincing, results.

As indicated in the book's subtitle, Chaplais rejects the traditionally accepted belief that Edward and Gaveston were homosexual lovers and argues that Edward entered into a compact of brotherhood with the Gascon knight, probably in 1300 or early 1301. This interpretation is plausible, but the evidence to support it is circumstantial at best. For instance, Chaplais is correct in his reading of *fraternitatis fedus* rather than *firmitatis fedus* but the reliability of this anonymous chronicle must be called into question since immediately thereafter the author recounts Edward I's notorious rage at his son in 1306 when the latter sought to provide Gaveston with lands in Ponthieu. But here, significantly, the lands are in Cornwall. Similarly, in the only known case where Edward II refers to Gaveston as his brother, *nostre cher frere et feal*, in a privy seal writ of July 1308, the king also incorrectly refers to his favorite as earl of Cornwall. Chaplais is no doubt correct in ascribing the continued use of the title earl of Cornwall to the king himself, as his masterful comparison of texts sealed under the privy seal and great seal respectively illustrates. But if the king so tenaciously clung to Gaveston's comital title, should he not have been equally determined to refer to his brother as such? And if he did regard him as his

brother, why did he not use the language consistently employed for his step-brother Thomas of Brotherton, *nostrre trescher frere*, or its Latin equivalent, *fratro nostro carissimo*?

Chaplais is at his best in his detailed examinations of paleography and diplomatic practice as well as sigillography. His analysis of the dating and decoration of the charter granting the earldom of Cornwall to Gaveston is fascinating, although the correlation of the date of the charter with the Feast of the Transformation seems more subtle than Edward II has elsewhere revealed himself to be. Chaplais's examination of the Great Seal of absence of Edward II is brilliant but adds little to our understanding of the relationship of Edward II and Gaveston, since the favorite made so little use of the seal while the king was abroad.

The assertion that Gaveston served as Edward's chamberlain is the least convincing of Chaplais's arguments, relying primarily on the generalizations of chroniclers that may as easily be interpreted to indicate a sexual liaison as a constitutional position. Surely when the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* speaks of Gaveston as Edward's *camerarius familiarissimus*, he is not suggesting that there are several royal chamberlains. A good deal of reliance is also placed on the testimony of Roger de Aldenham, a Westminster monk who shows himself to be both highly partisan and highly changeable. That Gaveston did indeed function in many ways as a chamberlain might be expected to do is not in dispute, but rather the basis for this behavior.

Chaplais has given historians of the reign of Edward II considerable food for thought. Regardless of whether his novel interpretation of the relationship between king and favorite is accepted, this slim volume will remain a model of insightful scholarship.

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H. LEITH SPENCER. *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 542. \$72.00

Although clearly and steadily focused, this book is a major contribution not only to the study of medieval preaching but also to the literary and ecclesiastical history of late-medieval England as a whole. Largely supplanting the hitherto standard but outdated volumes of G. R. Owst (*Preaching in Medieval England and Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* [1926–33]), to which H. Leith Spencer pays generous tribute, it becomes one of the handful of books that must be consulted for an idea of the late-medieval English church. The breadth of the area covered is reflected in the deliberate ambiguity of Spencer's title: regardless of the language of the sermon (or mixture of languages, Latin and English), the book is about preaching in England.

The greatest merit of Spencer's monograph is that she really does consider her subject in the round. It

begins by tackling the basic but often overlooked question of what a sermon is. Because the answers are manifold (Spencer excludes only one major type, political preaching), so are ways the topic ought to be approached. Some of these ways are technical, such as the consideration of literacy levels in relation to different types of preaching and sermon form (the latter explained through diagrams that increase one's respect for the organizational skills of medieval preachers). Other approaches center on the social setting of sermons, treated particularly in the pages devoted to medieval views of preaching. An especially impressive chapter considers the manuscript tradition by which sermons both proliferated (there is a good deal of importance here for Lollard studies) and were transmitted. At the outset the reader is assisted by a chapter, "Setting the Scene," that carefully explains the liturgical context of much, probably most, late-medieval preaching.

Next in merit to Spencer's breadth of approach is the sheer learning exhibited in this work. The placement of the notes at the end disguises what a lot is packed into them. Note 19, for example, contains material that could well have been spun into a small article, dealing as it does with three fifteenth-century bookmen, Wycliffism, patristic learning, and key manuscripts in Eton and London (p. 361). Possibly some of this learning would have been better presented in a more explicit format, but it is a pleasure to salute its appearance here.

There is a full bibliography and a highly useful appendix that presents detailed summaries of six sermons (in both Latin and English) and lays out with exemplary clarity exactly what happens in the course of the kind of medieval sermon few modern readers would have the patience to wade through. Indeed, although it seems unlikely that Spencer's book will convert many to the reading of these sermons *in extenso*, she has made it possible for us to understand their social and intellectual dimensions.

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ROBIN CHAPMAN STACEY. *The Road to Judgment: From Custom to Court in Medieval Ireland and Wales*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 342. \$46.95.

Robin Chapman Stacey's monograph is an important contribution to the relatively small but high-quality body of work on early medieval Ireland and Wales, and it is one of the few books to treat both societies in single compass. Her topic seems at first sight dauntingly narrow and technical: the nature and evolution of Celtic suretyship, the validation and enforcement by third parties of collaborative agreements and obligations, as traced through the Irish and Welsh law books. But Stacey consistently and successfully both enlivens her exposition and enlarges her focus, as the book's

subtitle suggests. The law books reveal how an originally oral and private practice, indispensable to local social order, changed over time at—and in—the hands of professional jurists as agents and embodiments of public order. A community tradition evolved into a specialized legal practice, and its submission to formal written rules enabled jurists to develop and assert a kind of (premodern) functional autonomy. As Stacey argues, “what these texts suggest is that the emergence of law as a specialized field of endeavor was as much the result of jurists attempting to consolidate their authority over the history and application of legal knowledge as it was the inevitable outgrowth of centuries of previous oral existence” (p. 114).

The wider implications of Stacey’s findings for medieval historians are clear. Although Irish and Welsh polities hardly mirrored the dynamics of English or continental state-formation, the comparisons and contrasts with patterns of conflict resolution and with the formation of lay legal elites outside the Celtic world are richly suggestive. Furthermore, the book provides an important additional example of the cultural consequences of the transformations of medieval societies from memory to written record, to echo the famous title of Michael Clanchy’s justly renowned and influential book (*From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*) [1979]. The Irish and Welsh law books are still a largely unknown body of source material (the text known as the *Laws of Hywel Dda* being the only possible or partial exception), in part because of their linguistic and textual difficulties and in part because Celtic history is still often regarded as marginal to the mainstream of medieval historical scholarship and interest. But as Stacey delightfully (and a touch mischievously?) says at the outset, “the Celts were not irrelevant, merely different” (p. 1), and their distinctive institution of suretyship, as comprehensively analyzed in this book, firmly demonstrates their place in and relevance to an understanding of medieval Europe as a whole. For its importance within the strict confines of recent Irish and Welsh historical studies, Stacey’s book ranks with such works as Katherine Simms’s *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (1987) for Ireland and the numerous books by Wendy Davies for Wales (for example, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* [1982]; *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* [1990]). For a wider appreciation of its importance, of the sort enjoyed by R. R. Davies’s *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282–1400* [1978], the book will require English and continental medievalists to have the patience and the willingness to read and profit from it. If they have those qualities, the profit assuredly is there.

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S. C. ROWELL. *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series,

number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 375. \$69.95.

Medieval Lithuania in the historical literature is typically viewed from the perspective of either Poland or Muscovy. Its status as the last pagan-ruled state in Europe—four centuries after the Christianization of all its neighbors—tends to suggest that it was a cultural and economic backwater, the passive object of others’ ambitions. In this pioneering work, S. C. Rowell successfully counteracts that misconception. He portrays Lithuania in the early fourteenth century as a state fully able to meet its rivals on equal terms.

The period of Lithuanian history most significant for the wider Europe is doubtless the era of union with Poland, commencing in 1385 with the betrothal of Grand Duke Jogaila (Jagiello) with the Polish Queen Jadwiga. That dynastic arrangement culminated in a virtual merger of the two states in 1569 and created a major power on the European scene. Rowell has chosen to trace the antecedents of that union, however, namely the crucial fifty-year period in which Lithuania expanded from a small core area along the Nieman River into much of Kievan Rus’.

The hero of this tale is Gediminas, grand duke (that is, king) of Lithuania from 1315 to 1342 and grandfather of the more famous Jogaila. Gediminas was not only a shrewd ruler but also a prolific one, who married his thirteen children into most of the leading dynasties of northeastern Europe. A lifelong pagan, he maneuvered successfully between Catholic Poland and Orthodox Rus’, and on at least one occasion he outwitted the crusading Teutonic Knights. Rowell’s book has a fascinating chapter on Gediminas’s diplomacy in 1322–24, when he terminated a long war of attrition between Lithuania and the knights by enlisting the aid of the pope. His carefully phrased letter to the pontiff intimated his willingness to embrace Catholicism, a suggestion that resulted in the despatch of papal mediators. The outcome was four years of peace with the knights enforced by papal edict, despite Gediminas’s emphatic denial, in the presence of the pope’s envoys (and doubtless for the benefit of his pagan lords), that he had ever intended to turn Christian.

Lithuania’s position as a pagan state on the northern frontier between Catholicism and Orthodoxy compelled its rulers to perform such delicate balancing acts. In dealing with their own religiously diverse subjects, the grand dukes generally observed the principle, “introduce nothing new, nor disturb what is old” (*novin’ ne uvodim’, a starin’ ne rukhaem’*). Indeed, any other policy would have been fatal to the cohesion of the realm. Lithuania’s heartland was still pagan in Gediminas’s day, as he was himself, but his children adopted Catholicism or Orthodoxy as their respective marriages required. Expansion into the old lands of Kievan Rus’ brought Lithuania many Orthodox subjects, a circumstance prompting Gediminas to seek influence over the Orthodox church but not to alter the people’s faith. Similarly tolerant of Catholicism, he

protected a Franciscan house in Vilnius, employed friars to compose his letters, and promised religious freedom to the new settlers he sought to attract from Catholic Europe. Thus, the three major faiths of fourteenth-century Lithuania existed side by side, although priests who attempted to proselytize (that is, disturb this religious peace) were put to death.

Rowell's book is an impressive scholarly achievement, drawing on extensive research and judicious in its judgments. Introductory chapters describe the general European situation in 1290–1320 and the history of Lithuania itself before 1315. A separate chapter discusses the relevant historical sources, which exist in many languages and present the researcher with formidable difficulties. Most of the book, however, deals with politics: expansion of the Lithuanian state; its religious and foreign policies and dynastic relationships. The bibliography is extensive, with maps and genealogical tables provided. This book will be most valuable to readers with some previous knowledge of the region and period. It deserves careful attention from every serious student of medieval Russia and East Central Europe.

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MODERN EUROPE

JOHN HALE. *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*. New York: Atheneum, 1994. Pp. xx, 648. \$35.00.

Reflecting a lifetime of scholarship and reflection by one of England's best known historians of the Italian Renaissance, this book is at once a labor of love and, as J. H. Elliott has described it, "a great tapestry of Renaissance Europe." It also deliberately evokes the title (in its English translation) of Jacob Burckhardt's classic work, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), and expands Burckhardt's conception of the Renaissance to cover the whole of Europe. For John Hale as for Burckhardt, the Italians were "the firstborn among the sons of modern Europe"; his focus is accordingly on the "long sixteenth century" from the middle of the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, when the culture of Renaissance Italy reached "its apogee" and was "absorbed or rebuffed by other vigorously developing national cultures" (p. xix). During this period, for Hale, Europeans, in addition to responding in varying degrees to the Italian achievement, for the first time became aware of themselves as Europeans. They saw themselves as entering on a new age in history, one expression of which was a long-enduring triumphalism in relation to the rest of the world. Thus, the title page of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1572) pictures Europe enthroned over the whole earth. Hale's book is filled with such telling details. It is difficult to do justice to its richness and its numerous incidental insights. The wit and elegance of Hale's style also gives repeated plea-

sure, as in his wry explanation of the authority of Galen in medicine: "He was an instance of those men whose intellectual tediousness wins acclaim because of the importance of his subject" (p. 544). This is almost worthy of Gibbon.

That Hale so closely follows Burckhardt's emphasis on the originality and creativity of Renaissance Italy and its significance for the formation of the modern world may, however, now surprise other Renaissance historians. More than half a century ago Wallace Ferguson saw the interpretation of the Renaissance after Burckhardt as "the most intractable problem child of historiography" and in his *Renaissance in Historical Thought* (1948) described at length the controversies that have swirled around it. But although Ferguson appears in Hale's bibliography, the problems to which he called attention have left little mark on his own understanding of the period. Although, for example, both the word "modern" and much in the formation of "modern" modes of thought first became current in later medieval nominalism, this school of thought is not listed in Hale's index. Nor does he display much interest in the rhetorical tradition that, in Italy, so closely paralleled nominalism and has been central to the most exciting recent Renaissance scholarship.

Part of the problem here is that Hale is never explicit about what he means by the "Renaissance": whether he aims to provide a portrait of the age as a whole, as he sometimes suggests, or, elsewhere, to describe chiefly the more "forward-looking" aspects of its culture. It is also curious that his interpretation favors the key word in Burckhardt's title in its English translation rather than in the German original. Thus, this period marks for Hale the beginning of a more or less definitive triumph, for Europe as a whole, of "civilization" or "civility" in the abstract. There is, in this substitution for Burckhardt's more neutral term "*Kultur*", a hint of the ideology of the Enlightenment, which Burckhardt, who had the gravest reservations about the modern world, hardly shared.

The Enlightenment is also suggested by another feature of the book: the virtual exclusion of religious life in its account of what was, among its other distinctions, the age of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations. Hale is aware, to be sure, that religious themes inspired much of the great art of the period, and his book is especially good in the attention he gives to art and artists. He also acknowledges in passing that Catholic missionaries contributed to "civilizing" the Indians of America; this fits his larger thesis. But otherwise his occasional references to the religious movements of the time represent them as glum, repressive obstacles on the side of tradition and authority, to scientific progress.

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VICTORIA KAHN. *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-Reformation to Milton*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 314. \$29.95.

This work is intended to complement Victoria Kahn's earlier study of Renaissance political rhetoric, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (1985). Whereas that book emphasized the humanist pursuit of consensus through argument *in utramque partem*, this one focuses "on the conflictual and critical potential" (p. x) implicit in this method. Kahn first analyzes the rhetorical element in the thought of Machiavelli and various of his disciples, including Giovanni Botero, one of several "Christian Machiavellians" studied by Robert Bireley (*The Counter-Reformation Prince* [1990]). She then moves on to Machiavellism in English political debate, giving special attention, surprisingly but persuasively, to John Milton.

Kahn's treatment of Machiavelli is of particular interest for establishing his credentials in the humanist movement. She notes his own use of argument on both sides of the question, a practice recently recognized as characteristic of humanist education. Kahn argues that Machiavelli employed this device not to establish consensus but to bring out the value of dialectical thinking for decision-making. Like earlier humanists, he also relied on imitation as a source of political wisdom, but his aim was to teach an effective political practice rather than ethics. His concern was with *virtù* rather than virtue, and in this respect Machiavelli was profoundly critical of predecessors to whom he nevertheless owed much. But above all Kahn focuses on the central importance for Machiavelli of the rhetorical values of prudence and decorum, which included the careful adaptation of rhetoric to audience and occasion and of political practice to all relevant contingent details. Kahn understands by "rhetoric" a method that allowed maximum flexibility in both realms: means of persuasion in communication, means toward ends in politics.

On this basis, Kahn is also able to demonstrate, through rhetorical analysis in both senses, the compatibility of the two apparently contradictory images of Machiavelli that have troubled scholars down to the present. The more prominent in the beginning was the disreputable "Machiavel" of moralists, theologians, and Renaissance theater, derived from the *Prince*. Somewhat later the classical republican of *The Discourses* was identified, and this figure has received recent attention as a source of modern democratic thought, especially in J. G. A. Pocock's magisterial study *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975). Kahn finds elements in the *Prince* that suggest the prince's reliance on those he governs: the importance, for example, of the prince's image; and she notes in *The Discourses* an attention to the effectiveness of republics that must function in a real world ruled by power. Botero, Milton, and perhaps Shakespeare in *Coriolanus* are, for her, good Renaissance readers of Machia-

velli because, out of their own engagement with politics, they recognized that his thought had two sides.

There are many striking insights in this learned and thoughtful work. But it is also unnecessarily difficult to read because Kahn proceeds by means of a series of rhetorical analyses of particular works and controversies, with a minimum of coherent generalization. The result is much repetition, as the same set of questions and procedures is applied to one document after another.

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ALEX POTTS. *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 294. \$30.00.

Anyone inclined to believe that Freudianism is played out as a source of interpretive inspiration should reconsider in light of Alex Potts's complex and powerful study of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the Enlightenment elaboration of the "Apollonian ideal." Potts makes no secret of his interpretive loyalties, stating at the outset his intention to explore the "complex dynamic of fantasy in Winckelmann's writing" from a perspective that "mingles the historical with the psychoanalytic" (p. 6). The thesis supported by Potts's psychoanalytic reading is that Winckelmann's innovative account of the history of Greek art, and more specifically of the Greek "ideal" as embodied in sculpture, did not embody the "conventional humanist" perspective usually attributed to him but rather constituted a complex, even dialectical, approach that recognized "the kinds of erotic and at times sado-masochistic fantasy that could be woven around . . . representations of the body beautiful" (p. 2). Potts thus challenges accounts of the origins of art history that portray Winckelmann as a straightforward admirer of the ideal of "calm grandeur" and as the creator of a historicism eternally nostalgic for the putatively seamless self represented by classical Greek statuary. It was not Winckelmann, argues Potts, but the nineteenth-century scholars and critics who appropriated his work who saw the Greeks as embodying a unity of experience never again to be realized. Potts holds that Winckelmann did historicize Greek art in a new and exceptional way, and, more important, undergirded his approach with innovative "scientific" techniques that transformed the disciplines of archaeology and art history. But he argues that for all his passionate engagement with the Greek ideal, Winckelmann recognized, as his epigones would not, that in the passage from the archaic to the classical, Greek artists never succeeded in capturing an ideal that, for them as for all human beings divided by conflicts embedded in the psyche, is forever unrealizable. Having established that Winckelmann's principal critical contribution was his elaboration of the categories of the "high" and the "beautiful"—a classification that allowed him at once

to periodize the coming of the classical and its decline, and to inaugurate the generic analysis of style—Potts proceeds to show that Winckelmann himself deconstructed the category of the “high” in the very process of creating it.

It is here that Potts’s use of the psychoanalytic framework is crucial. The “high” style, marked by its attempt to capture the austere and sublime as opposed to the merely pleasing, was impossible for the artist to achieve in practice: lurking behind all attempts at ideal representation was (is) an erotically charged appeal to the violent passions or, put in psychoanalytic terms, to sadomasochistic impulses that find gratification either in self-immolation (prostration before the ideal) or in the annihilation of another (sublimity in the wake of violent struggle). Potts’s most memorable exploration of this dynamic at work in representations of the “stillness” supposedly central to the Greek ideal comes in his interpretation of Winckelmann’s reading of the *Laocoön*, which, although affirming to some extent a humanist perception of the nobility of resistance and suffering, in fact focuses on the erotically charged beauty of the flank of *Laocoön*, stilled before the poised bite of the serpent. Here was a figure whose “highest beauty . . . emerges where the extreme intensity of pain obliterates inner resistance,” where “the sublime object draws the viewer into a compulsive engagement with the idea of self-annihilation” (pp. 142–43). Similar intensely wrought analyses explore Winckelmann’s search for the sublime in the deadened, terror-stricken face of Niobe witnessing the destruction of her children; of the Apollo Belvedere, in which Winckelmann traced “the conjunctions between violent aggression and graceful beauty” (p. 123); and many other famous (if now often denigrated) examples of Greek statuary.

Although Potts eschews ordinary biographical treatment, he does include a chapter on Winckelmann’s extant correspondence, which gives us, he avers, an unusually rich portrait of an eighteenth-century attempt to construct and “project” a self. It is here that Potts examines most fully Winckelmann’s “obsessions”—his intensely felt desire for political and sensual freedom—that at some psychic level presumably informed his understanding of the impossibility of realizing any ideal of the integrated, serene self. Here Potts grapples with the myriad problems that beset historical analysis of the experience of male “homosexual” desire and the discernment of “gay identity.” Potts’s subtle formulations belie what he elsewhere calls the “ritual” labeling of “politically correct” class and gender analysis, yet he ultimately does define crucial domains of sensibility and imaginative projection that he believes were opened up to Winckelmann as a man who himself lived the experience of—and suffered “violent constraints” on—male same-sex desire. Although Potts disavows causal analysis, this formulation suggests that Winckelmann was able to perceive, and even partially articulate, the eroticized

violence of the ideal of the sublime in a way barred to those not sharing homoerotic desire.

There is no conclusion to this study but instead a glance at two moments in the “afterlife” of Winckelmann’s work: J. L. David’s handling of the male nude as a symbol of heroic virtue during the French Revolution and Walter Pater’s rewriting of Winckelmann’s aesthetics to suit the requirements of an age when sexuality was beginning to play “a constitutive role in definitions of the self” (p. 240). The arguments presented here, although perhaps less satisfying than would have been a formal conclusion joining the strands of this complicated analysis, nonetheless lend it added weight by demonstrating the utility of Potts’s central insight in analyzing revolutionary and nineteenth-century formulations that simultaneously subverted and perpetuated Enlightenment visions of the Greek ideal.

This book will, I think, inspire criticism. Historians will question a methodology that valorizes the psychoanalytic perspective while relegating it to the epistemological status of “allegory.” Feminist critics will object to readings that seem to reduce the female to a position of absolute nullity, deprived even of erotic significance (see in particular the reading of David’s *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*). And can it be that no gay readers will object to Potts’s implied claim that the experience of homoeroticism lends special insight into the mechanisms and representation of sadomasochistic desire? For myself the contradictions that lie at the heart of this study stem from Potts’s employing what many see as a profoundly “homophobic” theoretical construct—Freudian theory, even with the glosses of the post-Freudian commentators to whom Potts occasionally alludes—as a framework for unveiling and valorizing homoerotic sensibility. But, then, the espying of tensions and contradictions seems to be what we are all up to now, “humanist ideology” having fallen into the sad state of disrepair that is the departure point of this brave and impassioned book.

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GUNILLA-FRIEDERIKE BUDDE. *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien 1840–1914*. (Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 6.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 512. DM 68.

On the basis of reading more than 400 autobiographical and other personal narrative sources in German and English, Gunilla-Friederike Budde has produced a rich comparative study of nineteenth-century middle-class family life. Her study is organized into three parts. Part 1 recounts general patterns of socialization and family life as the basis of middle-class culture. Budde deals with family life cycles and rituals; patterns of sociability and education; and the family’s inculcation of attitudes toward work and culture as two poles,

in some tension, of bourgeois existence. She looks for change over time in addition to documenting family institutions. She concludes, for example, that there is evidence in the sources for both countries of a switch from parental choice of marriage partners to a less formal, if well-regulated, system in which matches emerged from contacts initiated by young people in a highly selective social circle centered on family gatherings, travel, and, eventually, sports.

Part 2, perhaps the most original section of the book, focuses on differences along gender lines in accounts of growing up middle class. Budde examination of fathers and mothers as role models and influences on family life also concerns evidence about the different nature of relationships between each parent and children of each sex. In a section centering on the differences between boys' and girls' accounts of growing up, she points to evidence of greater tension and dissatisfaction in girls' than in boys' stories. Boys complain primarily about their school years; girls, in contrast, often remember their school years as a time of relative freedom in contrast with the sorry time as "daughters at home" that followed. Girls tended more often to problematize their gender identity, to compare their fate unfavorably with that of their brothers, whereas for boys such issues simply did not come up.

In the book's last section Budde takes on from the point of view of middle-class family history the broad *Sonderweg* debate, the discussion of the extent to which Germany's path of historical development has been distinct from the general West European pattern. In particular, she looks to such indicators as patterns of cross-class sociability, authority relations in the family, schooling as a site of political development, and religious culture. She concurs with the argument that "feudalization"—middle-class imitation of aristocratic norms and lifestyles—was more a social than a national characteristic. She finds hints of such behavior in the increasingly elaborate, ritualized, and ostentatious entertainment, housing, and dress that characterized the upper-middle classes of both countries. On other scores, however, the English middle classes appear more "feudalized" than the German: they mix more with aristocrats in both schools and marriage markets; they are less open than their German counterparts to casual mingling with the lower classes (this, Budde argues, was common for German urban boys, who took to the streets in their free time); and English imitation of aristocratic family practice was revealed as well in the common employment of nannies for the care of young children, in contrast with the more stolidly ever-present mother of German bourgeois memoirs.

There is plenty of food for thought in these discussions and many other areas Budde explores. Unfortunately, Budde only occasionally addresses how these images are shaped by the nature of the sources. The interesting strategy of using comparative English data to highlight and assess what is and is not peculiarly German makes much sense. Still, it is not always easy to sort out milieus from national differences or from

differences that stem from the different national histories of the autobiographical genre itself. A closer discussion of the sources, their selectivity, and the auspices of and motives for writing autobiography in the two countries over the long time period over which the texts were produced would make interpretation of Budde's findings easier.

Budde's use of these sources also raises questions about how they are best read and for what purposes they are most useful to historians. Her arguments often appear as logical constructions, clearly based on a wide reading of the sources, but they are presented in a rather summary manner. Tabular data—for example, summaries of references in autobiographies to age differences between spouses at marriage or numbers of children per family—seem relatively straightforward, but this information can be obtained through better sources. Budde comes closer to fulfilling the potential of these particular sources when she takes on questions about what is and is not problematized in the texts; what is and is not remembered, dwelt on, or regretted. For such analytic tasks the methodological questions are stickier, and there are few models to guide researchers. In fact, for these purposes, the size of the data base (over 400 texts) may cause difficulties. Readers never get a sense of these autobiographers as individuals with stories to tell or of their texts as either exemplary or atypical of the genre.

That said, I am nevertheless impressed with Budde's project and her pioneering effort to use such sources. There is much to be learned in this dense and provocative analysis. Her insights about European family, class identity, and political culture are often important, surprising, challenging, and original.

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MITCHELL COHEN. *The Wager of Lucien Goldmann: Tragedy, Dialectics, and a Hidden God*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 351. \$35.00

Lucien Goldmann, the Romanian-born Marxist literary critic who made his mark in postwar France, could not have asked for a more sympathetic and generous biographer than Mitchell Cohen. Painstakingly reconstructing the narrative of Goldmann's life and patiently rehearsing the arguments of his major works, Cohen provides virtually all the materials necessary for an evaluation of this now neglected thinker's contribution to the intellectual development of what has become known as Western Marxism. Although he offers a qualified endorsement of Goldmann's legacy, those who have less confidence in its staying power will find ample ammunition for their own qualms as well.

Goldmann emerged from the Romanian-Jewish milieu of his youth: he was born in Bucharest in 1913 and raised in the Moldavian town of Botoșani—to become a Zionist socialist affiliated with Ha-Shomer ha-Tsair and later a student activist loosely affiliated with the

Communist Party, albeit one with little stomach for the Stalinism that then ruled the international movement. After studying with the Austrian Marxist Max Adler in Vienna, he emigrated to Paris in 1934, when the anti-Semitic Right increased in power in Romania, only to be forced to emigrate again to escape the invading Nazis in 1940. For the duration of the war he remained in Geneva, where he learned a genetic variant of structuralism from the psychologist Jean Piaget. Goldmann returned to Paris after the war, ultimately earning a chair in the sociology of literature at the École des Hautes Études. He established himself as a leading exponent of humanistic Marxism, which he developed largely on the basis of Georg Lukács's early writings, most notably *History and Class Consciousness* (1923).

Cohen masterfully reconstructs Goldmann's struggle—largely in vain—to salvage viable dialectical concepts of totality and reification once he had abandoned his Lukácsian faith in the proletariat as the metatotalizer of history. He shows how the residual influence of the ideas of Immanuel Kant on Goldmann's thought, his quasi-liberal insistence on the value of the individual, and his sympathy for the tragic world view he discerned in Blaise Pascal and the other protagonists of his most important work, *The Hidden God* (1955), complicated his adherence to the humanistic Marxist project of redemption. Goldmann doggedly defended it, however, against the new nongenetic—that is, anti-historical—structuralist trends he found so disturbing in the 1960s.

Cohen also demonstrates the effects of the same ambiguities on Goldmann's late interventions into the politics of the 1960s, when he embraced the "new working-class theory" of Serge Mallet and André Gorz and sought to interpret the events of 1968 as the realization of a "revolutionary-reformist" challenge to the capitalist order. In the short time before his untimely death in 1970, Goldmann began to acknowledge the increasingly long odds against his frankly irrational "wager" on a redeemed future and retreated into what Cohen terms a "tragic Marxism . . . an existential dialectic . . . that never attains ultimate synthesis" (p. 277). Although the results bespeak the integrity of a thinker who never allowed his hatred of capitalism to become a warrant for the countenance of authoritarian alternatives to it, the intellectual yield of his work was distinctly limited. For all of Cohen's attempts to breathe new life into Goldmann's legacy, it is unlikely that a major revival is in the offing.

Cohen unwittingly endorses this conclusion by his quiet abandonment of one of Goldmann's most cherished methodological tenets: the placement of a thinker as a "transindividual" subject whose world view homologously represents the situation of his or her class. For nowhere does Cohen hazard a serious analysis of Goldmann himself in these terms, not even noting the attempt of Goldmann's student Michael Löwy in *Redemption and Utopia* (1992) to fashion a group portrait of Jewish libertarian thought in the

Central Europe from which Goldmann came (albeit a half generation later). Instead Cohen remains content with loosely applying Lukács's concept of "a problematic individual," a notion whose explanatory potency is, alas, not high. The atypicality of Goldmann's own example thus turns out to be an unintended refutation of his approach. The absence of that approach from Cohen's account, however, happily does little to undermine its value as a well-researched, lucidly presented intellectual biography.

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CARL R. TRUEMAN. *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers, 1525–1556*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 307. \$55.00.

Carl R. Trueman analyzes the teachings on salvation of three of England's earliest martyred Protestants (William Tyndale, John Frith, and Robert Barnes) and two Edwardian reformers who were Marian martyrs (John Hooper and John Bradford). Before examining in detail their soteriological views, Trueman briefly recounts the life and Reformation activities of each and examines their varying intellectual heritages in patristic and scholastic theology, Lollardy, humanism, and both the Lutheran and Reformed versions of Protestantism. He finds that they generally claimed patristic support for their views, deplored scholastic theology, and seldom referred to Lollardy; humanism was a strong influence on the three Henrician reformers, and all were inspired by Martin Luther and further shaped by such Reformed teachers as Martin Bucer.

Trueman finds all five of his subjects to be committed to the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith and united by a practical concern for the necessity of good works in the Christian life. He also finds distinctive elements in their thought: Tyndale "used the concepts of Luther in order to establish the ethical concerns of Humanism" (p. 120), Frith was becoming a very precise and skillful theologian when he met his untimely death, Barnes was less Lutheran than usually supposed, Hooper was a Melancthonian synergist, and Bradford was preoccupied with the problem of assurance.

Trueman significantly advances our understanding of the thought of the English Reformation with this thorough, meticulous, and nuanced analysis of his subjects' theologies of salvation. He also makes some important contributions while providing much-needed sketches of their individual views: the deep influence of Erasmianism on Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes is well established; the contention of William A. Clebsch that Tyndale and perhaps other early English reformers taught a double justification is proved to be mistaken; the conventional description of Barnes as an English Lutheran is shown to be an incomplete description of

that reformer; and the extent of Hooper's misgivings about predestination are documented.

But some of the author's contentions need further clarification. In spite of the title and the author's lively appreciation of Luther's theology, the book is not chiefly a depiction of Luther's influence in England; indeed, Trueman's analysis of his subjects' views on good works results in accentuating various humanist, Melancthonian, and Bucerian strains of influence that differed from Luther. Perhaps his title inhibits him from stating more strongly that these writers generally moved from a Lutheran to a more Reformed outlook.

Trueman's discussion of predestination also needs clarification. Because Frith rooted his discussion of predestination in soteriology rather than, in later Protestant scholastic fashion, the divine decrees, Trueman (pp. 146, 154, 189 n.) minimizes his predestinarianism; but such soteriological placement, guaranteeing that salvation was by God's grace alone, was an indication of the doctrine's importance and was typical of many strongly predestinarian thinkers, not least Calvin himself.

Finally, Trueman occasionally uses terminology for the sixteenth-century religious situation that is inapt: the cliché "middle way" (p. 26) for the English Reformation should not be used without specifying exactly what is meant, and the anachronism "Anglicanism," although sometimes unavoidable, ought to be used with caution. To speak of the sectarian freewillers as outside the "Anglican communion" (p. 292) suggests a later denominational framework rather than the inchoate situation of the mid-sixteenth century.

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PETER MARSHALL. *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 271. \$55.00.

The clergy has long been at the center of attempts to explain why the English Reformation occurred. Only recently have scholars challenged the view that widespread, intense anticlericalism was largely responsible for the shift from Catholicism. Local studies have brought so much contradictory evidence to light that qualification has become a necessity for holding onto this paradigm at all. Peter Marshall has shown, however, that revisionists need not, and perhaps cannot, create a model in opposition to the traditional view. Rather, they must encompass the contradictions inherent in the priests' situation.

Marshall takes as his starting point the relationship between theory and practice, that is, between priesthood and priest. He examines the expectations of the laity through the lenses of both the idealized concept of priestliness and the reality of the human beings who served them as priests. There was a contradiction between the distinctiveness and purity many expected

of one who offered the sacraments and the actual priests who lived alongside their parishioners. This tension between ideal and reality was matched by that between the sacramental function of the priest and his role in parish affairs. Marshall correctly suggests that the mutual obligations between priest and parishioners created a "balance of power" between clergy and laity. The ecclesiastical and doctrinal changes that occurred during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI disturbed the balance between the ideal and the reality of priestly functioning and between parishioners and their priests.

Marshall transcends the conventional dichotomy of "clergy and laity," which usually entails a two-dimensional focus on the laity's sacerdotal dependence and the clergy's disappointing performance. He does this by examining the clergy's various roles in church and society as defined in theory and practice: the priest as confessor, celebrant, teacher, anointed, celibate, pastor, neighbor, and enemy. The stark list belies the range of evidence, creative speculation, and sense of perspective that make the book fascinating reading. For example, Marshall suggests that lay hostility to clerical concubinage, and later marriage, reflected the belief that celibacy was absolutely necessary to the essence of priesthood and was related to the purity many insisted was necessary for the validity of the sacraments. He then offers a stunning insight: as long as a substantial number of laypeople rejected clerical marriage, the idea of the priesthood of all believers could make only slow and uncertain progress. This suggests that one way to measure popular Protestantization would be to ascertain lay attitudes toward clerical marriage.

It seems unfortunate that Marshall does not address questions about gender in relation to the clergy and to the course of the Reformation. He notes that if there were deep psychological motives for the laity's attitude concerning clerical celibacy, these are probably not within the historian's competence. He has nevertheless offered a number of provocative and exciting insights and has added a great deal of texture to our knowledge of the clergy and the laity in the sixteenth century.

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MICHAEL ZELL. *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 22.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 257. \$54.95.

Early modern economic historians have been intrigued by pockets of rural proto-industrialization that emerged 200 to 300 years before the Industrial Revolution. Did they result from the intrusion of outside urban capitalists seeking cheap labor and investment opportunities or, as Joan Thirsk proposed, from the peculiar circumstances of the regions themselves? And, if one conceptualizes more broadly, was proto-

industrialization the first in a two-stage development leading to the Western factory system, as Franklin Mendels and others have maintained? Michael Zell characterizes his book as both a traditional "English local and regional history" and a contribution to the "ongoing theoretical debate about the origins and nature of early industrialism in the West" (pp. 8–9).

Zell's history is a prodigious "ecological" case study" of economic life in the sixteenth-century Kentish Weald: its landholding practices, household organization, agricultural management, and labor availability. The Weald emerges as a sizeable upland, pastoral region (200,000 acres, twenty-four parishes) with a gavelkind inheritance system that promoted estate partition and expanding numbers of small and medium-sized farm owners and renters. The smallholders and landless found employment in the developing cloth, leather, and iron foundry and metalwork industries. Woolen cloth weaving, established in the Weald by 1500, occupied by far the greatest number of workers; and, under the direction of a small elite of local clothier capitalists, Kent heavy broadcloth and kersey attracted much demand in London and overseas markets. Zell speculates, however, that entrepreneurial acumen had diminished by the early seventeenth century when overseas demand changed. Deindustrialization set in, the poor rate climbed above the levels of the 1590s, and the Wealden economy was revived by a new focus on convertible husbandry and specialization on cash crops for urban markets.

The strengths of Zell's study, its empiricism and nominalism, are the very qualities that separate it from structuralist theorizing and model-building. Thus, the contribution-to-theory aspect of the book is somewhat muddled. Much of this discussion is squeezed into two brief bookend chapters, in which Zell must qualify and shave very carefully just what aspects of proto-industrial theory his work tests. His impressive research was influenced by and does support Thirsk's hypothesis. Beyond that, the Weald economy illustrates that a region's cottage manufacturing in the sixteenth century and earlier did not always lead to further industrialization and might be used to contradict Mendels. But Mendels's model rests on proto-industries that began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Zell has mastered a vast array of archival material, including parish registers, Inquisitions Post Mortem, ecclesiastical court depositions, Lay Subsidy Rolls, and the London records of the Clothworkers Company and the Drapers Company. If the tableau he fashions is so detailed that at times the reader may find it difficult to "see the Weald through the trees," this, nevertheless, is an ingenious and important work. All historians interested in transition economies and the emergence of industry in late-medieval and early modern England and Europe will learn a great deal from it.

PAUL A. FIDELER
Lesley College

PHIL KILROY. *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660–1714*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 300. £27.50.

Four hundred years of antagonism in Ireland, especially bitter because much is religiously driven, may at last be ending. Peace may be a possibility rather than a chimera. Phil Kilroy illuminates one source of the long conflict: the unwavering hostility between the Protestant sects and the Established Church of Ireland (Episcopalian) from the Commonwealth to the opening of the Georgian period. Although the title dates the book from the Restoration, Kilroy deals with the sects from their arrival in Ireland. One sees that Ian Paisley is not an isolated excrescence on the Irish religious-political scene but one in a long line of figures produced by historical processes more complex than mere discord between Catholics and Protestants.

Kilroy examines the religious position of Protestant dissenters—Scottish and English Presbyterians, Quakers, and the few Independents—as they established themselves in Ireland. In an age when religious conviction was a serious matter for most and the church exercised authority over its congregation, both doctrinal and organizational divisions defined the sects and proved insurmountable stumbling blocks to accord. With a stunning command of period literature, church meetings, session and synod minutes, pamphlets, sermons, official correspondence, diaries, and letters, Kilroy traces the sects' struggles to organize their communities, assert authority (be it of congregation, synod, meeting, or episcopal hierarchy), prepare and maintain ministers, sustain their doctrine, and obtain some degree of toleration. The Established hierarchy was restored in Ireland in the fall of 1660 by a government that saw dissent as seditious and would use the Clarendon Code to coerce and the Test Act to keep Presbyterians from taking over the corporations and civil offices. The dissenters nevertheless forged enduring communities and forms of church government.

Kilroy shows that antipathy to the Established Church did not provide enough unity even to protest shared disabilities, for some sects, particularly the Scottish Presbyterians, were themselves irrevocably divided on the degree to which the Restoration settlement could be accepted. In Ulster the Scots Presbyterians, closer to Scotland than to Dublin, remained divided, for the government had ordered in 1661 that the Solemn League and Covenant be burned publicly in every town, an order that was anathema to the radicals. The English Presbyterians, including the remnants of the Puritans, objected to being lumped with the Scots in the government's definition of dissent and protested that they were loyal. They rejected an Established church but refused to "enter into conflict with the present episcopacy as it is part of the legal constitution" (p. 256). The Quakers, the most successful of the independent sects, contained an early propensity for extremism through the structure of Meet-

ings, endogamous marriage, and the imposition of discipline. Doctrinally, Quakerism was too intellectually demanding to have widespread popular appeal. After much harsh persecution, the Quakers gained respect through their behavior in the rebellions and their straightforward business practices. Each sect came to its own terms with its world, while the government, which had tried to use the tensions among the sects to divide them, finally accepted the existence of dissent as a *fait accompli*, to be controlled by the maintenance of legal and civil disabilities.

There are a few caveats about this otherwise illuminating work. Ireland was not the wilderness that America was in 1650, but Kilroy examines dissent without reference to the surrounding Irish and Catholicism. Second, Kilroy presupposes a scholar's grasp of both Irish and religious history. The wars, rebellions, risings, plots, and unrest that shaped this period are disregarded or are mentioned without context. The extent and ferocity of the persecution dissenters endured is almost entirely ignored. In focusing on religious argument, Kilroy largely neglects the impact of civil turmoil on the stance of the sects, yet the progress and direction of each was ineluctably influenced by its social-political history. The Quakers are an outstanding and well-documented example. The Covenant played a crucial role in Scots Presbyterian development in Ireland, but what it was is never defined, although the irreconcilable division between those who would not accept a modification of the Covenant after 1660 and those who did is shown to be of crucial importance in the nature of Ulster Presbyterianism. This book will nevertheless be requisite reading for an understanding of Ireland. It is not an easy book, but it will repay the time spent on it.

HELEN E. HATTON
University of Toronto

NANCY F. KOEHN. *The Power of Commerce: Economy and Governance in the First British Empire*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 239. \$29.95.

Given that few modern historians of the eighteenth century do not consider the economic parameters within which their subjects operated, the starting premise of this book—that just as economists writing on economic history ignore social and political context, most social and political historians writing on the period between 1763 and the outbreak of the American Revolution do so without investigating how “the surrounding economy shaped their subjects” (p. xi)—is somewhat surprising. But “the state of the economy mattered,” Nancy F. Koehn quite rightly insists, and so she sets out to remedy this failure by showing how the economics of the Seven Years' War transformed the governing elite's appreciation of the role of commerce in sustaining Britain's imperial power. In turn this boosted the influence of the commercial lobby at Westminster and informed debates on how Britain could best deal with its horrendous war debts and the

responsibility of maintaining a vastly enlarged empire. The need to foster Britain's commercial growth (which led to experiments in free trade in the West Indies by the mid-1760s) and yet find new sources of revenue in both India and America compounded the problem. A further complication was added by the gathering uneasiness with which influential sections of the political elite regarded the gains of the war. Would the riches of the Orient and America, they wondered, corrupt the British empire in the same way as the wealth of the Near East had corrupted its Roman forebear? Hence the deep ambivalence with which the wealth accruing from the expanded empire was regarded.

Koehn has a valid thesis whose exposition in this book is clearly laid out and executed. At times it even verges on the persuasive. Ultimately, however, the book's lack of perspective renders unconvincing her case for a radical upsurge in the power of commerce to influence policy making in the 1760s. Koehn presents the powerful commercial lobbies of the 1760s as a new development. Yet from at least the 1650s the course, direction, and popular perception of the outcome of England's (later Britain's) wars were all heavily influenced by commercial interests. To play up the role of the commercial lobby, Koehn is also obliged to play down other influences on imperial policy making, such as political instability, barely veiled Bourbon revanchism, and the monarch's stubborn idealism. Some factual errors have also crept into the text. Hanover was not a British province (p. 10) but an autonomous possession of the Hanoverian dynasty. It was Ferdinand of Brunswick, not Frederick the Great, who won the battle of Minden in 1759 (pp. 10, 154), and Senegal is part of West Africa, not an island off the coast (p. 155).

To prove her thesis Koehn needs to demonstrate the burgeoning power of the commercial lobby through some close political analysis of particular moments in policy making, not just in the 1760s but over the preceding century. One hopes she will turn this book into a platform from which to embark on such a project.

DANIEL SZECHI
Auburn University

PETER N. MILLER. *Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Ideas in Context, number 29.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 472. \$69.95.

Over the last twenty years the history of early modern European political thought has been rescued from irrelevancy through the efforts of a small number of scholars, among whom Quentin Skinner has been preeminent. Skinner now heads a busy hive of associates and students, many of whom have contributed to the “Ideas in Context” series of which he is general editor. Peter N. Miller's book is one in that series. Unfortunately, the ideas it explores are not placed in much context and the weakness of its argument gives

rise to wider questions about the methodology of this field.

Miller's chief subject is the idea of "the common good," derived from the writings of Cicero. This is a dangerously vague concept on which to build a sustained argument. Cicero was not himself consistent about what he meant by the common good, and his ideas were put to a variety of uses by thinkers who had little in common with one another. Cicero was often quoted by early modern neo-Stoics, although some of them had disdain for his writing style and lack of intellectual rigor. Miller suggests that the neo-Stoics easily reconciled affection for Cicero with admiration for Tacitus. Richard Tuck, however, has persuasively argued a different case in *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651* (1993). Although Miller cites this work, he does not address its interpretation. In fact he hardly ever discusses the work of other scholars except in brief hints, often confined to footnotes.

This lack of critical engagement leads Miller into a highly questionable assumption. He breezily implies that "the common good" should be linked with the concept of "composite monarchy" proposed by H. G. Koenigsberger and J. H. Elliott. With astonishing imprecision, he describes "composite monarchy" as "a political entity . . . in which one kingdom ruled others, often quite distant, as provinces" (p. 215). This mystifying definition relates neither to the American colonies, which were not separate kingdoms, nor to Great Britain, which was one kingdom. In fact, a composite state might consist of several kingdoms united under one monarch, or diverse provinces loosely tied into one kingdom. Conrad Russell's "multiple kingships" refers only to the first of these alternatives, and it is wrongly conflated here with composite monarchy. Moreover, Russell has never suggested, as Miller puts it, that England comprised in itself a "multiple kingdom" (p. 14). Miller takes it for granted that Britain was a composite monarchy even after the union with Scotland, but his muddled attempt to extend the term to the colonies adds nothing to Koenigsberger's brief and itself unsatisfactory consideration of the issue.

Overall, Miller's argument suffers badly from disorganization and lack of careful development. In the first chapters, the importance of Cicero is sketchily illustrated through a string of citations from a hodgepodge of early modern sources. One cannot help wondering why these particular works were chosen for consideration. The impression of random selection unhappily persists throughout the book. Miller does not show much interest in the connections between thought and behavior, so that his treatment of the "classical landscape" of English political writing sometimes reads as if theories were the chief things at stake in political conflicts. It would at least be interesting to know what influence, if any, the ideas of Thomas Rutherford or James Abercromby had on the formulation of policy. Miller's few attempts to place writers in the politics of the times are not always convincing. It is difficult to grasp, for example, why the ambitious Whig clergyman

John Brown should be seen as typical of a "Country" mentality.

The most original section of this lengthy book does not begin until page 266. It deals with the acceptance after 1760 among certain religious Dissenters of the precedence of individual conscience over the common good. Miller nicely traces this development to the writings of the unorthodox Anglican divine Samuel Clarke, and he sees it as central to the political thought of the "rational" Dissenters Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. It seems odd that Miller neglects to point to Unitarianism as a crucial element in this intellectual shift, which did not affect the majority of Dissenters, let alone most latitudinarian Anglicans. He does put an interesting emphasis on the ties between calls for toleration of individual religious beliefs and the American demands for independence, which he views as similarly based on "natural rights." This leads, however, to a dubious claim of originality for the radical John Cartwright's pamphlet *Take Your Choice!* (1776), as well as to a tedious discussion of individualism in the works of Adam Smith and Josiah Tucker.

Some of the minor errors in this book are very amusing. Lewis Namier, for example, would doubtless have been mortified to find himself referred to as "Louis" (p. 88, n. 1). The mistake is trivial, but it makes one wonder about the degree of editorial supervision in a series that has almost as many editors as contributors. How much responsibility must they bear for this book? Did no one notice that it is 200 pages too long? Miller is an intelligent young scholar who will certainly produce more solid work in the future, but the major flaws in this effort inspire some questions about his mentors. Has the Skinner school encouraged too much closed conversation among a select circle of friends? Is it in danger of separating itself into a self-reflective sphere of discourse, hermetically sealed from the mainstream of political, social, and cultural history? If so, it has run its course, and it will have to give way to a more broadly based methodology.

PAUL MONOD
Middlebury College

ANNE DIGBY. *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720-1911*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 348. \$64.95.

Anne Digby's book is a solid, well-researched account of the English medical marketplace in the period between the founding of the first voluntary hospital and the inception of national health insurance, emphasizing the working conditions and economic difficulties confronting the "ordinary" practitioner who lived outside London. Although a focus on the money-grubbing efforts of ordinary doctors as they struggled to build a practice, elbow out competitors, and make ends meet is unlikely to produce a flattering picture, Digby steers a middle course between the unbridled optimism of

the Whiggish or hagiographic school of medical history and the unrelieved cynicism of much recent historical revisionism.

On the whole, this is a kindly book that leaves the reader feeling sympathy for the common run of doctors who invested much hard-won capital and many years of training in the effort to win a place in an overstocked and challenging profession. Indeed, it is surprising that so many men were willing to invest their capital and their youth in an effort to qualify for an occupation that promised them little except constant demands, significant danger, and a meager livelihood. Digby even manages to arouse some sympathy for the determined effort of male practitioners to shut women out of the profession, threatened as they were by the prospect of a flood of new competitors when their own positions were so precarious.

Digby argues that doctors failed to control either the numbers who entered the profession or the level of compensation they received during much of this period. Patients had many other resources to call on for healing, including the services of druggists, quacks, friends, charities, and their own devices. They often saw through the efforts of doctors to bolster their status: some contemporaries expressed more cynicism than even a modern revisionist could muster. Moreover, although the Old Poor Law was often generous in its provisions for patient and doctor alike, by the second half of the nineteenth century both insurance companies and the government were successful in controlling costs by limiting doctors' fees.

Doctors responded to these difficulties by becoming more entrepreneurial in marketing their skills, by attempting to fix minimum fees in a given region by common agreement, by expanding their market to include underserved groups such as women, children, and the poor, by discrediting competitors such as midwives, by becoming more specialized, and by focusing on the intangible rewards of their profession. Digby concludes that "in order to offset their limited therapeutic competence and partial success in achieving economic prosperity, practitioners maintained self-esteem by reference to their honourable intentions to patients, and their disinterested contribution to humanity" (p. 316).

The book has some shortcomings. In her effort to steer a middle course, Digby sometimes lacks a strong argument, and her conclusions seem tentative. For example, in discussing the fact that patients sometimes hesitated to call in a doctor, she comments: "in what is as yet a poorly conceptualised and under-researched subject, cultural contexts, socio-economic resources and individual needs may all have shaped perceptions of illness and decisions to seek treatment from the doctor" (p. 77). How could they not? I was disappointed in the chapter on "Expanding Practice with Women and Child Patients," which neglects such useful published sources as Judith Schneid Lewis's *In the Family Way: Childbearing in the British Aristocracy, 1760-1860* (1986).

A less important but occasionally frustrating characteristic of the book is that Digby sometimes offers conclusions without providing the evidence for them. We hear that a poem from a patient contained "customary expressions of gratitude [that] may well have been ironic" (p. 240), but we never see the poem itself; we read that women with breast cancer preferred conservative medical methods to radical surgical ones (p. 278), but the only evidence given for this are statements that several months often lapsed between discovery of a tumor and women's application to the Middlesex Hospital Cancer Ward and that Georgian surgeons themselves preferred conservative treatment. I would like to see evidence that women in labor were routinely given opiates (p. 271), a dubious assertion. Finally, as Digby herself acknowledges, there is a considerable overlap, both in evidence and conclusions, between this book and other recent publications such as Irvine Loudon's livelier *Medical Care and the General Practitioner 1750-1850* (1986). Overall, however, few readers are likely to contest the account Digby offers of the struggles of the average practitioner to establish himself in an often unfriendly world.

MARGARET DELACY

Northwest Independent Scholars Association

GEOFFREY FINLAYSON. *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1990*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 467. \$69.00.

What a complex tapestry of benevolence and social engineering is portrayed here. Geoffrey Finlayson's stated purpose is to examine two themes: "The contribution of voluntarism to social welfare in Britain in the period since 1830, and the relationship between voluntarism and the state in the same period, as boundaries and frontiers between them moved" (p. 401). And the frontiers have moved, back and forth: between spontaneity and organization, local initiatives and central direction, treating poverty with compassion and as a form of contagion. Although Finlayson warns against "drawing too many firm conclusions" (p. 327), he suggests that the proportion of dogma and didacticism to common sense and humanity has been depressingly large over the 160 years examined here.

The book is divided into four chapters, defined by years and alliterative subtitles. The period from 1830 to 1880 is that of "Providence, Paternalism, and Philanthropy"; 1880 to 1914, "Challenge, Collectivism, and Convergence"; 1914 to 1949, "War, Want, and Welfare"; and 1949 to 1991, "Participation, Perception, and Pluralism." This may be an artifice, but it is remarkable how well these subtitles work in defining the prevailing themes of each period, although this device is more effective in the earlier chapters than in the later ones. Four chapters in a book in excess of 400 pages is off-putting, however, and lengthy paragraphs add to the intimidating quality of the read. The writing, too, on occasion verges on the ponderous, hovering perilously close to underlining and belabor-

ing, with multitudinous examples of the obvious or the prosaic.

Indeed, the trees sometimes obscure the forest. Thus, the impact of war on social policy is not effectively articulated, and it is unclear how class structure figures in the interplay between state and private initiatives. The material is here, but the detail sometimes beclouds the overview. Moreover, the perspective could have been enriched by more links to the history of social welfare before 1830 and by comparisons with developments in other countries. Even so, this is an enlightening study; its strength lies in Finlayson's judicious and learned taxonomy of modern British social welfare history, focusing more on the citizen than on the state. His approach, descriptive rather than analytical, underlines the difficulty of accurately quantifying voluntary initiatives. He layers many forms of evidence, perhaps the most effective way to represent the story.

This is a welcome work of synthesis, and the footnotes and bibliography suggest how much research went into its creation. There is also a refreshing lack of cynicism, for Finlayson recognizes "that 'good deeds' can be done for good and disinterested motives" (p. 54) and that this is a subject where it is easier to decry than to discern. To borrow his love of the alliterative, this is a cautious, commonsensical, comprehensive, and compassionate synthesis, for which we must be grateful not only to the late Geoffrey Finlayson but also to the members of his family who saw this work to completion.

JAMES STEPHEN TAYLOR
West Georgia College

DAVID EASTWOOD. *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780-1840*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 311. \$55.00.

"Before 1830," David Eastwood writes, "power and authority within the English state were the product of negotiation between the centre and the localities" (p. 2). Although London did not dominate the counties, the counties were not divorced from the center. Instead a powerful local elite implemented and contributed to parliamentary directives and, at the same time, used its personal authority to shape local policy. Eastwood's book is about these political negotiations and their transformation in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. To understand them he has looked at the changing organization and activities of vestries, magistrates, and quarter sessions (part 1), the administration of poor relief (part 2, the heart of the book), and crime and the contested introduction of police (part 3). (The enduring land registry and agricultural regulation roles of manor courts and vestries are not considered.) He concludes that the government generated by negotiation was not as incoherent, inefficient, or ossified as earlier studies have argued. Instead

he joins historians who describe a vibrant regionalism in eighteenth-century England. Rural government was grounded in local context, responsive to changing needs.

By focusing on localism and community Eastwood takes us into a world recognizably related to Keith Wrightson's seventeenth century, although his depiction is less nuanced. Eastwood's eighteenth-century rural agricultural south (for that is where we are) was intensely and comfortingly local, even communal. Migrants moved only a few miles. Those who could afford to travel farther were few. Dissenters, innovators, and liberals were outnumbered; they disturbed but did not dissolve rural culture. Most villages were small and even in 1831 their smallness encouraged community.

This may be right but one wonders about the solvents of common culture and the community it supported: religious Dissent is one, deepening poverty another, widespread enclosure a third. Surely villagers had to cope with these conflicts, and in coping with them to redefine just who it was that their community encompassed. And is smallness really a predictor of (p. 31) "the communal idea"? Or can the privileged and respectable erect barriers to sympathy anywhere? At least part of the reason for rocketing wartime poor rates was the meager wage paid by prosperous farmers. The comfortable certainties of closed villages depended on the uncomfortable uncertainties of their open neighbors.

But things are rarely so bad that they could not be worse. Eastwood regrets the demise of the old regime in the wake of Whig reforms. True enough, the loss of local "autonomy" was the autonomy of the governors, not the governed. (And lost autonomy did not mean lost power: there was a coincidence of central and local political interest after 1830 just as there had been before.) At best the "participatory traditions of local self-government" (p. 261) in vestries and on the bench offered no more than virtual representation to most people, and the people said so. But the old regime had enabled a more local response to local problems. And justices of the peace who negotiated the desperate crises of 1795-1831 knew that poverty wore a human face. The old regime "recognized that economic fluidity which could carry a labourer on and off parish relief without his ever wishing not to work" (p. 174). Bureaucratizing Whigs, whose flagship was the Poor Law of 1834, both removed local control and blamed the poor for their poverty. Reform erased both the claims and the obligations—limited though they were—of neighbors.

J. M. NEESON
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JAMES A. EPSTEIN. *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 233. \$45.00.

Like Mary Shelly's Dr. Frankenstein, James A. Epstein takes early nineteenth-century parts and fashions out of them a new creation. In this case the body is a master narrative centered on "popular constitutionalism." Most radicals assumed the existence of historical rather than natural rights. These rights having been subverted by patrician abuse of power, radical struggle was ultimately about who constituted the political nation and who got to tell the nation's story. Through case studies of political language, rituals, and symbols, Epstein explains why popular constitutionalism lasted so long, given a rationalist alternative in Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1790) and other Enlightenment publications.

Epstein contends that popular constitutionalism was not inconsistent with Jacobin or natural-rights arguments. A chapter on the radical publisher Thomas Wooler shows the importance of common-law reasoning and precedent in contrast to Enlightenment universalism. In the battle over words between radicals and government "about who could say what to whom and under what conditions" (p. 32), Wooler, like other popular constitutionalists, cited history. He reinterpreted Magna Carta, making the barons into the people. Yet it is surely true that plebeians and patricians shared a world view according to which Britain was fundamentally different from the Continental states, which explains why both groups so adamantly opposed creating a police force.

Particularly after 1800, the language of the radical press and political trials, the behavior of plebeians at political dinners, and the use of symbols heavily depended on theatricality and melodrama. Popular culture and political culture were thus consanguineous. Epstein points out the melodramatic structure in the contrast made between the Anglo-Saxons of King Alfred and the Normans of King John, but he might have taken his analysis deeper into English culture. Radical political language, symbolic gestures, and emblems were also about access to public political space and therefore "the power to move within public space, the power to speak, and the power to give definition to words, visual symbols, and actions" (p. 98). Readers are told the clash over public space reached beyond the political stage, but I believe more research is needed before we will know all the nuances associated with political space.

Language was often embedded in objects such as the cap of liberty. One of the best features of this book is its account of Peterloo because Epstein understands the signs and meanings of the event of 1819: laurel, the libertarian symbol of regeneration; the singing of patriotic songs such as "God Save the King"; and the combination of martial and domestic in one physical space. Following Peterloo, Paineite thought was revived by the infidel propagandist Richard Carlile. His bookshop on Fleet Street became a center for political and religious radicals. Carlile repudiated a past based on popular constitutionalism; his hyper-rationalist sci-

entific materialism looked forward to positivism. Carlile said, "I test history by physics" (p. 124).

Several of the book's themes merge in a final chapter on rituals of solidarity. Here as elsewhere Epstein understands the provinces better than the metropolis and radical values better than their counter-values.

MARC BAER
Hope College

ERIC HOPKINS. *Childhood Transformed: Working-Class Children in Nineteenth-Century England*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. viii, 343. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$24.95.

As an area where the history of the family, of women, and of education all intersect, the history of childhood has received a great deal of attention in the past two decades, profiting along the way from the sources, critical models, and findings developed by its cognate subdisciplines. This is particularly true of the 100 years before World War I, which witnessed not only a large number of legal, institutional, and educational changes impinging on the lives of children but also—as a by-product—the creation of many of the sources that allow historians for the first time to investigate children's living and working conditions with some degree of accuracy.

Eric Hopkins's book is an attempt to produce from these primary sources and secondary works a general history of working-class childhood during the nineteenth century. In many ways it successfully accomplishes its aim; in others the result is less satisfactory. It provides an admirable survey of the major changes in children's lives in the nineteenth century. Hopkins pays as much attention to agriculture, mining, and workshops as he does to factory work; he sets out fully and intelligently the improvement or deterioration of the work experience in various industries; he displays a marvelous command of the legislative and institutional developments affecting working-class children in this period; and he deals at length with all aspects of children's lives beyond the workplace and schoolroom, such as the home, leisure, and religion. In short, the reader is given a solid, reliable, and informative overview of the topic.

If the issues to be addressed are well treated, however, the interpretive debates surrounding them are less skillfully handled. Hopkins posits three themes: that the major shift in the nature of nineteenth-century working-class childhood was from a work-centered to a school-centered existence; that a period of little change in conditions up to mid-century was followed by one of relatively continuous improvement; and—more controversially—that the "key to understanding [these changes] is really provided very largely by middle-class action, especially in the fields of working conditions and of education" (p. 5). Yet this "unfashionably Whiggish" (p. 320) view, although defensible in itself, is produced in large part by the

limited range of the evidence (overwhelmingly Blue Books for the earlier period and secondary works for the later period) and by failing to confront many of the interpretations developed by those, such as Richard Johnson or Henry Hendricks, who have taken a more critical view of the reasons for increased state action and a more inclusive view of the social and ideological context in which it emerged. A history of working-class childhood that collapses the Factory Movement into a handful of the gentry and parliamentary elite, ignores the role of Chartism, trade unions, or even ordinary working-class parents as actively ameliorative agents, and instead draws its picture of improvement from a stately procession of Royal Commissions will be Whiggish less through demonstration than by default, especially if the motivations of reformers are accepted at face value. Although this work is a useful introduction to the topic, it does not present a sophisticated or, finally, convincing explanation of the transformation it chronicles.

MICHAEL J. CHILDS
Bishop's University

PETER T. MARSH. *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 725. \$45.00.

Peter T. Marsh, it seems, is invariably drawn to subjects who are aggressive, hard-headed, and even skeptical figures. After treating Archbishop Archibald Tait and Lord Salisbury, he has turned his attention to Joseph Chamberlain. Just as he made himself the master of the Lambeth and Hatfield archives, he has now mastered the Chamberlain papers. Marsh's biography emphasizes the ways Chamberlain's business career shaped his politics. "Soot and cinder," as Marsh puts it, always clung to him (p. xiii). He sets out this theme for readers even in his chapter titles: Chamberlain's period as mayor of Birmingham is termed "civic investment," the Home Rule crisis is referred to as "the crash," and Chamberlain's time in the parliamentary wilderness is called "in bankruptcy." This volume is a modern biography, sympathetic yet not uncritical, based on impeccable archival scholarship. Marsh raises intriguing theoretical questions about the relationship of business to politics and provides stimulating insights into Chamberlain's life. Marsh's subject comes off as significantly more interesting than such counterparts in our own time as Silvio Berlusconi and Ross Perot.

Chamberlain always felt he was "like Mahomet's coffin, hang[ing] between heaven & earth" (p. 30). He carried himself into the heart of the ruling elite in both Liberal and Conservative parties, but he was never welcomed there and never felt at home. Ill at ease among Whigs, Tory grandees, and liberal intellectuals alike, Chamberlain once raged against John Morley, once a close friend, disparaging him because he was propertyless. A person of little tact and limited vision, it is little wonder that Chamberlain found everything unsatisfactory, that he was tough and aggressive, a

queer mixture of bluster and insecurity. Friends, family, and women were transfixed by his energy and his power, and they felt the intensity of his personality strongly. For his part, Chamberlain exacted unquestioned loyalty and obedience from them. This imposed tremendous emotional pressure on his friends, wives, and family members; in his long journey from Birmingham to Westminster, from radicalism to tariff reform, the crises in Chamberlain's political career were punctuated by disruptions in his personal relations. No one knew how far they could trust him. Beatrice Potter, who, like Morley and Jesse Collings, was powerfully drawn to him, got her man right when she asked whether his convictions were based on "honest experience and thought or were they originally the tool of ambition" (p. 228).

Chamberlain's genius as a politician lay in his conception of his urban-industrial roots. Business interest brought him into local politics, where his keen sense of marketing and accounting served him well. His greatest success was as mayor of Birmingham. There he forged an alliance between business and labor in the interest of conserving and harmonizing social policies. His sense of "zeal and system" (p. 139) had full play in a politics that was radical in analysis but moderate in substance.

Beyond Birmingham, however, his vision failed him. Even his economic sense left him because Chamberlain confused the complexities of a modern industrial economy with his more limited experience as a metal manufacturer. He was a successful administrator at the Board of Trade between 1880 and 1885, but he was blinded by his local experience. He tended to treat general issues as local problems, as exceptions that might be solved as he had solved them in Birmingham. As he moved away from his political duchy, Chamberlain also tended to neglect local supporters and political causes that were necessary for sustaining his political support.

Chamberlain attempted to show that a radical from the industrial hinterland with local values could make his mark at Westminster. Perhaps his greatest achievement as a national politician was to turn the attention of the leaders of both parties to national economic questions. He expanded, however, beyond what William Ewart Gladstone or Lord Salisbury or Arthur Balfour could accept, the traditional confines of British politics. In the last analysis Chamberlain could not bridge the social suspicions that dogged him from his early days in Parliament, through the Radical program, and into the Colonial Office and the campaign for tariff reform. As a result, he was instrumental in breaking two great political parties.

One way to treat Chamberlain's failure as a national politician is to regard him as a victim of that English culture that led to the decline of the industrial spirit and to cast blame on the Liberal and Conservative parties for failing to reject gentry values and embrace the values of Birmingham. But this makes claims for Birmingham or business values that cannot be sus-

tained. Even Chamberlain came to realize that what was at stake in politics, even when it came to empire, was not wealth but power. As Marsh makes clear, however, Chamberlain did not always understand his own priorities (p. 533). Burning with an inner rage, he did not fully grasp the function of intermediate structures in the political regime. In the general election of 1885 Chamberlain was astonished when workers were less socialist than he thought they should be and when affluent residential constituents, the sort of people he was, turned Tory. His own experience as a metal manufacturer gave him little insight into the great questions of national politics.

Finally, it must be said, there is something naive about Chamberlain's approach to politics. A progressive and stable regime requires politicians with a comprehensive social view to balance varied and conflicting interests. Only infrequently is policy a technical matter in which cost and profit can be readily reckoned. Matters of state require judgments for which general cultivation and coolness, qualities often associated with the Whigs whom Chamberlain so despised, are more valuable than the skills of wealth-producing business people.

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PADDY GRIFFITH. *Battle Tactics of the Western Front: The British Army's Art of Attack, 1916-18*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 286. \$30.00.

An interpretive dichotomy between denigrators and defenders of the decision makers of World War I has long characterized British historiography of the war; writers such as B. H. Liddell Hart, P. A. Thompson, Leon Wolff, Alan Clark, and Denis Winter have emphasized alleged bungling of the war, while John Terraine, Cyril Falls, Peter Simkins, Michael Howard, and Peter Liddle, to mention just a few, have taken up position in the opposite trenches. Paddy Griffith's study adds new grist to the mill of the latter side, setting out to demonstrate that British field tactics improved so dramatically after 1916 that, by the Hundred Days' campaign of 1918, British soldiering was about the best there was, rivaling even the best in World War II.

Griffith convincingly demonstrates solidly enhanced tactical performance beginning during the learning period of the Somme, including improved trench-raiding tactics, maturing artillery, use of the creeping barrage, improved counterbattery fire, constantly revised manuals, continuous training in advanced methods, and, most important, better all-arms coordination. Far from being hidebound and unbending, the British Army appears here remarkably open to innovation, learning lessons quickly, as for example in its early rejection of hand-grenade raiding tactics in favor of the rifle and bayonet. An increasingly sophisticated Royal Engineers Signals Service also receives much deserved credit.

Griffith takes brave aim at more than a few seemingly sacred views. He discounts the universally acclaimed central role of the tank at Cambrai and during the Hundred Days, and he impugns the much-heralded innovations of Lieutenant General Ivor Maxse. Less surprisingly, Liddell Hart suffers withering criticism.

Although Griffith, a former Sandhurst instructor, wields his diverse sources with professional dexterity, the informed reader may detect a curious overreliance on anecdotal validation from sources such as reminiscences and unit histories, both of which lend themselves to self-justification; this contrasts with his total neglect of the often more objective official war diaries archived in the Public Record Office (WO/95). For example, Griffith uncritically accepts the alleged success of the gas initiatives as presented in *Gas! The Story of the Special Brigade* (1927), a unit history written by Charles H. Foulkes, commander of the Special Brigade. He apparently missed my own reappraisal (*Chemical Soldiers: British Gas Warfare in World War I*, [1992]), showing Foulkes's claims to be self-serving and misleading. There is, furthermore, a noticeable overreliance on the experiences of one elite unit, the 9th (Scottish) Division. Griffith does not explain why, given so many alleged tactical improvements following the Somme, British attacks met with no greater success in Flanders in 1917. Nor does he show why the subsequent advances of the Hundred Days in 1918 should not be attributed as much to sheer German exhaustion and demoralization as to improved British tactics.

Nevertheless this is unquestionably an important book, filled with carefully reasoned insights and analyses. It is a must read for anyone concerned with the tactical side of British experience on the battlefields of the western front.

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PAMELA M. GRAVES. *Labour Women: Women in British Working-Class Politics, 1918-1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 271. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Pamela M. Graves's study of working-class women's efforts to influence Labour Party policies during the interwar period attempts too much, giving it a survey text quality wherein only superficial coverage of the issues that attracted working-class women activists is possible. Two hundred pages are insufficient for the investigation of such wide-ranging and controversial topics as the attempt to change the party's policies with respect to family allowances and the distribution of birth control information; rank-and-file versus party leader attitudes toward married women's right to work, equal pay for equal work, and protective/restrictive factory legislation; not to mention the divisive issues of the 1930s, including the Means Test, the United Front, the Spanish Civil War, and rearmament.

Yet Graves discusses all of these. Nor can two hundred pages suffice for a sophisticated treatment of the subtle interplay of class and gender solidarity among working-class women activists or the philosophical, ideological, and experiential rift between middle and working-class feminists; nor can it do justice to the tensions between Labour Party women who advocated a separate-but-equal status for women in the party and those who pushed for gender integration. Yet all this is covered, too.

The book's sources present additional complications. Graves attempts to combine such traditional materials as the minutes of national and constituency party conferences and meetings with the oral and written testimonies of 100 male and female working-class activists surviving from the interwar period. She says that she sought out living testimony so workers could speak for themselves; she says that their remembrances of the period at once "suggested and confirmed" her conclusions about why women were excluded from decisions affecting party policy (p. 224). She barely uses their contributions, however, and relies principally on the traditional sources in her endnotes. Yet the forty pages she devotes to analyzing the results of her contact with these people show promise. In fact, readers are left wishing Graves had abandoned her attempt to write a book about why working-class women never attained an equal voice to men's in the shaping of Labour Party policy in favor of producing one that examined the lives of these activists. The personal histories of these men and women raise provocative questions about how the stimuli that stir social consciousness and political activism in women differ from those that motivate men. Had she followed this path her research might have made a significant contribution to gender studies.

Graves has the evidence to support her conclusions about women's role in working-class politics in the 1920s and 1930s. She proves that women attained little influence on the national level but managed to make a difference on the local. She argues well that the reason for this was Labour's party constitution of 1918, which failed to integrate them into the party, and, ironically, that the women themselves bear partial responsibility for the exclusion because they opted at that time to maintain a separate organizational structure. Finally, she notes that no matter whether separation or integration had prevailed, a variety of socioeconomic and cultural factors made it all but impossible for more than a few women to enter the male-dominated inner sanctum of working-class politics, and then usually because they had sacrificed gender concerns to those of class. But needless to say, there is little surprising or new about any of this.

BARBARA J. BLASZAK
Le Moyne College

KIT JONES. *An Economist among Mandarins: A Biography of Robert Hall (1901-1988)*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 244. \$54.95.

Robert Hall was economic adviser to the British government for fourteen years, from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a particularly important period in the development of economic policy making in Britain in the twentieth century. Born in Queensland, Australia, the son of a mining engineer who owned a silver mine that failed in 1912, he studied engineering at the University of Queensland and went to Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship almost by chance in 1923 (p. 25). Except for short visits, he did not return to Australia for the rest of his long life. One of the earliest students to receive the new Philosophy, Politics and Economics (P.P.E.) degree, he became an Oxford don (fellow of Trinity College) and then a wartime civil servant, first in the Ministry of Supply in London and then, once the United States had entered the war, with the U.K. Raw Materials Mission in Washington.

Hall's postwar return to academic life was brief (and was combined with part-time work for the Board of Trade). In 1947 he succeeded James Meade as head of the Economic Section of the U.K. Cabinet Offices (established in 1941) when Meade decided to return to academia. By the time Hall retired in 1961 the Section had moved into the Treasury and Hall was Chief Economic Adviser to Her Majesty's Government. He had served eight Chancellors of the Exchequer in both Labour and Conservative administrations. His responsibilities covered all macroeconomic policy issues—monetary and fiscal, domestic and international—in the years when Britain had to adjust to its changed position in the world economy. His consistently influential advice drew on both economic theory, of a largely Keynesian variety, and a large personal fund of Australian directness and common sense.

The best parts of Kit Jones's short biography are the early chapters on the years in Australia, which utilize Hall's unfinished autobiography, and the later chapters on the years in Whitehall, for which Hall kept a diary. Jones completely overcomes the potential problem posed by the recent publication of the diary; with a judicious mixture of sources—the diary, the public records, and her own recollections of working with Hall—she builds an illuminating and affectionate portrait of the man while describing the many complex policy issues on which he advised. Two other portions of the book are less successful: there is inadequate discussion of Hall's writings and their contribution to the theoretical debates of the 1930s; and the two wartime chapters are rather dull, perhaps because Hall was not involved in the period's most interesting tasks for economists. There are also several mistakes about wartime developments in which he was not directly concerned (most notably on p. 63). These do not detract, however, from the achievement of the more substantial parts of this study of an important figure in postwar British economic and political history.

SUSAN HOWSON
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MEREDITH VELDMAN. *Fantasy, the Bomb, and the Greening of Britain: Romantic Protest, 1945–1980*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 325. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

The campaign that started in the late 1950s against Britain's possession of nuclear weapons failed in its objective but still managed to win mass support and world-wide publicity. Earlier writers on this movement, such as Richard Taylor and Colin Pritchard in *The Protest Makers* (1980), saw the obvious links between it and the environmental movement that followed. Both movements attracted the same high-minded middle-class audience, both tried to rein in the excesses of technology and the state, both used the same forms of popular protest. Meredith Veldman takes this comparison one step further. She links both the nuclear disarmament movement and the early Green movement to the fantasies of C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien.

As Veldman points out, these writers were not themselves part of either movement. Lewis, for instance, saw the atomic bomb as mad but dismissed the call for British unilateral disarmament as even madder (p. 61). The connection is in a common world view, a romantic tradition of protest. This tradition, as the author shows in her first chapter on the period before 1945, was characterized by opposition to technology, a notion that truth extends beyond the reach of the physical senses, and a struggle to rebuild community life that has gone awry.

The book is gracefully written and only rarely—as with the page-long footnote (p. 97) establishing the popularity of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950)—shows its origin as a dissertation. Veldman speaks with authority on each of the cultural developments she tries to connect, and even readers skeptical of her book's main thesis should find it a rich and subtle treatment. Her deft portraits of figures as diverse as G. D. H. Cole and E. F. Schumacher are especially well done. If one of her objectives is to clarify the values that helped shape middle-class culture in Britain after 1945, then her book is a success.

What of Veldman's thesis that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and the early environmental movement are linked to fantasy as part of a romantic protest tradition? Middle-earth and Narnia are certainly critiques of contemporary society in the romantic vein, and their popularity should say something about their middle-class readers. Can one go from there to argue, as Veldman does, that "anti-Bomb protestors sought to present an alternate vision of society (one that, it can be argued, was as much a fantasy as are Narnia and Middle-earth)" (pp. 304–05)? The appeal to past glories was there, of course, in CND's vision of Britain as a moral leader of the world guiding other nations into a non-nuclear future. In the same way, eco-activists might idealize the past and its simple technologies and farming methods. There is too much in both movements, however, to dismiss them as

backward-looking or based on fantasy. Veldman is careful not to weight her account unfairly. She gives a clear account of CND's economic, strategic, and political arguments while stressing its moral dimension. Her thesis, therefore, is a useful tool for analysis in a richly rewarding book.

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R. J. KNECHT. *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 612. \$69.95.

In 1982 R. J. Knecht published a study of Francis I and his reign. The present work is much more than a new edition of the earlier book. Knecht has incorporated the most recent scholarship, added new chapters and enlarged others, and occasionally altered or modified his interpretation. The result is a much bigger, lavishly illustrated book that completely supplants his earlier work. It should be in every research library and carefully studied by every student of the period. There is no comparable work in English, and Jean Jacquart's study in French, *François 1^{er}* (1981), with its social-economic emphasis, is so different that it complements rather than competes with this work. Knecht corrects the few factual errors in his earlier study and admits that some nobles were able to adjust to the changing economic conditions, but he persists in his belief that although suspicious of each other, "the crown and the towns worked together as allies" (p. 28).

Knecht is a careful and judicious historian who deals with every aspect of Francis's reign from the standpoint of Paris and the court. It is impossible to discuss all features of this far-flung study. I will therefore limit my comments to the treatment of absolutism and the general nature of the government. Knecht contends that Francis was theoretically an absolute monarch. A few lawyers and others made some outlandish statements about absolutism, but no one yelled louder than the judges when Francis wanted to do something they disliked. More important, a vast body of rarely articulated opinion that can be found in statements by the estates, towns, and similar groups clearly shows that their privileges held precedence. For most subjects Louis XII, the father of his people, reflected the true nature of kingship.

There is no doubt that Francis was a thoroughly selfish king, capable of arbitrary action and more than willing to run roughshod over the privileges of his subjects when they stood in his way. There were, however, practical limitations to what he could do. Knecht recognizes these limitations more clearly than in his previous works, and it leads him to describe Francis's reign as one of a "limited absolutism." He recognizes that Francis had only about 5,000 office-holders, but he never fully explains how he governed as an absolute, though limited, monarch with so little assistance. The answer probably lies in Francis's will-

ingness to give the vocal elements of the population most of what they wanted and his use of the bureaucracies of the estates, towns, and villages. The estates, especially, added to their officials, and new assemblies were born during his reign. Perhaps more important was the gradual replacement of the lord-vassal relationship by the patron-client relationship as the vertical tie holding society together. Knecht mentions clientage but never fully develops the concept. What is needed is a study of clientage in the depth that Sharon Kettering has done for a later period (*Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* [1986]). Francis was a strong monarch who usually got what he wanted from his subjects, but he did so by giving them most of what they wanted in return, and he made use of the instruments of government they developed. The growth of monarchical government was thus paralleled by the increased role of the people.

Knecht makes use of Philippe Hamon's doctoral thesis (1993) on the fiscal aspects of Francis's reign. Hamon saw Francis as responding to a given situation rather than being motivated by a program of administrative reform or monarchical centralization. This interpretation could apply to other aspects of his reign. Francis and his officials mentioned uniformity and centralization on several occasions, but they never made a concerted effort to achieve these goals. Rather, they governed through persuasion with occasional threats of force, and what fiscal changes did occur revealed their inherent weakness rather than their strength. In spite of my few reservations, which reflect my own biases, this interesting and valuable book merits our praise.

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AMY NELSON BURNETT. *The Yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline*. (Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies, number 26.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1994. Pp. ix, 244.

The years after World War II have featured a resurgence of interest in the enigmatic reformer, Martin Bucer, whose writings are now appearing in critical editions. His 500th birthday was observed in 1991 with appropriate scholarly and public festivities, and that same year this work by Amy Nelson Burnett won the Brewer Prize of the American Society of Church History. It includes one unquestionable benefit for scholarship and one substantial weakness. The benefit comes from its focus on the sources and the weakness from its interpretation of them.

Church discipline is Burnett's theme, and she pursues it by analyzing text after important text from Bucer's earliest published works in the 1520s through *De regno Christi*, which he completed just before his death while in exile in England. The author mines the works that have appeared in critical editions in the *Opera Omnia*, the *Täuferakten*, and, in particular, the

various studies by Werner Bellardi. She also has recourse to early editions and a few manuscript sources where necessary. She has thus walked a road that an entire generation has securely paved as well as made straight, at least to the extent possible given the subject.

In addition to being thorough, Burnett presents the material in eight substantive chapters (plus appropriate background and concluding remarks) that follow strictly chronological lines. As a result, the hurried reader can easily locate a text of interest and acquire useful orientation to it by way of the author's helpful summaries. Specialists will, of course, wish to consult the original texts themselves, but even those who wish only to use one or another quotation as a secondary reference might also be advised to see the originals. For example, "hoc est, ut credam illud ad me quoque pertinere" does not translate as "that is, to believe that this [absolution] also applies to me," but as "that is, so that I will [would] believe that this also applies to me" (p. 32 n. 27). This caveat notwithstanding, Burnett's work provides reliable expositions of the texts. If only for this reason, it is a valuable contribution.

Like much of the scholarship on Bucer, this book is unsatisfying at the level of interpretation. On the one hand, the overall interpretation is so general as to be of not much use. On the other hand, critiques of the preexistent fragmentary literature, although provocative, are not fully persuasive.

With respect to the first point, the repeated assertion that "Bucer's system of Christian discipline evolved" and that "many of the features . . . remained constant . . . but there were also significant developments" acquires little specificity with the added observation that his practices became more consistent with "the growing importance which Bucer accorded to the visible institutional church and its ministers," in particular with his emphasis on catechization, confirmation, and public confession (p. 217). There can be little wonder that in the final paragraph, Burnett is forced to embrace Jane Abray's simplistic view according to which the chief issue was whether the church or "the state [*sic*]" would have the upper hand in these matters. Thus, neither the authorities nor the laity could "see much difference between 'the papal yoke' of the Catholics and the 'yoke of Christ' as Bucer defined it" (p. 224). Although unstated, the old conclusion that Bucer failed while Calvin succeeded follows.

The most telling of the possible specifics within which Burnett attempts an advance over received opinion concerns the "Christian fellowships" of 1546–49. Here she argues against Werner Bellardi by insisting that they had not yet begun to function as such at the writing of *Von der Kirchen mengel vnnd fähl* (late 1546?). She in part contradicts this contention but does not observe that the question is irrelevant to the central issue in any event (p. 188 n. 35). If the undated, unpublished work was not a defense of existing practice (and much of its language suggests that it was), then it was a blueprint for what would happen and

indeed did happen very quickly. Much the same is true of her denial of Walther Köhler's depiction of the fellowships as a fundamental departure from Bucer's earlier teachings. Her argument cannot stand for the simple reason that she does not confront one simple fact: not just one but the majority of Bucer's fellow pastors considered the fellowships to be dangerously divisive innovations.

Thus, one more work, very useful in other respects, encounters serious difficulties in trying to defend the basic consistency and depth of Bucer's theology in the face of his practices and various expressions of it. Perhaps one day, the author of another useful study such as this will come to the obvious conclusion at base: Bucer was not a theologian but a churchman who could find plausible theological grounds for doing what appeared to be necessary at the time in order to achieve ecclesiastical objectives without scrupulous regard for theological niceties.

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ELIZABETH A. WILLIAMS. *The Physical and the Moral: Anthropology, Physiology, and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1850*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 281. \$64.95.

No one would dispute that French medicine in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has attracted ample attention from historians; they have constructed a familiar narrative of reform culminating in medical revolution, centered in Paris and coinciding roughly with the political revolution of the 1790s. But, as Elizabeth A. Williams points out, historians have concentrated on those developments (such as the Paris clinical school) that seem to have led in linear fashion to the modern paradigm of medical science. In contrast, she devotes this penetrating and theoretically sophisticated book to what became for later generations a scorned or forgotten loser rather than a celebrated precursor. Because the subject of her study did not evolve into a modern discipline, Williams cannot apply a twentieth-century label to it. Nor can she conveniently designate it simply by drawing on an eighteenth-century vocabulary, because even in its heyday it did not constitute a fully coherent and autonomous discipline. Hence the book's circumlocutory title. Indeed, Williams's enthusiasm for her task seems to owe as much to the methodological challenge of investigating a loose and fragmented tradition as to the more conventional ambition of filling a major lacuna in the historical literature. She needed, first of all, to reconstruct a continually shifting discursive field in the space where anthropology and physiology (which were to emerge in the nineteenth century as full-fledged disciplines, although in modified form) intersected with philosophical medicine (which did not, and which came to seem increasingly archaic). She

calls this field the "medical science of man," taking the phrase first given currency by Paul-Joseph Barthez, professor of medicine at Montpellier, and adding the qualifier "medical" to avoid confusion with the contemporaneous nonmedical discourses of the social sciences.

The medical science of man, Williams suggests, depended on four interrelated conceptual elements: a holistic view of the human person and of medicine; the conviction that the physical and moral are separate but intimately connected aspects of the person (from which followed an aversion to radical materialism); a perceived close linkage between medicine and society; and an interest in the ways in which human diversity produces certain recognizable types that cannot necessarily be derived from the laws of physical nature. Taken together, these principles constituted a kind of medical humanism (although Williams does not use that term), which was preoccupied with how humans fit into a larger universe, but which always insisted on their special status within it; which was wary of overly technical or specialized approaches to the study of humanity; and which was at least guardedly optimistic about the potential of both medical and nonmedical intervention to transform the individual and society, because neither was the mere product of natural forces beyond human control.

Williams devotes the bulk of her study to a narrative of the constitution, elaboration, and ultimate disintegration of this tradition, from its prerevolutionary roots in the vitalism of Old Regime Montpellier to its discrediting in the period following the Revolution of 1848, when a positivist medicine that emphasized clinical observation, statistics, experimental physiology, and pathological anatomy clearly gained the ascendancy. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to this complex and richly suggestive analysis, which unavoidably lacks a central thread. Williams explores both the many novel permutations of the medical science of man in the postrevolutionary era and the emergence of new and less congenial forms of medicine and physiology, together with a new positivist anthropology, perhaps the earlier tradition's clearest successor. She also points to what she sees as the continued influence of the older tradition, often unconscious or unacknowledged, in the second half of the century (in the work of Charcot, for example, or in the neo-Lamarckism of the anthropologists).

Readers will surely admire Williams's shrewdly perceptive commentaries on individual texts. If they hesitate to embrace the project as a whole, it will be because of her necessarily unconventional approach to an unconventionally defined topic. In a spirit of moderate antipositivism that recalls the methodological syncretism of some of the exponents of the medical science of man, she presents her work as both discourse analysis and an empirical study of a conscious tradition; it has elements of both a Foucauldian genealogy and an intellectual history of one aspect of Enlightenment thought and its nineteenth-century

fate. The genealogy analysis presents a kaleidoscopic array of positions and arguments that share only their rejection of metaphysical speculation on the one hand and pure materialist reductionism on the other. Some readers may be left wondering whether the intellectual history has a subject with enough coherence to sustain the narrative and enough determinative force so that one can speak of it as shaping such later developments as neo-Lamarckism. But Williams will compel even skeptics to reconceptualize the problem, on their own terms if not hers. Those who persist through the dense layers of analysis and pursue the multiple connections they reveal will be rewarded by seeing even familiar subjects in a new light. Where else, for example, could one find phrenology so neatly situated in the broader context of attempts to relate the physical to the mental? The journey Williams takes us on is well worth the effort.

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ISSER WOLOCH. *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1994. Pp. 536. \$35.00.

As its title suggests, this book by Isser Woloch is intended to take up where Alexis de Toqueville left off. Its aim is to describe the public order created in France in the decades after 1789 by the actions of successive revolutionary governments, the policies of the Napoleonic state in its several phases, and the compromises of the Restoration. Woloch is not interested in directly exploring the profound historical and philosophical conundrum that lay at the heart of *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*: the paradox that the French in reaching for democracy consistently fell into despotism. His account is nevertheless cast in terms of the fundamental Tocquevillean themes of continuity and discontinuity between the Old Regime and the new, and (above all) the growth of administrative centralization.

Woloch's premise is straightforward. "Sovereignty in France passed from the king to the nation in 1789, and from that revolutionary premise there could ultimately be no turning back. In practice, of course, this settled very little" (p. 21). Accordingly, Woloch seeks to describe what had been settled (at least in the "civic order") and how, by about 1830. To do so he follows the successive organizations and reorganizations, advances and retreats, improvisations and impasses in the institutions of political participation, local government (from the village level up), primary education, philanthropy and social welfare programs, the administration of justice (with excellent chapters on the elimination and subsequent reprofessionalization of the bar and the introduction of the jury system), and military conscription. He makes comprehensive use of the mass of recent research in the field on many specialized subjects and at the local and regional level,

and he draws very effectively on his own extensive archival investigations.

Remarkably, no previous work has surveyed this terrain in such detail and with such a broad chronological scope. The book to which Woloch's study may be most closely compared is Jacques Godechot's *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (1951). Woloch's focus is somewhat narrower—Godechot included financial and economic institutions, religious organization, and family legislation within his purview, in addition to the topics Woloch discusses—but his depth of field is much greater, his account more detailed, and the period he describes is longer. For the topics he discusses, scholars will find his work now much more informative than Godechot's and, of course, much more up to date. This will become an indispensable reference work for further research.

The question of the impact of successive revolutionary and postrevolutionary regimes on the countryside that held the mass of the population naturally looms large in this study. Stated in general terms, Woloch's conclusion is the relatively familiar one that the emancipatory impulses of 1789 eventually receded before an administrative centralization drawing on an "old-regime inheritance of state tutelage" (p. 427). But the interest of his work lies less in this general conclusion than in the variations and differentiations by which administrative centralization is shown to have taken the distinctive forms it did. How, for example, did villages (with their new mayors) remain the basic administrative units of the new regime despite frequent moves to consolidate them into larger entities? How did interest in primary education recede during the Napoleonic period, along with political participation? How did the emergency improvisation of the *levée en masse* prepare the way for the quite unanticipated innovation of regular conscription that was destined, perhaps more than any other institution Woloch discusses, to transform peasants into Frenchmen? To anyone interested in exploring such questions, this book now offers an invaluable starting point.

KEITH MICHAEL BAKER
Stanford University

SUSAN DUNN. *The Deaths of Louis XVI: Regicide and the French Political Imagination*. (Literature in History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 178. \$29.95.

The subject of this book is not the trial and death of Louis XVI or the changing image of that event in the historiography of the French Revolution. Susan Dunn focuses instead on the symbolic meaning of the death of Louis XVI in the works of Ballanche, Michelet, Lamartine, Quinet, Victor Hugo, and Albert Camus. These writers were chosen because they "stand among the principal creators and followers of the humanitarian credo that, for all its contradictions and unresolved tensions, is ours still today. Whether on the right or the left of the liberal political spectrum, these were ideal-

ists dedicated to the creation of a just society . . . to uniting politics and morality" (p. 5). The grounds for excluding from consideration other writers or historians who were equally dedicated to a just political order are not clear.

Dunn is at her best when presenting close readings of texts to demonstrate the uses made by these authors of the divisive event of the death of Louis XVI and the way it prompted their yearning for community and national healing despite their support for the Revolution. With his death, another human being was needed to represent the nation. Michelet invented the "new democratic myth of Joan of Arc" (p. 44) and used the notion of sacrifice in his vision of nationalism. Hugo's work, according to Dunn, was shaped by the horror at Louis's death, leading him to reject the use of violence for political ends, to deplore all politics, and to become "more committed to the salvation of a human soul than to the establishment of a just social order" (p. 136). This theme is continued in the discussion of Camus, who "came to feel that unity was preferable to division and conflict" and who wanted justice to be founded on compassion and "solidarity" (p. 148).

Dunn's remarks on the nature of historical writing and the uses of history are commonplace, and her conclusions about political thought are often misleading. Ballanche's novel *L'homme sans nom* (1820), for example, is discussed in the context of the history of the Restoration, and Dunn suggests that the author was reflecting on the controversial election of the Abbé Grégoire (which occurred in 1819, not 1818 as Dunn writes). But her discussion is confusing because she assumes that there were only two political groups, liberals and conservatives. Conservatives are described as opposing the seating of Grégoire, yet Guizot, not generally considered a conservative, is included in opposition. Although in the introduction Ballanche is misleadingly described as a liberal, here he is described as being to the right of Guizot, who was "at the center of the political spectrum" (p. 112). Dunn does not define what she means by "liberal," although she seems to use the term interchangeably with "progressive." Such lack of precision is in part a result of poor writing, but it also stems from an ahistorical attempt to bring together writers of quite different types and from widely different times. This book will therefore be of more interest to students of literature than to historians.

SYLVIA NEELY
Saint Louis University

MORRIS SLAVIN. *The Hébertistes to the Guillotine: Anatomy of a "Conspiracy" in Revolutionary France*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. Pp. xvii, 280. \$37.50.

As one of a declining number of French revolutionary historians who still writes the word "masses" with an unrepentant sense of reverence and a wistful lump in the throat, Morris Slavin is fundamentally sympathetic

to *sans-culotte* spokesman Jacques-René Hébert as a revolutionary figure who, despite his many faults, was able to play a role in "raising the political consciousness of the masses and encouraging their participation in government" (p. 255). But rather than devoting much attention to substantiating this proposition or to answering his own "essential question" of the extent to which Hébert and his faction truly "promoted, defended and expressed the aspirations and interests" of Parisian working people (p. 7), Slavin's primary concern is to demonstrate the iniquity of the judicial proceedings through which the Hébertistes and some of their allies in the popular movement were liquidated in March 1794. With flawed heroes like Hébert, who is ultimately described as "if not quite admirable, still deserving of respect" (p. 255), Slavin's principal way of breaking through to moral high ground is to roundly denounce the "abusive" and "slandorous" machinations of the "bourgeois" Jacobin government that sent the Hébertistes to their death.

Anxious to eliminate the Parisian sectional movement as an independent political force and to neutralize popular agitation against bourgeois interests, Slavin presents Robespierre and Saint-Just as having concocted and successfully engineered "a frame-up pure and simple" that "had nothing to do with judicial process" (p. 263). For while Slavin concedes that Hébert and his friends had indeed launched a vague and naive call for a popular insurrection against the revolutionary government, he insists, in the manner of defenders of accused conspirators from time immemorial, that no concrete steps were ever taken to actualize that call, a legal nicety that could hardly have had much of a bearing in the frenetic and overheated atmosphere of the Year II. Moreover, Slavin is particularly incensed by the technique of "amalgamation" used by the government to blacken the reputation of the accused by linking them to common criminals and counterrevolutionaries, although the impact of this point is vitiated by his efforts to portray these latter individuals as themselves innocent victims of the nefarious Jacobins.

Slavin's moralistic condemnation of the repressive mechanisms and political maneuvers employed against the Hébertistes revives, in a curious way, many of the arguments and much of the rhetoric traditionally deployed by royalist and antirevolutionary critics of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety, even to the point of invoking horrifying parallels between Jacobinism and Stalinism and bemoaning a "cynicism" that has been "hardly equaled until our own century" (p. 263). Although this generally well-researched work provides a good deal of useful information and analysis regarding the factional struggles of the Year II and is particularly illuminating in tracing the murky origins of the deadly conflict between Hébertistes and Dantonistes, the author's efforts to shape his material into a political morality play featuring Robespierre as

arch-villain detract from its value as a reliable historical study.

BARRY SHAPIRO
Allegheny College

MICHAEL P. FITZSIMMONS. *The Remaking of France: The National Assembly and the Constitution of 1791*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 273. \$59.95.

Historiography on the French Revolution has often been preoccupied with origins and outcomes or concerned with charting the course toward the Terror. Michael P. Fitzsimmons leaves these issues aside and makes a case for the importance of the early revolution on its own terms. For Fitzsimmons, the essence of the revolution was the institutional transformation of a society divided by corporate privileges into a unitary, sovereign nation dedicated to the public good. Implicitly, the author argues that equitable laws were able to transcend divisions of class during the early revolution and bind people together as citizens.

According to Fitzsimmons, the rejection of privilege was the product of events that began only with the calling of the Estates General. Noble intransigence forced the largely moderate Third Estate to take the unforeseen measure of constituting themselves as the National Assembly. The merging of the orders that followed did not actually make much difference until the nobility renounced a host of prerogatives on the night of August 4. That act created an "overwhelming sense of union" among the orders (p. 56).

Although patriotic intensity waned a bit now and then, for the most part the National Assembly successfully accomplished its goal of creating a more just society. Oligarchic municipal governments and costly judicial courts were abolished and new governing bodies were chosen by election. The assembly established one of the most progressive franchises of the time, a testimony to its democratic spirit. The enthusiastic response from the provinces revealed that the National Assembly represented the people and not merely an aristocracy of wealth.

The work of the National Assembly brought about "perhaps the most thoroughgoing, virtually bloodless revolution in history" (p. 216). The revolution was unable to consolidate the benefits of this period primarily because the king would not support the new regime. According to Fitzsimmons, the Terror was never implicit in this stage of the revolution. On the contrary, the National Assembly was tolerant toward those with opposing points of view.

Fitzsimmons's research is supported by a prodigious amount of archival material, including parliamentary debates, pamphlets, and personal memoirs. His work provides a helpful corrective to teleological views of the revolutionary process. Nonetheless, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that he has chosen to tell us the easy part of the story. Although the author claims that the rejection of privilege began only in the fall of 1788,

no mention is made of Charles Alexandre de Calonne's earlier proposal to set up provincial assemblies without distinction by order. The immense problems posed by the impending bankruptcy are passed over; surprisingly, Jacques Necker never appears in the book. Two of the most problematic acts of the National Assembly—the half-hearted abolition of seigneurialism and the seizure of church lands—get scant attention, while the role of the silver mark in establishing eligibility to become a national deputy is not brought up. Although Fitzsimmons sets up his study as largely an internal analysis of the National Assembly, he chooses not to consider the question of factions within this body or its response to Parisian crowds and popular politics. Although these issues do not necessarily negate his conclusions, they do suggest that the work of the National Assembly was fraught with far more tension than Fitzsimmons conveys.

GAIL BOSSENGA
University of Kansas

PETER SAHLINS. *Forest Rites: The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 115.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 188. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

In May 1829, the French public and authorities heard the first news of peasant bands "armed and disguised as women" frightening forest guards and charcoal-makers in the mountains of Ariège, in the Pyrenees. The mountaineers were trying to defend their forests and their rights of usage from intrusive ironworks, from charcoal-burners that served the ironmasters, and from guards applying a new Forest Code instituted in 1827 that restricted the peasants' ancestral rights to gather firewood, harvest timber, and pasture animals in the local woods.

Source of subsistence and of meager income, the forest was central to the peasant way of life, permitting use and cash-cropping of foodstuffs, firewood, and ashes (used in making soap), and above all stockraising. No forest, no livestock; no livestock, no manure or market income, source of essential cash. Their livelihood at risk, the peasants had risen to defend it by threats, rough music, aggression, marches, and rebellious gatherings. Forges, cabins, châteaux, were ravaged and put to flame by guerrilla gangs lightly disguised as women (hence the appellation *Demoiselles*). Protected by the connivance of their neighbors, few were caught, fewer judged, let alone convicted. The subversion worked, and the rebels were lucky. In the aftermath of the July Revolution of 1830, the new government opted for conciliation: the Forest Code was amended, pasture rights were recognized, amnesty granted. By 1831, the War of the *Demoiselles* petered out. Rebellious peasants continued to tie kerchiefs round their heads and let dubiously white shirts hang outside their trousers, proclaiming themselves *Demoiselles* to the century's end. But rebellion abated, and its memory faded, to be revived only in the past score

years as folklore, by movies, comic strips, exhibitions, and scholarly research.

This is the story that Peter Sahlin tells, placing it in the context of local and national politics (the former on the sparse side), and of peasant custom and ritual—the “forest rites” of his title: carnival, *charivaris*, feasts, the status and mythic identities of women, the role of young and unmarried men in asserting communal rights and meting out rough justice. His speculations are not consistently convincing but their setting is, and one would like more of it. And the work as a whole intrigues, informs, suggests. Sahlin has given us an engaging book that is easy to read and tempting to ponder.

EUGEN WEBER
University of California,
Los Angeles

JOHN G. HUTTON. *Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France*. (Modernist Studies.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 276. \$37.50.

John G. Hutton provides a detailed study of how anarchist and socialist theories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relate to Neo-Impressionism. To a lesser degree, he analyzes how contemporary scientific thought influenced Georges Pierre Seurat and his followers. The overall intent is to place the Neo-Impressionists in the flux of changing political values as the Third Republic moved toward industrialization while repressing efforts by anarchists and syndicalists to introduce such workers' rights as the eight-hour day. Hutton's thesis is that the Neo-Impressionists failed to find “solid ground” through their rigorous technique and that they fell away from the cause of helping workers establish a new social order because of their own need to survive in the new market economy. The original “synthesis” that these painters sought to achieve, “in which realism is forcibly fused with the ideal” (p. 246), was thus foiled.

Hutton's thorough research provides a chronology that situates the Neo-Impressionists in relation to the main artistic and political events in France between 1870 and 1905. Voluminous footnotes and an extensive bibliography make this work a useful tool for scholars of the period. Although this book opens with a study of eight individuals who participated in the Neo-Impressionist movement and were mostly anarchist sympathizers, it frequently loses sight of these artists. The main focus is not Neo-Impressionism as such but late-nineteenth-century social theory about art and social commentary in art, including the “unconscious” social criticism of Jean-François Millet and the “activism” of such contemporaries as Vincent Van Gogh and the Italian Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo.

The chapter on anarchism opens with a litany of terrorist *attentats* in Europe and America (p. 47), thus reinforcing the stereotype of anarchists as criminals. The historical circumstances behind these acts of

“propaganda by deed” are not given until page 68, and even then the chronological link with the bombings is not clearly established. But this chapter is full of facts concerning anarchism and its relation to literature and art, as are subsequent chapters concerning *art social*, utopianism, and socialist endeavors to bring workers and artists together in educational *maisons du peuple*.

Hutton states early on that he is more interested in the way Neo-Impressionism developed after Seurat's death than in the work of its founder. Yet he finds the “dead-pan” irony in Seurat's paintings of urban life, from *Grande-Jette* to *Circus*, the most authentic social commentary. The other Neo-Impressionists “tended to smooth out the deliberate ambivalences” in Seurat (p. 133), resulting in the simple illustrations of proletarian life by Maximilien Luce or the utopian visions of Henri-Edmond Cross and Paul Signac. Short shrift is made of others in the movement, such as Charles Angrand. After Angrand's return to Normandy in 1896, Hutton claims, he devoted himself “to endless charcoal sketches on the joys of motherhood” (p. 243); he may not be familiar with Angrand's luminous pastels of laboring Norman peasants (a Neo-Impressionist Millet, as it were).

Addressing social issues in a complex historical period, Hutton focuses on subject matter in painting; little attention is given to the main concern of the Neo-Impressionists, their search for a new aesthetic theory and a technique born of a scientific, industrial age. Whether their approach was in fact revolutionary and how it pertains to anarchist theory and activism is left unexplored. This lacuna is remedied in part by an appendix reprinting Paul Signac's “Impressionists and Revolutionaries,” which first appeared in *La Revolté* in June 1891.

Despite his subtitle, Hutton's concluding arguments pertain not to anarchism but to socialism and prototypes of social realism in art. He contrasts the failures of the Neo-Impressionists with Constantin Meunier's statue of an ideally self-possessed *Puddler* (1884) and the photorealism of *Fourth Estate* (1898), painted by Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo in response to a massacre of workers in Milan. Hutton raises useful questions about the role of art for the working class. He faults the Neo-Impressionists, except Maximilien Luce, for creating works of high art appreciated by the bourgeois elite rather than the laborers with whom these artists sympathized (although they donated their art works to auctions to benefit labor movements). See the appendix for Signac's response.

JOAN UNGERSMA HALPERIN
Saint Mary's College of California

B. D. GRAHAM. *Choice and Democratic Order: The French Socialist Party, 1937–1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 430. \$69.95.

This informative study is less a narrative history of the French Socialist Party in the years 1937–50 than a detailed comparison of two party crises: the power

struggle of 1937–38, after the fall of the Popular Front government, and the postwar contest for power of 1946. In the first crisis the Léon Blum–Paul Faure party leadership retained control against leftist dissidents; in the second Daniel Mayer, Blum's protégé, lost control to Guy Mollet and a heterogeneous group of dissidents. B. D. Graham has an admirable grasp of the French political scene, and he provides an ambitious theoretical infrastructure to illuminate the nature of "factional politics." Although the theoretical formulations seem somewhat strained, historians will find the study as a whole to be a penetrating inquiry into the French Socialist Party's structure, functioning, doctrinal ambiguities, personality clashes, and relationships with other parties during these years, set in a meaningful broader context. Graham, moreover, has energetically tracked down the relevant documents, many at the level of the party's departmental federations, and has effectively used a wide variety of secondary accounts as well.

In 1937–38 Marceau Pivert and the Gauche Révolutionnaire—heirs to a long line of "romantic revolutionaries" who believed that revolutions could be ignited if only the masses were aroused and mobilized—overstepped the generous bounds of dissent that the party permitted, and the leadership crushed the incipient rebellion. But the party never at the time repudiated its attachment to the class-struggle orientation of the Jules Guesde-inspired charter of 1905, and despite Blum's efforts never fully accepted its parliamentary and governmental role. In the crisis of 1946, eight momentous years later, the attempt by Blum and Mayer to win the party over to a more humanistic socialism, and to an explicit commitment to parliamentary and governmental responsibilities, failed, and the hard-line Mollet replaced Mayer as secretary general. In each case, frustration with the consequences of the party's governmental responsibilities as well as troubled relations with its parliamentary partners—the Radicals and the Communists in the first instance, the Mouvement Républicain de Populaire and the Communists in the second—contributed to the tide of dissent. Graham sees the second crisis as more of a factional or power struggle than the first, but the doctrinal issue surely was also important. In 1946 the opportunity to revise the party's doctrine passed, not to return until almost a quarter of a century later, under François Mitterrand's leadership, and under very different circumstances.

Why Graham selected (or agreed to accept) the book's title is puzzling. The subtitle, however, more clearly communicates the contents and scope of the volume, and its historically oriented political analysis, which provides considerable information and insight. Perhaps closer attention deserves to be paid in the first crisis to Trotskyism and to revolutionary syndicalism, and for both the interwar and postwar years alike to the undercurrents of anti-Semitism within the party. The focus might also have been sharpened on the haunting rivalry with the French Communist Party—

the conscious or subconscious reason why so many French Socialists clung so long to anachronistic shibboleths.

JOEL COLTON
Duke University

SANTIAGO CASTILLO, editor. *Solidaridad desde abajo*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos. 1994. Pp. 567.

An object of growing interest on the part of historians and social scientists in recent years has been mutual benefit societies, that is, voluntary associations of individuals intent on insuring themselves against the hardships of illness, unemployment, and other unforeseen personal calamities. Among the notable initiatives undertaken to further this study was the conference on the history of mutual aid in Spain held in Madrid in 1992. The thirty-two papers presented there compose the volume under review and together they represent the first comprehensive investigation of the phenomenon in Spain. Their authors have sought both to uncover basic information about the aid societies, such as membership, organization, and benefits actually provided, and to establish the place of these societies in the general economic and social fabric of modern Spain. The studies encompass an immense variety of organizations and cover regions and cities all over the country.

The papers provide valuable insights, first of all, into the origins of mutual benefit societies. A number of authors have linked their formation to the disintegration of the old regime as liberal economic doctrines and industrialization brought substantial social change. They show how artisans and journeymen, in particular, faced with the decline and disappearance of the guilds, were anxious to save the social benefits they had received under the guild system, and it is evident that many of the benefit societies established beginning in the 1850s and 1860s grew out of the guilds, some even preserving old bylaws and ceremonies, as Jorge Uría González points out in his study of mutualism in Asturias. Other authors draw attention to the deeper roots of the benefit societies. For example, Elena Sánchez de Madariaga, who analyzes the "brotherhoods of aid" in eighteenth-century Madrid, or Elena Maza Zorrillo, who surveys the general course of Spanish mutualism in the nineteenth century, see the benefit societies as spontaneous acts of self-protection in an age when the state had yet to assume the responsibilities of social security. Still other authors warn against making too easy a connection between supposedly natural tendencies toward solidarity and modern mutualism and point to the initiatives taken by factory owners and the Catholic church to establish benefit societies.

It is evident from most of the papers that mutual benefit societies had a wide appeal among the working classes of the cities. Yet not all kinds of workers joined them in equal numbers. As Mariano Esteban de Vega points out in his study of mutualism in Salamanca,

master artisans, journeymen, and better-paid workers with steady jobs were in the majority. Many other societies had a mixed membership, as in the Basque region, where, according to Antonio Rivera Blanco, workers indeed predominated, but class lines were blurred and no professional restrictions on membership existed. There were also benefit societies for women, which were formed mainly after 1900; for the middle class, such as those organized by journalists in various cities; and for the rural population, especially in Catalonia, where Ramón Arnabat Mata emphasizes their varied community functions. All the authors make clear that the primary reason for being of the societies, regardless of origins and membership, was to provide their members and, to a lesser extent, their families with social insurance, which usually took the form of small sums paid to those who were temporarily unable to work because of illness or accident. The societies also covered funeral expenses, but they rarely had the resources to offer support for permanent disability or retirement.

In assessing the importance of the societies, the authors go beyond questions of insurance. They show how some took direct action in labor and other economic matters, thus, in effect, serving as labor unions; how others helped to organize community life or provided educational and cultural opportunities; and how all, in one way or another, heightened their members' sense of solidarity, which led to other forms of collective action later on. Valuable, too, are their discussions about the relationship between mutualism and the labor movement. Several authors perceive a direct link between labor unions and benefit societies, whereas others wonder whether the kind of solidarity promoted by the societies, in fact, hindered the growth of class consciousness.

This admirable collection of studies shows what mutual benefit societies actually were and not merely what their bylaws said they were. Their authors have emphasized the societies' great diversity of form and function and have thus offered new definitions of mutualism and suggested new approaches to the myriad questions it raises not only in Spain but in Europe as a whole.

KEITH HITCHINS
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Urbana-Champaign

J. L. PRICE. *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 312. \$52.00.

There is room for a new constitutional history of the United Provinces. R. Fruin wrote the last one, in a rather difficult Dutch, almost a century ago. There is also room for a handbook explaining what were the proper functions of a *baliuw* or a *schout*. S. J. Fockema Andreae provided such a handbook a generation ago, but again it is in Dutch, and Fockema Andreae did not

ask all he might have of his material. It is not clear to me that J. L. Price, aiming at both targets, has hit either one. He does indeed tell us what a *baliuw* and a *schout* were. He is right to emphasize the importance of religion in seventeenth-century Dutch life, noting the care with which the regent patriciate sought to prevent the clergy from giving political sermons. But what about the role of newspapers and pamphlets, which are not discussed? Again, Price is correct in pointing out that any leader, whether Prince of Orange or Grand Pensionary, neglected the republic's most important taxpayer, Amsterdam, at his peril. But just how did the leader of the day work with the city? We are told nothing of what the grand pensionaries Pauw, Cats, Fagel, and Heinsius did. Heinsius, surely not the least important Dutch statesman of the century, does not even get an entry in the index.

When F. W. Maitland wrote his great *Constitutional History of England* (1908), he was careful to avoid the moments of crisis and organized his chapters so as to discuss the more placid years between crises. Maitland had twenty generations to work with, as Price does not. Instead of discussing the entire history of the republic, he has chosen to limit himself to a single century, and within that century to the single province of Holland. Within that province, Price concentrates with almost manic ferocity on the crises of 1618 and 1650. That is all very well in its way. The crises in 1618 and 1650 were exciting and both of them left deep scars, but they are not the whole story. It might perhaps have been useful to include a chapter on Maitland. And it simply is not good enough to state flatly that the naval administration was corrupt and then pass on without further comment. Why five admiralties? Did they cooperate or did they not? For all practical purposes the book ends in 1650, which does not seem fair to de Witt or to William III, or to the reader.

STEPHEN B. BAXTER
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

MARK U. EDWARDS, JR. *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 225. \$40.00.

Mark U. Edwards, Jr., has, in the course of three books, emerged as one of the experts on printing as a source for the history of the Reformation and the career of Martin Luther. Edwards's previous works treated Luther's relations with "false brethren" who challenged him on theological issues and Luther as a polemicist who used the press in the service of the politics of religious faith. Almost inevitably, he has now come to the strengths and weaknesses of the printed text itself. His case study is Strasbourg, 1520-25, with particular reference to the messages directed to residents of Strasbourg and their responses to them as evidence of what they received. Edwards makes a compelling argument for taking printed materials seriously even as others have turned to one form or another of pictorial evidence.

Edwards's evidence consists of Luther's works and the responses to them, both positive and negative, that came off the presses of Strasbourg. He divides the material into imprints through 1520, the problems Catholics faced in replying to Luther, and what Luther's supporters made of him. For his first case study, Edwards focuses on the perils inherent in appealing to the Scriptures alone once the texts themselves were available. The prevalence of prefaces to each book of the Bible suggests at a minimum that although the Scriptures may have been authoritative, they were not necessarily persuasive to all. His second case study centers on the Catholic response, chiefly from Jerome Emser, to the Peasants' War. No matter Luther's intent, Edwards concludes, both Emser and those who spoke for the peasants were able to use Luther's defiance of authority to pin responsibility for the uprising on him and his followers.

Edwards concludes with a "revised narrative" that first emphasizes Luther's appeal to lay religion, by which he generated widespread popular support. Only after this first phase did it become apparent to readers that Luther intended fundamental changes in the teachings and practices of Christianity as they knew it. Finally, in 1524–25 they came to know Luther the polemicist (via the Sacramentarian Controversy) and the social revolutionary (as a result of the Peasants' War). The result was a genuine crisis in the notion of scriptural authority and a diminution of interest in Luther's works. The revised narrative lacks the biographical detail familiar to modern readers, but it adds the genuine confusion that surrounded Luther in his own time. Edwards thus moves his readers back to the sixteenth century and provides a sense of how a literate resident of Strasbourg might have experienced what we call "the Reformation."

Readers should nonetheless approach this book with care for two reasons, one perhaps minor and the second of greater importance. In the first place, Edwards does not fully draw on the conclusions of David V. N. Bagchi (*Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–25* [1991]) in seeking to account for the relative failure of Catholics to respond to Luther in print. They were, to be sure, hampered by a lack of patrons, as Emser, Johannes Cochlaeus, and Johannes Eck constantly complained. But Luther needed no patrons. As Edwards himself points out, even the one patron the Catholics had, Duke George of Saxony, had to force the printers in Leipzig and Dresden to issue Catholic propagandists' works, for the simple reason that few would buy them. Their backgrounds as scholastic theologians, a putative decision to address elites, and a ban on discussing doctrine with the laity—all introduced by Edwards as possible explanations for the relative failure of Catholics to print in the vernacular—pale into insignificance by comparison with Bagchi's observation that they were ordered to defend the authority of the church and ignore all other issues. They had no arguments to make until the Peasants' War handed

them one that was made to fit their impossible situation. Even then, they were reduced to a version of "Anyone who attacks any authority attacks all authority."

Finally, Edwards's concluding admonition that scholars "must pay at least as much attention to the context of its readers . . . as to the text that they read" (p. 173) is not unquestionably true, because it does not allow for simple misreading, whether as a result of incomprehension, laziness, or outright mendacity. Authors and readers of texts have intentions as well as contexts. Emser, for instance, was most unlikely to write a book concluding that Luther bore no responsibility for fomenting the Peasants' War.

JAMES M. KITTELSON
Ohio State University,
Columbus

BARBARA KRUG-RICHTER. *Zwischen Fasten und Festmahl: Hospitalverpflegung in Münster 1540–1650*. (Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags, number 11.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1994. Pp. 367. DM 148.

The title of Barbara Krug-Richter's book conveys the problematic situation of early modern German hospital inmates, constrained between fast and feast in both a religious and economic sense. Krug-Richter analyzes quantitatively and qualitatively the dietary regimen (fast, feast, and everyday) of two charitable institutions in Münster (Westphalia) during the long sixteenth century. She thus seeks to shed further light on the daily lives of the poor, as they were defined in the sixteenth century, and she relates various problems concerning their diet to ecclesiastical-religious demands and economic constraints in northwestern Germany.

The major sources for the study are the fairly rich records of the *Magdalenenhospital* and the *Leprosorium in Münster-Kinderhaus* preserved in the Stadtarchiv Münster. The sources are not adequate to establish the absolute per-capita figures for diet in these institutions and permit only a limited comparison of the diets of two groups of inmates, domestic servants and day-workers. Krug-Richter nevertheless reconstructs an accurate account of what was provided for boarders as a group on a daily basis between the 1540s and the 1630s.

Readers interested in the history of diet and charitable institutions will be very pleased with this book. Krug-Richter's microanalysis reveals the human meaning of feasting and fasting. Moreover, she fills a gap in the literature by emphasizing how diet reflected contemporary religious views. Ample graphs and tables illustrate her findings.

The major contribution of this book is that it shows what hospital inmates experienced on a daily basis under a quasi-monastic regimen. For example, on the more important holidays inmates received a multiplicity of dishes and larger portions. In these hospitals two meat or fish dishes were served at the main meal, in the

preferred manner (roasted rather than boiled), and special breads and wines or beers were distributed. Furthermore, this book lays certain myths to rest: Westphalians ate more beef than pork, and they consumed more bread than gruel. The reader will find a veritable treasure trove of information about specific meats, grains, vegetables, spices, and beverages.

Krug-Richter also explores dietary trends during the long sixteenth century. The amount of special foods declined. Fewer holidays were celebrated. Even the vigils of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost were curtailed. Krug-Richter speaks of the "desacralization" of many saints' days and a "normalization" of feast diet (pp. 260, 282), implicating the changing religious feelings of the period. The evidence for such a causal explanation, however, is not as clear as the trends themselves. Moreover, Krug-Richter also indicates that rising prices probably had a causal role in the trends, which further weakens the argument for religious causation. Unfortunately she does not show statistical relationships between prices and food trends.

The records of these two hospitals also provide valuable examples of how such institutions were supported. The *Magdalenenhospital* depended heavily on the older form of land management known as *Eigenwirtschaft* as well as on management through lease-holding peasants. It is significant that mills held in *Eigenwirtschaft* consistently yielded about 40 percent of the income in grain. In contrast, the *Leprosorium* depended more on lease-holding peasants and, being well endowed, functioned as something of a "town bank" (p. 99) whose debtors included burghers, guilds, towns, and nobles.

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REGINA SCHULTE. *The Village in Court: Arson, Infanticide, and Poaching in the Court Records of Upper Bavaria, 1848-1910*. Translated by BARRIE SELMAN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 199. \$74.95.

Regina Schulte's book reveals "not so much . . . how life was lived in Upper Bavarian villages in the nineteenth century, but rather . . . how villagers experienced these conditions." The author focuses on three "exemplary areas"—arson, infanticide, poaching—in demonstrating how "human individuality was at once anchored in the material and symbolic order of this traditional society and instrumental in this society's creation, maintenance, and further development" (p. 197). By fixing on instances—crimes—where peasant life "dissolv[ed] into disorder," Schulte shows how the "social culture" of village life reproduced itself (p. 11).

Crime, of course, has often been used as a historical wedge. Schulte argues that when people "fell out" of the village structure—when they became arsonists, murderers of their own children, and poachers—they

came before the "bourgeois courts." The resulting testimony "reveal[ed] part of the inner life of the village." At this point—when the village appeared "in court"—bourgeois society penetrated peasant society and, moreover and more important, a "process of norm setting from outside" began (p. 198).

The book is divided into three sections, in which each crime is closely analyzed in terms of certain key aspects: work, village life, and family life. Arson is exposed as a crime of revenge in which the arsonist used fire to resolve conflict, typically to rectify a perceived injury. A younger brother might, for example, protest the wrong done him by setting the heir's barn or mill ablaze. But this crime, according to Schulte, had no political dimension. It was not a form of social protest, rather it was a deed that reconstructed the arsonist's ego and thus fulfilled a "cathartic function" by reestablishing a lost inner equilibrium.

Infanticide offers another set of perspectives on village life. Curiously, the "moral dimension" was not pronounced. Maids who bore illegitimate children were not necessarily ostracized, nor did they become unmarriageable. An industrious dairymaid could get away with illegitimate births as long as she did not disrupt the routine of work or set her cap at the rich farmer's son. The village in fact prejudged those who committed infanticide and the decisive factors were "the woman's previous reputation, her conduct, and her position within the village community" (p. 117). Here, as with arson, the meaning of the household and the tensions among the propertied, the less-propertied, and the propertyless emerge as the crucial elements.

Poaching is altogether more complicated. Peasant resentment over game and hunting laws was ancient. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, hunting was no longer the nobility's exclusive right. Still, poaching persisted because it was part of a "fantasy" involving both the freedom of young males and their rite of passage through puberty and into the safe harbor of marriage. Here Schulte deconstructs the poaching and hunting songs that mirrored, built, and then socially reproduced this fantasy.

This quick summary of Schulte's book by no means does justice to the manifold ways in which the author shows "how peasant society worked." Yet the very richness and scope of the analysis raise some questions. One wonders, for example, if Schulte's argument—that bourgeois and peasant societies were alien to one another—is sound. The point is perhaps most clearly made in her treatment of how bourgeois "mad-doctors" pathologized the motives of arsonists. But were villagers themselves unable to define madness? And what about that judgmental "bourgeoisie"? Schulte very carefully traces the splits in village society, but she presents the bourgeoisie as a monolith. And despite her care in documenting the differences among cottagers, farm servants, and farmers, she still ascribes one mentality to "the village." None of these questions, however, implies serious criticism of a fine

work. One wonders why, however, the press chose to produce such a good book so poorly. The text is printed in a tiny font, block quotes almost require a magnifying glass to read, and the volume lacks a bibliography and an index.

MARY LINDEMANN
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MARY NOLAN. *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 324. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Mary Nolan's book explores in detail two facets of Weimar Germany's quest for modernity: the nation's love-hate relationship with America and the "rationalization movement" that many Germans hoped would help restore the country's economy in the aftermath of World War I. The first six chapters deal with the efforts of individual Germans to understand the secrets of America's economic success, and to determine their applicability to the German scene. Of particular interest are the chapters that analyze Germany's fascination with Taylorism and Fordism (chap. 4) and describe German ambivalence about the perceived "cultural consequences" of Americanization (chap. 6). In part 2, Nolan analyzes various efforts to modernize German industry and German life. Chapter 7, on "productivism," and chapter 10, on the rationalization of housework, are particularly valuable, largely because Nolan has used new sources, including material she found in company archives. Chapters 5 and 9, on German work and on "Engineering the New Worker," seem rather more derivative. Although chapter 9, which focuses on the German Institute for Technical Training (Dinta), does provide new and useful details, it adds little of substance to what we already know. Unaccountably, Nolan fails to pursue systematically her Americanization theme in this chapter. It would surely have been appropriate, for example, to explore the influence of the American experience on such aspects of Dinta company social policy as the use of company newspapers.

Nolan's overall concern with German perceptions of modernization in America makes excellent sense. She points out herself, however, that the American model did not appeal to Weimar Germans in its entirety. Rather, it provided "a working version of modernity from which Germans could pick and choose different elements as they strove to imagine not an ideal future, but at least an updated and improved one" (p. 9). Unfortunately, Nolan's narrow focus on the 1920s makes it difficult for her to explain why Germans picked and chose as they did. To do so would have required a more "historical" approach: at the very least, more background on German thinking about America before 1914, and a fuller discussion of the important German debate about modernization during the heyday of the Second Reich. I also found puzzling the virtual absence of political context in Nolan's

analysis. Surely the trauma of defeat at the hands of a coalition backed by America in 1918 was prominent among the reasons for Germany's obsession with American productivity after the war; but Nolan totally neglects this factor. As well, I found only one mention (p. 131) of the politically potent issue of reparations, so important in shaping German attitudes in the 1920s. Finally, I found myself somewhat put off by the author's censorious tone. Throughout, and irrespective of occupation, class, or political orientation, the Germans Nolan has studied are portrayed as, at best, irredeemably muddled and misguided.

The book is attractively produced but contains minor blemishes. I found misspelled words (including names), endnotes (sadly, not footnotes) containing erroneous page references, and occasional misreadings of secondary texts. More serious from the scholar's perspective is the absence of a traditional bibliography. Although the thematically arranged "Bibliographic Essay" is valuable, a simple list of authors and titles would have made it much easier to identify and track sources cited in Nolan's extensive notes, especially when references are to citations in earlier chapters.

This is an intriguing treatment of a complex topic, one that students of Weimar Germany must not miss. But for the reasons I have noted, I fear they may derive less benefit from it than the author's reputation and known expertise would have led them to expect.

JOAN CAMPBELL
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DIRK HOEGES. *Kontroverse am Abgrund: Ernst Robert Curtius und Karl Mannheim; Intellektuelle und "freischwebende Intelligenz" in der Weimarer Republik*. (Fischer Wissenschaft.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1994. Pp. 270. DM 24.90.

Dirk Hoeges's book traces the development of the conflict between Karl Mannheim and Ernst Robert Curtius over the nature of the intelligentsia during the last half of the Weimar Republic. Curtius was the academic insider whose attraction to French culture somewhat marginalized him in the German university. He tried to combine a syndicalist view of intellectuals as creative producers with the ideal of a universal European culture that had its origins in the Latin Middle Ages. Although the Rhineland proved to be a source of tension that weakened the Republic, Curtius hoped it would bring a new relationship between Germany and the world, tying the German spirit to the larger community of Europe. Emblematic of this new humanism was the work of early nineteenth-century German conservative Adam Müller, whose historical theory emphasized the mediating role of the intellectual.

Mannheim struck at the core of Curtius's thought in his Heidelberg *Habilitationsschrift*, which tied Müller and other German conservatives to a specific social stratum rather than to a universal ideal. Hoeges writes that Mannheim anticipated in this analysis of Müller

his later concept of the socially free-floating intelligentsia, an idea that stemmed from his own insecure refugee status. Although Curtius, also at Heidelberg at this time, refrained from public comment on Mannheim's work, Hoeges believes it must have caused him great discomfort. When Mannheim's sociology of knowledge reached its mature form in *Ideology and Utopia* (1929), however, Curtius could restrain himself no longer. He delivered a stinging critique, accusing Mannheim of representing an abstract and relativistic "sociologism" that, by reducing unique personalities to their sociological determinants, threatened any humanistic synthesis of spirit. Mannheim responded that Curtius represented a modern scholasticism unable to deal with the dynamic circumstances of the times.

Hoeges notes that both Mannheim and Curtius saw a similar mission for intellectuals in the cultural crisis facing Germany in the early 1930s. Each, however, developed a different strategy for overcoming that crisis: on the one hand a free-floating intelligentsia, on the other an aristocracy of spirit. He sees their conflict as typical of the Weimar intelligentsia, who brought the business of power into the spiritual sphere and made it presentable. By making political eradication the model for the social sciences, intellectuals endangered the idea of democracy as a mediating, equalizing force. Their squabbles on the edge of the abyss of Nazism amounted to a form of self-immolation. Although Hoeges is critical of both thinkers, his general perspective places him much closer to Curtius than to Mannheim.

Much of this book is more descriptive than analytical. As a result the most interesting parts concern Curtius, about whom there is only a modest secondary literature. Hoeges presents the connections between Curtius's polemics against Mannheim, his work on French syndicalism, and his important later work, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1949). Although Hoeges includes comparisons to other thinkers of the time, there is no significant discussion of the relation of the work of either man to Alfred Weber, a colleague at Heidelberg who held an intermediate position with regard to the same issues. Finally, there is really nothing new on Mannheim. Although Hoeges cites the recent English-language interpretations of Mannheim, he does not really engage them.

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WALTER NAASNER. *Neue Machtzentren in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft, 1942–1945: Die Wirtschaftsorganisation der SS, das Amt des Generalbevollmächtigten für den Arbeitseinsatz und das Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition/Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem*. Boppard: Harald Boldt. 1994. Pp. ix, 534.

For over fifty years scholars have been trying to make sense of the power structure of the Third Reich in order to explain the breathtaking dynamic of the Hitler regime. Was Nazi Germany a monolithic *Führer* state, as the intentionalists have asserted? Or was it "goose-stepping chaos," as the functionalists have argued? Or, finally, did it develop into a state that was increasingly run by an all-pervasive SS octopus? It is difficult enough to understand what made the Third Reich tick during the years 1933–39. The picture is even more bewildering for the wartime period, when at first seemingly imminent victory and later inexorable defeat added fresh complications to an already complex situation.

It is on this latter period that Walter Naasner focuses in his weighty study. He proposes to examine "the structural changes in German economic policy-making between 1942 and 1945 and its impact on the Nazi system of domination" (p. 1). During this period, he believes, Fritz Sauckel's office for the recruitment of slave labor, Albert Speer's armaments ministry, and the economic organizations of Heinrich Himmler's SS emerged as "new power centers in the German war economy" (p. 2). Accordingly, the early sections of this important book are devoted to defining the position of these "new power centers" in the larger framework of other agencies that had previously been involved in the Social Darwinist jockeying for power. The bulk of this study, however, is less concerned with power than with the much-debated clash between the axioms of Nazi racism and the pragmatic requirements of an increasingly desperate war effort. This emphasis makes the book an indispensable, although most depressing, read for anyone interested in the history of World War II.

Arguing that the question of the availability of human resources became crucial to the German ability both to fight at the front and to produce military hardware in the rear, Naasner demonstrates that the regime was faced with a crisis that threatened its survival. By carefully analyzing not only the policies of Sauckel's and Speer's offices but also the growth and function of the economic branches of the SS, he expands received views that have postulated a fundamental and fierce conflict between the Nazi ideologues on the one hand, bent on pursuing irrational policies of racism and extermination, and the technocrats on the other, who tried to introduce notions of economic rationality into the process of Nazi decision making and human exploitation.

On closer inspection, however, the new power centers in effect became "substitute organs" (p. 473) in the Nazi system of government and their role was no less irrational: to facilitate the psychological repression of a regime crisis that it proved impossible to resolve. In other words, the adoption of pragmatic policies of labor mobilization in the second half of the war resulted in astonishing (temporary) increases in industrial output and available human resources, but this merely served to veil from the leadership, including Speer, the seriousness of the regime's larger existential

crisis. The structural analysis of this central problem is well done and suffers from only one drawback: reading Naasner's sober prose, it is easy to forget the unspeakable suffering of millions of people who were sucked into this irrational system of exploitation and mass murder. And had we known in 1946 what we now know about the power structure of the Third Reich, it may be surmised that Speer, too, would have faced the gallows.

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LYNN H. NICHOLAS. *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. x, 498.

The fiftieth anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany is the perfect time for the appearance of this volume, Lynn H. Nicholas's masterfully written story juxtaposing Nazi cultural plunder and the Western Allied efforts at preservation and restitution, which has appropriately caught the public eye.

The story opens with an auction in Lucerne in 1939, and the stage is set for Nazi art policies and the attempted profit from the "degenerate art" banished from German museums. The "Period of Adjustment" takes us through Austria after the *Anschluss*, as we are introduced to the "art trade headed for a boom," with Adolf Hitler's "grand acquisition" plans for his Linz Museum, and Hermann Goering, who "wanted it all, and fast." With the invasion of Poland, we are introduced to the *Ahnenerbe* and other SS operations, while "Lives and Property" shows us the Nazi art machine at work in Holland. Nicholas continues with evacuation efforts for art and artists, who were lucky enough to find passage out of France, and the competition between the Künsberg, the Kuntzschutz, and the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR). In the final half of the book Nicholas introduces us to her heroes: the Roberts Commission and the so-called "Monuments Men" (U.S. and British Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officers), who accompanied the Allied invasions. As they find the many mines and castles filled with loot, the immensity of Nazi cultural operations becomes more apparent. The identification and restitution scene amid the "ashes and darkness" in the rubble of the Third Reich produces a few "diamonds," such as of the triumphal return of Leonardo da Vinci's *Lady with the Ermine* and the Veit Stoss altar from Nuremberg to Kraków. We also see the controversial exhibition of 202 captured German paintings that were brought to the United States on tour, despite the protests of the Monuments Men, who believed that the U.S. government's justification for such action was too close to the "protective custody" notion of the Nazi regime. The frequent ironic cast with which Nicholas presents her well-chosen examples provides added flavor and pathos, like the concluding vignette that brings the story full circle: the Quedlinburg treasures,

stolen by an American soldier, were finally returned to Germany in 1992, but not without high legal and finder's fees and several million dollars in ransom paid to the soldier's heirs in Texas.

Within Nicholas's interestingly woven tapestry of incidents specialists will find occasional factual errors and inadequate documentation. Scholars may regret the lack of analysis of the varying political motivations of the different Nazi art-looting units involved. But that would have required a different approach, which would have meant a book that appealed to a much smaller audience. Had she delved further into political background and the legal issues of restitution, she might not have succeeded as well as she has in capturing the flavor of the wartime art scene, where too many were—and some still are—willing to use or misuse the European cultural heritage as "pawns in the cynical and desperate games of ideology, greed, and survival" (p. 444).

Had Nicholas searched deeper into the labyrinth of cultural plunder and restitution issues on the eastern front (by both Nazis and Soviets), the result would have been quite a different perspective. Her chapter on wartime developments in Soviet lands is by far her weakest. Even though she was not able to tap the rich ERR records that have now surfaced in Kiev, had she more thoroughly explored West German archives she would have found much more on the Künsberg battalions and ERR operations there. Many of her Western Allied sources were well aware of the plunder from the Soviet zone of occupied Germany, but that did not stop the thirteen U.S. restitution shipments to the Soviet Union, which she does not mention (although they are well documented in U.S. and German archives). The initial confirmation of the immensity of Soviet cultural loot still remaining in Russia in 1991 was undoubtedly too late (and still too tentative) for Nicholas to undertake a major rewrite of this book. Nevertheless, her study facilitated the organization of an international symposium on "The Spoils of War" in January 1995, which brought the problems of the displaced European art to international public attention.

Nicholas's title was earlier used in 1945 by the then-director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Francis Henry Taylor, for an appeal in *The Atlantic* regarding the fate of European cultural treasures in the upcoming postwar settlements. Fifty years after the conclusion of the most devastating war for the cultural heritage of the European Continent, Nicholas's "story without an end" (p. 444) is focusing public attention on the broader issues and the many still-displaced artistic "prisoners of war." Many of the political developments and international complexities require further analysis, but this book should be required and delightful reading for all of the diplomats and art-world specialists currently involved with the still unresolved issues of displaced cultural treasures.

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MANFRED GÖRTEMAKER. *Unifying Germany, 1989–1990*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Institute for East-West Studies. 1994. Pp. xvi, 352. \$49.95.

This is the latest entry, by a historian well known for his work on nineteenth-century German history, into the crowded field of studies of German unification. Billed on the dust jacket as "perhaps the definitive account," the book could hardly fail to fall short of such a goal, as Manfred Görtemaker readily admits (p. xiii). In comparison with the other books already on the English-speaking market, the chief strength of this volume lies in the author's careful perusal of personal accounts of the process of unification by East German leaders (Gunther Schabowski and Hans Modrow) and West German negotiators (Wolfgang Schäuble and Horst Teltschik). Yet there is little sign that Görtemaker has consulted the English-speaking literature on German unification—works, for example, by Konrad Jarausch, Andrei Markovits, and others—or that in German, although some of it appears in his bibliography.

The inattention to other scholarship is particularly critical to Görtemaker's account of British, French, and Soviet resistance to German unification, and the steady support, despite negative press, from the George Bush administration. In fact, Görtemaker relies heavily on often misleading articles in the *New York Times*. Source problems also affect his discussion of the residual four-power rights over German unity and the problems of postunification German and European security, especially the conflict between a Franco-German-centered European security identity and a transatlantic notion of security through NATO.

Görtemaker gravely underestimates the importance of the American role in the German position—it is not just the American desire to perpetuate U.S. hegemony (p. 317 n.)—when he suggests that "the Atlantic Alliance may 'slip to second or third rank' behind the focus on Eastern Europe and the EC" (p. 225). Without the American presence, Britain, France, and all of Germany's neighbors will revert to their rivalries and distrust of Germany. Görtemaker also seems to know little of the nature of the old communist system in the GDR, especially the character of a planned economy, and hence he cannot fathom the difficulties of the transition other than in terms of cost. For example, he calls Bonn's offer to establish an Economic and Monetary Union with the East—really a receivership for a bankrupt economy—"a complete Federal Republic takeover of the GDR" (p. 142). Here, too, his sources seem incomplete, flawed, or not fully utilized.

Görtemaker begins, sensibly enough, with a historical introduction, and no one will fault his account of nineteenth-century antecedents. When he reaches the Weimar Republic, however, his account omits the Russian Revolution, the Social Democratic and Communist parties, and even the telltale Weimar refusal to accept its new eastern borders and the post-Habsburg

world. Instead, Görtemaker presents only the rise of Nazi racism, which included "common Darwinism and dark emotions from the southeast of Europe" (p. 9). There are smaller matters I could mention and quibbles about the manner of presentation, but the emphasis of my criticism should really be placed on Görtemaker's suggestion that Helmut Kohl's inspiration, for example for the ten-point memorandum on steps toward an East-West German confederation, came from none other than Mikhail Gorbachev (pp. 106, 245), relayed by Nikolai Portugalov, who, along with key KGB and Stasi figures, appears at crucial junctures to assure Kohl of Gorbachev's benign support in spite of the latter's statements to the contrary (p. 171).

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BRIAN RICHARDSON. *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600*. (Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 265. \$54.95.

The editing and printing of the Latin and Greek classics has long been recognized as one of the glories of the Italian Renaissance, and scholars have duly studied the phenomenon. By contrast, this is the first book dedicated to the study of the editing and printing of Italian vernacular texts. The book is original and welcome.

Brian Richardson concentrates on Venice and Florence, the two most important publishing centers in Italy. He begins with a good account of the reasons for the birth of the editor in the incunabular period. Printers needed to employ men of letters who could prepare vernacular works for the presses, not least because many pioneer printers in Italy were German and French. Readers wanted printed editions of the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. But these classics were written in fourteenth-century Tuscan quite different from the spoken vernaculars of the late fifteenth century. The job of the "correctore," as the editor was called, was to prepare a text for the printer. To do that, he had to mediate between author and reader.

Richardson begins with a description of editing in the incunabular period, 1470–1500. He then studies vernacular editing in Venice and Florence in alternating thirty-to-forty-year segments, that is, Venice 1501–30, Florence 1501–30, and so forth. Along the way we meet major editors such as Girolamo Ruscelli, Ludovico Dolce, and Francesco Sansovino, and vernacular publishers such as Gabriele Giolito, who often discussed what they were doing. Richardson follows the editing of the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Ariosto in detail through one edition after another. The author has read widely and makes his points with numerous examples without being dull.

When printing began in Italy, there was no "Italian

language," but a variety of spoken "Italians," plus fourteenth-century written Tuscan. Hence, editors had to choose the vernacular in which to dress printed works. On the whole they struck a balance between authentic fourteenth-century Tuscan and a more relaxed imitation of it. Editors did not like archaic or obscure words. They preferred to create a usage acceptable to a wide range of users, partly because printers wanted to sell books throughout the peninsula. Editors also tended to "correct" texts according to current norms, rather than through strict adherence to an old manuscript. Using the image of painting, Dolce wrote that he was removing all imperfections from the text. In a sense, editors wanted to "give an improved representation of the original" (p. 186). But they avoided large and arbitrary changes. When the Inquisition and Index became realities late in the sixteenth century, editors quietly altered and expurgated texts to make sure that they did not offend ecclesiastical authority. Richardson argues convincingly that editorial skills and standards improved over time. Editors learned to compare critically the textual evidence. They searched for good manuscripts, removed scribal errors, and developed a better sense of the language of the past.

Overall, Richardson has written an informative and very well-researched book that adds a good deal to our knowledge of printing and publishing in the Italian Renaissance.

PAUL F. GRENDLER
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GHERARDO ORTALLI. *Scuole, maestri e istruzione di base tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Il caso veneziano*. (Cultura popolare veneta, new series, number 3.) Venice: Neri Pozzo. 1993. Pp. x, 151. L. 22,000.

Gherardo Ortalli's extended essay on the transformation of pre-university education in early Renaissance Venice has in its origin a modest task. Commissioned to write an introduction to a reprint of the great documentary collection *Maestri, scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500* (1907) compiled nearly a century ago by Enrico Bertanza, Ortalli had to read the documents straight through for the first time and came to realize both the singularity of the Venetian case in education and the lack of any extended treatment of that case. Ortalli here traces the radical transformation of the institutions of education in Venice between the *duecento* and *quattrocento*, paralleling fundamental changes in Venetian society itself; in the process he creates more a social history of culture than an examination of cultural history per se.

Based on an intimate knowledge of the primary texts and secondary literature on Venetian education, supplemented by archival research, this study contains much that is novel and stimulating. Ortalli repeatedly examines the paradox that the capital provided less direct public support of grammar teaching than did towns of the *terra firma*. For example, private *maestri*

were favored in Venice as a sort of status symbol, while the small Veneto communes of Bassano and Cittadella regularly employed a schoolmaster and public physician to meet local needs. Ortalli emphasizes the philistine nature of Venetian merchant culture, from Giovanni Conversini's strictures against consumerism in *Dragnologia* to a patrician's insistence in his will of 1420 that his sons study the abacus but not be allowed to become physicians or lawyers. Treating the status of teachers and instruction in Venice in the *trecento*, he finds ample evidence of students subjected to theft, violence, sadism, and sodomy by masters charged with instruction in morals as well as grammar. Low pay and debased status forced many schoolmasters to moonlight as notaries, booksellers, and scribes to make ends meet. Only in exceptional cases at the courts of the mainland lords did schoolmasters such as Donato Albanzani and Giovanni Conversini rise to become chancellors and statesmen, far above the usual fate of the *magister ludi*. The Venetian government was content merely to supervise quality and limit the of public schooling, leaving the education of young patrician males in the hands of private masters.

Ortalli has given us a stimulating, intelligent, and subtle examination of Venetian exceptionalism, while being aware of the limitations of his sources and the difficulty of making definitive interpretations. For example, he argues that the changing concept of *studia humanitatis* reflected the fluidity of approaches to schooling and the Venetian government's position as often indifferent, but not disinterested, in the regulation of its educational institutions. Vivid and multifaceted, this study will provide the starting point for any consideration of the social world of schools and teachers in early Renaissance Venice for years to come.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL
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DAVID FRANKLIN. *Rosso in Italy: The Italian Career of Rosso Fiorentino*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 326. \$55.00.

The magical paintings of Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, also known as il Rosso Fiorentino, tend to defy stylistic definition, even after 500 years. Rosso does not seem to fit in any particular slot or, at least, any slot for long, although he is usually termed a Tuscan Mannerist. David Franklin's substantial monograph, handsomely produced and illustrated, has appeared in conjunction with the celebration of the painter's birth. He was born in 1494, the same year as Pontormo, eleven years after Raphael, nineteen years after Michelangelo, and forty-two years following Leonardo.

Although one might expect to find frequent echoes of these masters in his work, especially the youthful efforts, Rosso does not, in fact, reveal much dependence on these earlier artists. And once he achieved full artistic independence, Rosso moved into a baffling, independent, and sometimes cranky mode. Especially in his handling of space, he set his own parameters in

direct confrontation to established traditions. Instead of respecting the picture plane, he pushed his figures up against it, punctured it without restraint, and, simultaneously, established his compositions, usually religious subjects, in shallow spatial arenas that threw down the gauntlet at conventional practice. The most bewildering aspect of his art, at least for me, is the level of finish, the condition of the surface of his pictures. They appear as if in a state of perpetual *non-finito*, explainable either because some applications, a substantial coat of varnish, or a final layer has disappeared, or, conversely, because he intended to leave the impression of the pictorial process as part of the imagery, a mark favored by modern artists but little known for the sixteenth century. Such an unresolved surface treatment is the opposite of what is found in Pontormo's paintings and, more decisively still, in those of Bronzino. The summary treatment, the strokes that blatantly sit on the surface, is unlike the solution of the Venetians, however, as is his use of color, which is often daring and unnaturally abstract.

Paradoxically, Rosso appears less as a great artist than as an artist who produced great paintings. To be sure, he had more than his share of masterpieces. One of the gems is the smallish *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro*, brimming with movement, energy, violence, understated color, within a compressed space. It is a remarkable proto-Cubist adventure in which the forms of the nudes are blocked with a simplification worthy of a late Cézanne. In another work, the marvelous *Pietà with Four Angels*, he seems to be particularly taken with the drama of light. The hair of the youthful candle-holding angels is intertwined with flames and locks. *Deposition from the Cross*, Rosso's most famous picture, an altarpiece produced in Volterra between 1519 to 1522, is by any standards a world-class creation.

We might obtain insight into the author's approach by examining his treatment of this picture. Franklin's Rosso has borrowed the outline of his picture from the decidedly old-fashioned *Deposition* begun by Filippino Lippi and finished by a *retardataire* Perugino in 1512. If this represents a meaningful source, then one must question the operative methodology, which is, in all fairness, characteristic of much of the field. Everything is different, the proportions, the movement, the psychology, and the visual appeal, which may have been enhanced by its apparent unfinished state.

The documentary portions of the book and the presentation of contemporary notices as well as their evaluation represent the greatest strength of this monograph, in which Franklin proves himself especially expert.

JAMES BECK
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PAULA FINDLEN. *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 20.)

Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 449. \$55.00.

To write about early modern science has traditionally been to write about the Scientific Revolution and, overwhelmingly, about the mathematicization of physics and the rise of experiment that are seen as the essence of that revolution. That is why the practice of natural history has occupied such a problematic place in the historiography of sixteenth and seventeenth-century science. Although the stock of natural-historical knowledge vastly expanded during this period, and although conceptions of the proper relationship between textual authority and experience gradually altered, the "Galilean" model of intellectual revolution scarcely fits natural history. Compared to the heavy historical industries mobilized around Galileo, René Descartes, Isaac Newton, and even Robert Boyle, the study of early modern natural history has been on the scale of a corner shop.

The cultural-studies sensibility, insofar as it has any coherence, bids to change the question. It is no longer "how did natural history fit into the main line of progress" but "what did natural history mean in its local culture?" No historian has yet realized that sensibility as persuasively as Paula Findlen. Her topic is the collecting of natural objects during the Italian late Renaissance and Baroque periods, the arrangement and display of those objects in museums, and the discourses which took place in and about those museums. Her heroes are the "Bolognese Aristotle" Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) and the Roman Jesuit philosophical showman Athanasius Kircher (1602–80). Although Findlen is concerned to trace significant changes from Renaissance to Baroque conceptions of the museum and its functions—from relatively private to relatively public site, from an expression of curiosity to an exciter of wonder—one strand of argument runs throughout: natural history was a conversable practice and the museum was a site for exercising the gentlemanly *ars conversandi*.

The objects jumbled together in the Italian *studio*, *galleria*, or *Wunderkammer* were there to be talked about. The discourse of high natural philosophy tended toward verdicts of truth, that of the museums inclined toward judgments of interest. Humanists used the collected objects to focus their dialogue between the living and the dead—inspection of "the things themselves" would assist the purification, the confirmation, and even the criticism of ancient texts—while later tendencies stressed the capacity of well-chosen arrays of objects to amuse, amaze, and delight. For Francis Bacon, a reformed natural history was meant to provide the secure foundations of a reformed natural philosophy; for many Italian Renaissance and Baroque collectors, however, the activity contained its own end, and the function of collecting as a significant aid to disciplined philosophical inquiry emerged strongly only toward the end of the seventeenth century.

The "visual and verbal cacophony" of the Italian Baroque museum was, therefore, a sign not of its philosophical failure but of its conversational success. Yet its legitimacy was not unchallenged. Findlen briefly notes that Galileo condemned "the disorderliness of the culture of the marvelous"; Descartes criticized "curiosity as an ostensible method for organizing knowledge"; while po-faced English experimentalists repeatedly aimed to distinguish the sober seriousness of their practice from Papist "wonder-mongering" and "juggling" (pp. 46, 94–96).

Findlen's sympathies seem all on the side of the jugglers. Hers is itself a *Wunderkammer* of a book—a cornucopia of remarkable stories of strange people and bizarre practices, all normalized in the best new historicist manner, wary of simplistic methodological pronouncements, delighting in particulars, narrated with gentle humor and understanding, creating a book full of stuff to think about and to talk about.

STEVEN SHAPIN

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PAOLO FABBRI. *Monteverdi*. Translated by TIM CARTER. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 350. \$69.95.

The prospect of rereading Paolo Fabbri's study, this time in a revised English edition translated by Tim Carter, was one I very much relished. When it first appeared in 1985 in Italian, the book made a strong impression. By subjecting the entire life and corpus of works to fresh scrutiny, illuminated by liberal recourse to letters and other contemporary documents—many of them previously unpublished and others insufficiently exploited in the literature on Monteverdi—Fabbri manages to provide the most comprehensive picture to date of the composer's career as well as his reputation during his lifetime. The publishers and translator should certainly be applauded for their desire to make this enriched portrait available to a wider readership.

The book is clearly organized in three sections corresponding to the three successive centers of the composer's activity: Cremona, Mantua, and Venice. These sections are chronologically subdivided into forty mini-chapters on individual works and other important topics in the composer's biography: the dispute over the *seconda prattica*, the death of Claudia Cattaneo Monteverdi, the festivities in Parma, and so on. The clarity of organization, complete with running headers keyed to the mini-chapters (a happy innovation in the English edition) ensures that the reader can easily locate discussions of particular works or events in the composer's life.

But a number of features of the new edition render it less useful than the original. One of these was simply a matter of policy: the publishers decided to omit virtually all of the original musical discussion on the (debatable) grounds that such material was readily

available in English. Other new features, however, are more troubling. Although Fabbri has made an effort to incorporate new material discovered since 1985 (on such topics as *Proserpina rapita* of 1630, the composer's taking of religious orders, and his political leanings), the book is not really up to date as far as English-language bibliography is concerned; whereas some recent publications, such as Eric Chafe's *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (1992), are especially relevant to the music and therefore perhaps justifiably omitted, others, such as Gary Tomlinson's *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (1987), offer new chronological speculations that might have profitably been incorporated within Fabbri's ample historical narrative.

The most serious problem with the new edition, however, concerns the translation. Carter has confessed to favoring "somewhat literal translations—even at the expense of literary elegance . . . in order to give a sense of the tortuous quality of 17th-century prose." But some of his literalness needlessly confuses the meaning of these documents. One example will have to stand for many: "The representative music of Signor Claudio Monteverdi's Fifth Book of madrigals . . . can also serve many as an infallible norm and idea of composing harmonically conforming to the best rules madrigals and canzonas" (p. 105). And the literal awkwardness repeatedly extends beyond the seventeenth-century texts to infect the twentieth-century prose of Fabbri. Indeed, some of the translation was so difficult to follow that I found it necessary to keep the original Italian text by my side. Thus, despite its accessibility to English readers, the new edition is far from ideal. It is insufficient for scholars, who will need to read the documents in the original; and it is insufficient for the general reader, who not only will want to know at least something about the music but also will want a more readable book.

ELLEN ROSAND

Yale University

CAROLYN GIANTURCO. *Alessandro Stradella, 1639–1682: His Life and Music*. (Oxford Monographs on Music.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 333. \$64.00.

Alessandro Stradella, an important composer of vocal and instrumental music in Italy during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, may best be remembered by music historians for the circumstances of his death: he was murdered. Although the reasons for his violent end have never been completely uncovered, not even in the present volume, the most complete biography of the composer yet published, the event seems to have been merely the culmination of a long series of notorious adventures (including banishment, blackmail, and kidnapping).

Although such events may seem irrelevant to Stradella's music, mere biographical details, the kind of character they bespeak has much to do with the nature and range of his accomplishments. Somewhat

atypically, he composed in virtually all the genres current during his lifetime: for theater, chamber, and church. The reasons for this can be traced to the varied demands of his patrons, an unusually diverse lot ranging from Roman princes and Venetian noblemen to members of the Genoese aristocracy. Indeed, unlike many of his contemporaries, rather than serving any single patron for an extended period, Stradella made his living as a free-lance musician, fulfilling a variety of commissions wherever they happened to arise. Although clearly an able composer of operas, he never wrote for the main operatic market of the time in Venice; nor did he serve as maestro di cappella anywhere, which might have given him the opportunity to perfect his skill at writing oratorios or other church music. It may well be that something undependable in his personality (the same thing that precipitated his murder) prevented him from holding a permanent position.

Carolyn Gianturco has been engaged in Stradella research from the time of her doctoral dissertation more than twenty years ago, and she has communicated her findings in numerous articles, catalogs, and editions published since then. This most recent contribution to the Stradella story is in two parts, the proverbial "life and works." The five chapters of part 1 make use of a remarkable number of newly available archival documents to present a radically revised biography as regards the composer's birthplace (Nepi, not Rome) and birthdate (1639, not 1644), although she relies too heavily on conjecture to bridge some of the details that are still missing, such as the identity of Stradella's teachers.

The second, much longer part of the book consists of eight chapters that survey the main genres in which Stradella composed, presumably in descending order of importance: cantatas; theater music; oratorios; arias, duets, and trios; madrigals; Latin sacred vocal music; instrumental music; and pedagogical work. The musical discussion in these chapters suffers somewhat from the paucity of examples, particularly unfortunate given the relative unavailability of Stradella's music in modern editions. Of the two appendixes, the second contains what is arguably the most interesting material in the book: the texts (with English translations) of twenty-four of the composer's letters, discovered by Giovanni Morelli in Venice but published here in their entirety for the first time. Like other such documents, these letters provide a more vivid picture of the composer's life and personality than any historical reconstruction can possibly achieve.

ELLEN ROSAND
Yale University

VERA ZAMAGNI. *The Economic History of Italy, 1860–1990*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 413. \$59.00.

Following Gianni Toniolo's *Economic History of Liberal Italy 1850–1918* (1990), Vera Zamagni's study

provides a second, more detailed and chronologically extended survey of Italy's economic history from unification to the present. Her subject is one of the more complex in the repertoire of contemporary economic history, and since the Renaissance the economies of the Italian peninsula have journeyed from center to the periphery and back again (the original Italian title, "From Periphery to Center," made this point well and was worth keeping; translation and copy-editing, however, are not among this book's otherwise considerable virtues).

Opening with an economic map of pre-unification Italy and a sketch of the principal contours of growth since unification, Zamagni's book is organized in three sections that focus on the half century after unification, the interwar period, and, more briefly, developments since 1945. Her approach reflects broader revisionist tendencies in Italian historiography, and she argues that by comparing Italy's nineteenth-century economic development with the classic British Industrial Revolution, economic historians have failed to understand the specific features of the Italian pattern of modern economic growth. In particular, undue concentration on Italy's relative small heavy and advanced technology sectors has concealed the presence of more continuous factors of growth. The primary role of exports (typically of raw and semifinished products) and hence a subordinate position in world markets meant that Italy's longer-run growth has followed a "wave-like" rather than unilinear pattern, but nonetheless has been sustained. For the period before 1914, she challenges both Rosario Romeo's claim that agriculture financed industrialization and Alexander Gerschenkron's counterclaim that state intervention and mixed banks were surrogates for weak domestic growth. Discussing the respective roles of proto-industrialization, agriculture, state intervention, banks and the banking system, public finance, taxation, and entrepreneurship, as well as the social and human contexts of industrialization, Zamagni concludes that agriculture, trade, and small-scale enterprise were already the keys to broader and more continuous processes of growth.

The section on the interwar period includes especially good accounts of the revaluation of the Lira (*Quota 90*) in 1926, the development of the corporate economy, the bank rescue operations of the early 1930s, the creation of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction and other state holding institutions. Arguing that fascism was neither economic stagnation nor a developmental dictatorship, she argues that the interwar economy did grow but only barely kept up with its competitors. The real economic disasters of fascism, Zamagni holds, came from the failure to develop the welfare structures introduced by postwar Liberal governments and the alliance with Germany. The final section emphasizes the political and institutional constraints on Italy's nonetheless dynamic postwar economic growth, arguing that the most serious limitations on Italy's modern economic growth derive from inadequate institutional structures that reflect

weak and uncertain political leadership: failings that contrast with Italy's remarkable vocation for dynamic and creative growth. Combining breadth with clarity of presentation and well-balanced judgments, this is an indispensable guide for students of modern Italy and for all those interested in the comparative study of modern economic growth.

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JÜRGEN CHARNITZKY. *Die Schulpolitik des faschistischen Regimes in Italien (1922–1943)*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 79.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1994. Pp. xii, 493. DM 142.

In December 1923, Benito Mussolini attempted to defuse student protests against the reforms introduced by Minister of Education Giovanni Gentile by claiming that they were the "most Fascist" his government had yet introduced. As Jürgen Charnitzky makes clear in this outstanding book, the reforms, which affected every level of education from preschool through the universities, actually resulted from discussions about a number of issues, especially limiting enrollments in secondary and higher education, that dated back to the turn of the century. Over the remaining twenty years of the fascist regime, many of the structures created by Gentile were gradually eroded or dismantled. The reversal began with a "policy of retouching" in the mid and late 1920s and culminated in the *Carta della Scuola* decreed by Minister of Education Giuseppe Bottai in 1939 but never fully put into effect.

Charnitzky's examination of fascist educational policies is based on extensive archival research, including not only government documents but the private archives of both Gentile and Bottai as well. He also displays a thorough knowledge of secondary literature on fascist Italy in English, French, German, and Italian. Comparisons with educational developments in Nazi Germany are implicit throughout the book, although they are made explicit at only a few points.

Charnitzky divides his study into five long chapters. The first provides an excellent survey of Italian education from the period of unification until Mussolini's March on Rome. Chapter 2 examines in detail the multiple reforms introduced by Gentile, especially the effort to reestablish a more elite classical secondary school as the sole path to higher education. In the chapter "The Policy of Retouching," Charnitzky describes the many retreats from Gentile's policies by his successors, ending with the reintroduction of religion into the secondary schools brought about by the Lateran Accords of 1929. The next chapter, "The Fascistization of the School System," examines political controls on teachers, the introduction of state-produced textbooks, and the extensive influence of fascist youth groups on education. The final chapter explores a variety of topics associated with political and economic changes after 1929, including the intro-

duction of anti-Jewish laws in 1938 and Bottai's *Carta della Scuola*. Charnitzky's general conclusion is beyond dispute. The deluge of decrees that rained down on the schools during Mussolini's rule demonstrates both the extreme importance the fascist leadership attached to the training of the next generation and the conflicts, contradictions, and at times superficiality involved in the policies adopted. As in so many areas, in the educational system Mussolini's claim of totalitarian control fell short of realization. It is unfortunate that both the language and the price of Charnitzky's book will restrict its audience. Translation into Italian is a must, and into English not out of the question.

JAMES C. ALBISETTI
University of Kentucky

DANIEL CARPI. *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia*. Hanover, N. H.: University Press of New England, for Brandeis University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 341. \$49.95.

Daniel Carpi recounts for over two hundred and forty pages the unwillingness of Italian diplomatic and military personnel in wartime France and Tunisia to accede to the Vichy program for the persecution of Jews or Nazi plans for roundups and deportation associated with the Final Solution. Then, in the nine-page conclusion, as if as an afterthought, he offers an interesting analysis that differs somewhat from the works of Renzo De Felice, Meir Michaelis, Susan Zuccotti, or Jonathan Steinberg, who have gone over similar ground. Regrettably, the two parts of the book do not cohere.

Carpi's explanation for the consistent Italian opposition to the anti-Jewish policies of France and Germany rests on "weighty political and economic considerations" (p. 248) having to do with the fascist regime itself. Although there was no traditional "Jewish problem" in modern Italy, he notes an important strand of anti-Semitic thinking in that wing of fascism committed to a radical, utopian, antibourgeois revolution. Benito Mussolini himself, "a man with two souls," shared this vision but was at the same time "a realistic politician, cynical, familiar with the importance of international factors, and careful to avoid any head-on collision with them" (p. 245). Drawing from the well-spring of fascist ideology, Mussolini recklessly abandoned this moderate course in 1937, driving the fascist regime into the arms of the radicals and ultimately the Nazis. The result was a series of irrational decisions, including a confrontation with the Jews. For various reasons this fateful choice proved catastrophic. Most Italians, however, and certainly the soldiers and diplomats who are the focus of this book, were inclined to the conservative, rational fascism of the pre-1937 period. The position they adopted toward the Jews—often remarkably humane and sympathetic—derived largely from their critical evaluation of the regime as a whole.

Unfortunately, Carpi does not pursue these themes

in the body of his work. He offers instead an intricate, sometimes tedious account of diplomatic and political maneuverings, drawing on hitherto unused sources in the archives of the Italian Foreign Ministry and army. Carpi shows how, more often than not, Italian national interest prompted occupation authorities to protect Jews with Italian citizenship and sometimes others as well. Quarreling regularly with the French, the Italians sought every opportunity to assert their own authority, and the Jewish issue, increasingly sensitive in terms of public opinion, was an obvious field in which to do so. Furthermore, the Italians constantly sought to distance themselves from Nazi war aims and, when details of the murderous outcome of Jewish deportations to Poland became known to them, they regularly dragged their feet rather than assist their German allies. Recounting this process, Carpi unearths much new material, notably providing a new appreciation of Angelo Donati, the Jewish banker who was deeply involved in rescue efforts, mainly in Nice, and wily Police Inspector General Guido Lospinoso, who outsmarted the Germans and used his position as head of the Racial Police to prevent the surrender of Jews in France to the SS, for a time at least.

Narrow in its focus and somewhat wooden in its exposition, Capri's book ends with an unsubstantiated conclusion. Deeply researched and alert to the subtleties of fascist diplomacy, however, it adds significantly to our understanding. The book is difficult to work with, I will tell my students, but well worthwhile.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS
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LARRY WOLFF. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 419. \$49.50.

The separation between Eastern and Western Europe and the place of Russia (tsarist and Soviet) in Europe have long preoccupied scholars and others in the West. The collapse of Communism and efforts in the East to adapt to the political and economic practices in the West have given new impetus to the debate over the origins and nature of the differences between the two halves of Europe. Larry Wolff's analysis of opinion and bias among the eighteenth-century elite lends valuable historical perspective to the problem of definition.

Wolff has ranged widely among the travelers and thinkers who had the opportunity to see parts of Eastern Europe (including Russia) for themselves or were concerned with the region in other ways. Despite their diversity, they shared common attitudes toward Eastern Europe as they entered the region physically or intellectually. First, they were overwhelmed by a sense that they were crossing an important boundary. As the Count de Ségur, the new French ambassador to Russia, put it as he traveled through Poland in 1784, he could not escape the thought that he had left not only civilization but also his own century. William Coxe,

who visited Poland in 1778, made a similar distinction between Eastern Europe and the "more civilized parts" of the continent, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, on leaving Vienna with trepidation at the thought of the long overland journey to Constantinople that lay before her, had no doubt that she was entering the Orient. Indeed, during a stopover in Belgrade she found nothing incongruous in the fact that her host tutored her in the beauties of Arabic poetry.

Wolff accords the philosophes pride of place in inventing Eastern Europe and designates Voltaire as the originator of the idea of Eastern Europe itself. Even though Voltaire got no farther east than Berlin, Wolff regards him as the Enlightenment's first traveler to Eastern Europe in his *History of Charles XII* (1731), which, he argues, exerted an enormous influence in mapping the territory for enlightened minds. Voltaire's correspondence with Catherine the Great is also revealing for Wolff because it delineates an Eastern Europe that comes close to the modern image by encompassing all the lands between the Baltic Sea and the lower Danube River. These letters also expressed the widely held Enlightenment notion of Eastern Europe as a territory submerged in chaos and darkness. Montesquieu confirmed the notion when he visited Hungary in 1728. Yet he did not think that the differences between Hungary and Western Europe were permanent. In his view, Hungary languished at a stage that had characterized all the countries of the West many centuries earlier and thus, through "development," could eventually emerge from backwardness. Wolff points out that Rousseau stands apart from most of his contemporaries, as his thoughts on Poland suggest. Although he shared the general view that East Europeans were different from French, German, and English, he avoided the sharp distinction contemporaries drew between barbarity and civilization. His attitude was no less condescending than theirs, however, as he, like the Physiocrats, assumed the role of tutor to the Poles.

Wolff has given us a well-organized and refreshing tour of eighteenth-century thought on Eastern Europe. He is well aware of the fact that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also produced abundant writings on the countries of the region. But, for him, the Enlightenment played a decisive role in forming the modern image of Eastern Europe; it changed the conceptual division of Europe between the north and the south bequeathed by the Renaissance to one of west versus east, and it joined together all the lands of the east into a coherent, intermediate zone between "our parts of Europe," as Voltaire put it, and Asia. The task for historians now is to investigate how East Europeans themselves contributed to this Western invention and how they mapped "Europe."

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DENNIS P. HUPCHICK. *Culture and History in Eastern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xvii, 206. \$35.00.

DENNIS P. HUPCHICK. *Conflict and Chaos in Eastern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xi, 322. \$29.95.

In response to the increase in interest in Eastern Europe sparked by the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia, St. Martin's Press has published two works by Dennis P. Hupchick intended for the "intelligent general reader." The author seeks "to avoid the impression of staid academe" by placing his essays in a "popular format" (p. ix, both books). In *Culture and History* he provides a useful twenty-nine-page annotated bibliography, and in *Conflict and Chaos* he gives extensive footnotes and a three-page bibliography of suggested readings. Maps are included in each book.

In *Culture and History* Hupchick argues against the prevailing political and economic points of departure in the analyses of Eastern Europe and Russia during the twentieth century and the excessive concentration on the Cold War and the view of the world through a Moscow/Washington prism. He laments the lack of emphasis on the study of non-Russian nationalities in the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations in the past half-century. In an attempt partially to address this intellectual deficit, he has written this book to consider "the complex maze of historical traditions and cultural interrelationships" that drive the events of the region (p. 9).

Hupchick traces the cultural fault lines between Western and Eastern Europe, attempts to define precisely Eastern Europe, and describes the contributions of Byzantium and the Habsburgs to the region. His discussions range from the obvious and somewhat dated considerations of the role of culture in history to an informative assessment of Balkan affairs, especially his section on the political impact of religion and the legacy of the millet system. In explaining the precedents of the Bosnian situation he makes the good point that "various Christian nationalities of the Balkans are dangerously befuddled when dealing with Muslim populations in their midst because of the nebulous merging of the two concepts of nation and millet" (p. 154).

In *Conflict and Chaos* the author identifies and analyzes five fundamental flash points in Eastern European history: "Marriage and Divorce," essentially an overview of the Habsburgs' role in the region; "Transylvania, the Undead Question"; "Macedonian Mischief"; "Between Warsaw and Moscow, Poland"; and "Bosnia . . ." Each of these sections, especially "Transylvania," is marked by a lively writing style. Hupchick has a good command of the literature; see his comments on the historiographical controversy over the role of the Bogomils (p. 238). He gives the reader a balanced view of the history of these often tragic crossroads.

Of course there are a number of questions that can be raised in two books of this scope, such as his

mistaken assessment of the role of the Czechs in the Dual Monarchy, his inadequate discussion of Yugoslavia's role in the bloc, and problems with the maps. His description of the location of the East-West cultural fault line in *Culture and History* (p. 14) is not reflected in the map on page xii. Hupchick's specialization in Bulgarian history—and perhaps admiration of that country—is reflected in the map on page xiii, where Macedonia is shown to be populated by Bulgarians. But given the ambitious scope of the project, these are small points.

American professional historians do not do as much as their British, French, and German colleagues to bring their knowledge to a broad public. Promotion, tenure, and honors go to researchers working in primary sources writing for their colleagues, and this is as it should be. But as every historian knows who has sat on a tenure and promotion committee, there is a bias against a scholar who dares to address the broad public, and this is evidently perceived by Hupchick in the introductions to the two books. It is sad that he feels compelled to, in effect, offer apologies to justify writing these books, because he knows and understands the region and can write well about it.

His editors failed him. There is simply no reason for two books. The books are not useful for the university classroom and the presentation in this "popular format" is such that the "intelligent general reader" will have to work harder to find information that he or she needs because the chapter headings and layout are not terribly helpful. They could have taken the information in these two books and blended it into a solid, single volume of general information or textbook that would have brought Hupchick's obvious knowledge into a much more useful format.

GEORGE F. JEWsbury
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F. W. CARTER. *Trade and Urban Development in Poland: An Economic Geography of Cracow, from Its Origins to 1795*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 20.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 509. \$84.95.

The heart of F. W. Carter's book consists of four chapters. These survey, in turn, the political situation of Cracow and then its role in trade in the periods between 1257 and 1500 and between 1500 and 1795. There are three introductory chapters that describe the focus and methodology of the study; the source materials and published literature; and "Cracow's Early Development."

Carter's focus is on the tabulation and description of the goods traded in the city and the commercial links between Cracow and other localities as these changed over time. To this end he makes special use of the customs registers found mainly in the archives in Cracow and an enormous range of secondary materials. There are more than two thousand footnotes and these will lead the reader to virtually everything that

has been written on the subject. It was disconcerting, however, to come across a full reference to a book that does not exist (p. 435 n. 6). Carter relies heavily on the price series published during the interwar years under the direction of Franciszek Bujak, the older classic by Roman Rybarski, as well as on more recent studies by Jan Małeck, Andrzej Wyrobisz, and Honorata Obuchowska-Pysiowa. There are dozens of clear and informative figures and tables. These mainly map the geographic scope of the trade in various commodities and chart the rise and fall of prices.

Cracow reached its apex of importance during the first six decades of the sixteenth century. The Polish capital, and the seat of a prestigious university, Cracow was a central place in the international trade of the entire Polish Commonwealth. The most important links were with Hungary and westward with Wrocław and Prague, Nuremberg, and Bruges. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the scope of these links began to diminish together with the city's significance in the state. The political center of gravity shifted toward Warsaw, and, with the broader developments in European commerce, the economic focus shifted northward in Poland, particularly to Gdańsk. A decline in the city's fortunes continued uninterrupted through the Swedish occupations in the middle of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries and persisted to the end of the century and the end of the Polish state in 1795. This is brilliantly illustrated in a summarizing figure showing the zones of land trade in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Here the reader sees clearly how, by the eighteenth century, Cracow had ceased to be significant as an international center and become merely a regional emporium.

In the chapters on trade and commerce, Carter proceeds, commodity by commodity, to assemble whatever data is available for the relevant time period from the secondary literature and the archival materials. This is a painstaking task given the absence of the complete series of materials that are known for other localities in Europe. Because no analogous systematic synthesis of materials exists for any Polish city, this work will undoubtedly be of great service to anyone interested in the economic history of Poland. It is clearly the product of herculean labors and for this the author deserves great praise.

Historians will miss attention to a host of questions that are defined here as outside the scope of the study. The proportion of the text devoted to analysis relative to the amount of data provided here is quite small. Aside from stressing the effect on trade of various military campaigns and political developments—the effect on the Eastern trade of the rise of the Ottoman empire for example—very little attention is paid to issues such as the sources of capital, the attitude toward profit, the ethnic division of trade, or the spatial ecology of commerce in the city. (Where did merchants live, and where did they conduct their business?) This book is a valuable contribution to

knowledge, but it will probably be consulted more often than it is read.

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KEITH HITCHINS. *Rumania 1866–1947*. (Oxford History of Modern Europe.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 579. \$49.95.

Although Romania made its initial tentative steps toward independence during the first half of the nineteenth century, its election of a foreign prince (as well as the adoption of a constitution) in 1866 marked its emergence as a European state. Over the course of the next eight decades, that orientation toward the West continued. Although the integration of the Balkan state into Europe was not without noticeable failures and a great debate raged in Romanian political and intellectual circles over the state's *raison d'être*, by the twentieth century Romania's political, economic, and social structures had moved steadily along Western lines. This stood in sharp contrast to its pre-1800 Eastern direction. In so doing, the building of the Romanian nation-state had made the country European both in model and substance. Seen in that light, the events of 1944–47 not only severed ties and identification with the West but they also substituted a new Eastern despotism that redirected all facets of Romanian life away from its recent past.

Unlike the recent volume by Vlad Georgescu, which looked at the scope and sweep of Romanian history in broad, general terms, Keith Hitchins examines the Balkan nation in a detailed, almost surgical manner. Little, if anything, escapes the author's scrutiny in his portrayal of an emerging nation torn between its Eastern past and a Western future, a dichotomy that in fact dominated the nation's intellectual life, especially after the completion of unification in 1918. Romania was at heart an agricultural nation with its cultural soul based largely in deeply rooted Orthodox traditions. But, in its attempts at modernization, it had moved inexorably toward the West. This Jekyll-and-Hyde persona of course created serious internal strains that led to an intense debate between "Traditionalists" who saw the recent trends as ahistorical, and their counterparts, the "Europeanists," who saw the nation's future in its Latin past. In that "Great Debate," the growing pains of the state were evident; the very nature of self and future were at stake. Although a third group, the "Peasantists," hoped for a middle ground that would reconcile modernization with long-held traditions, the debate over the very being of the country could not hide the fact that the conflict between past and present would be central to the state's development in the twentieth century. It is that struggle for the political soul of the nation that forms the essence of modern Romanian history.

Hitchins has produced not only the definitive work on the development of the modern, precommunist Romanian state but also an outstanding case study of

nation-building in general. It is history that captures the broad panorama of a nation that made great strides in overcoming its evident liabilities, only to find itself condemned again in 1947 to the machinations of outside forces. Rich in detail and clearly presented and argued, this is a study that painstakingly chronicles the history of an often overlooked country and, even without discussing post-1947 developments, makes it abundantly clear how tragic the imposition of communism was in changing Romania once again. The fears of nineteenth-century Romanian leaders that the suzerainty of the Ottomans would merely be replaced by that of the Russians indeed proved to be correct; the West, which served as the model for national development and as a champion of its independence, could (and would) only watch. The invitation of Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to become prince had made Romania a European state in the minds of the many; symbolically, the removal of King Michael in 1947 left Romania behind a descending curtain that was to separate it once again from Europe.

It is impossible to imagine how a work of this scope could be more complete. Only the bibliographic essay fails to match the comprehensive nature of the narrative. Most readers unfamiliar with Romanian will find the essay to be relatively inutile because the vast majority of sources are in Romanian. The inclusion of a more general bibliography would have been helpful for those unable to avail themselves of Romanian sources. Ironically, however, future bibliographic essays on modern Romanian history will have to begin with this remarkable volume.

RICHARD FRUCHT

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NOEL MALCOLM. *Bosnia: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 340. \$26.95.

Noel Malcolm's basic position in this popular narrative history is that a historically identifiable, multinational country called Bosnia disappeared from the map not because of ancient tribal loyalties but because of a political program achieved by means of "young urban gangsters in expensive sunglasses from Serbia" (p. 252). The West also contributed collectively to the debacle by persistently misdefining the central issues in the collapse of former Yugoslavia. Since 1991, Bosnia thus has been twice victimized by external forces. On the one hand, Serbs acted in response to a complex of historical myths, which Slobodan Milošević's government helped propagate in the late 1980s; on the other hand, the West acted out of ignorance. Malcolm's fundamental goal is to demystify Bosnian history for a general, educated, English-speaking audience, and the result is a fascinating and readable summary of Bosnian history.

The bulk of the book—thirteen of sixteen chapters—traces the emergence and development of the Bosnian state, from the migrations of the Slavs to the

creation of the second Yugoslavia after World War II. Malcolm renders this complex tale with commendable lucidity. Drawing on the historical literature from both the West and former Yugoslavia, he carefully defines historical terms and institutions that are unknown to a general audience and devotes considerable attention to historic disputes such as the origin of ethnic groups, the significance of Bogomilism, the conversion to Islam, the impact of Ottoman rule, and the eventual emergence of national identities. In addition, he demonstrates the interrelationship between historical interpretations—such as the nineteenth-century work of the Croat Franjo Rački on Bogomilism and the Bosnian church—with larger political issues. Readers therefore emerge not just with a picture of what happened in Bosnia but also with an understanding of the context and significance of historical arguments. Most important, Malcolm helps put to rest the myth that the war in Bosnia resulted from ancient tribal loyalties. Nationalism, he continually implies and states and demonstrates, is indeed the product of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The final three chapters, which carry the story forward from World War II, will cause controversy, although Malcolm carefully weighs evidence and issues. He begins from the premise that actual "ethnic genealogy" in late-twentieth-century Bosnia is unknowable but adds that such identification persisted in the postwar period at least in part because of the usefulness of possessing a Yugoslav Muslim population in the nonaligned movement. After a general discussion of the breakup of the Yugoslav federation, he details the three-step method whereby Serbs destabilized Bosnia internally: first, they used propaganda and disinformation to galvanize local Serbs; second, they militarized the Serbian population and terrorized Muslims and Croats; and, last, they used the Yugoslav National Army for the "protection" of Serbs. Although critical of Croatian intervention in Bosnia, Malcolm classifies Croatian culpability as a secondary issue because "[Franjo] Tudjman's own position was that of a rational opportunist" who tried to take advantage of, but did not create, Bosnian instability (p. 241). Malcolm also criticizes Western diplomats who, by pursuing a pro-Yugoslav policy, essentially adopted a pro-Serb policy that ignored Serbia's war aims. Participants in these events doubtless have other explanations, but Malcolm's rendition is a carefully reasoned presentation of the issues.

In 1990, when the Yugoslav federation was achieving political gridlock, Alija Izetbegović stated that Bosnia faced a fiery passage "through the minefield [of nationalism] to the horizon of civil society" (p. 219). By 1993, the hopes of establishing a noncommunist, democratic polity had receded below the horizon, for multinational Bosnia itself had fallen victim on the fields of war. This book, which should be read by all those interested in the demise of former Yugoslavia, is

a funeral oratory to the tragic passing of a unique state.

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JANET M. HARTLEY. *Alexander I. (Profiles in Power.)* New York: Longman. 1994. Pp. vii, 256.

Janet M. Hartley begins her book on Tsar Alexander I with the suggestion that, although Paul's successor was reluctant to reign, once he had become the tsar he jealously defended his powers against any diminution, governing according to the principles he considered best. In this account Alexander was an autocrat and a paternalist; he considered constitutional forms valuable for societies that were ready for them, but he thought Russia was not ready for limitations on the sovereign's authority. Similarly, in international affairs he stressed the achievement of a peaceful and secure community of states and the responsibility of the established powers to join together to resist aggression and revolutionary disorder.

These ideas emerged through Alexander's long struggle with Napoleon and shaped Russia's policies in the decade after 1815. On both the diplomatic and the domestic side, Hartley shows Alexander's starts and stops, his hesitations and inconsistencies, as he confronted and responded to the problems of the moment. He had serious weaknesses as a ruler, not the least of which was his inability to express himself clearly and accurately, whether on paper or with the spoken word. Whether this resulted from laziness, shallowness of intellect, or a deficient education, it contributed significantly to his reputation for vacillation and inconsistency. Yet the overall impression with which Hartley leaves us is of a man with strong convictions who showed a stubborn determination in pursuing what he thought was right, who remained in control even in his darkest days, and whose influence on both domestic and foreign policy was definitive. Hartley's Alexander is a stronger, politically more consistent, and altogether more effective ruler than is usually portrayed. He is also more conservative, more nearly akin in his thinking to both his predecessors and successor than is commonly thought, and well removed in spirit and experience from the Decembrist generation.

This book is well organized and clearly written. Students will find Hartley's summaries of domestic initiatives useful, and her discussion of foreign policy, presented in the conventional frame of diplomatic exchanges, battles, and treaties, has all the necessary particulars. Hartley makes no attempt to establish the broader contexts of her interpretation, and in this sense she offers relatively little analysis. But the standard of accuracy is high (although it should be noted that Malta was blockaded, not recovered, in December 1798; Valetta only surrendered on September 15, 1800).

This is also, however, a book that makes clear the

need for further work. Hartley's is a very different sort of Alexander from the one we usually read about, and if we are to take in this harder, more determined, and altogether more robust figure, we need to get beyond Catherine's blind adulation and Napoleon's cynicism. Hartley's book is useful and valuable. It will be even more so if it arouses interest in further work on Alexander that will, at least, bring our understanding of him and his age into consonance with the historiography of Catherine, Paul, and Nicholas.

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ROBERT J. KAISER. *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 471. \$65.00.

In this valuable and thorough study of the territorialization of Soviet nations, geographer Robert J. Kaiser decisively sides with those historians and political scientists who have rejected explanations of nationalism in Russia and the Soviet Union as the response of primordial nations to the repressive and Russifying policies of state authorities. Following the conceptual lead of theorists and researchers such as Ernest Gellner, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and Miroslav Hroch, a number of students of the Soviet Union—among them Rogers Brubaker, David Laitin, Theresa Rakowska-Harmstone, Yuri Slezkine, myself, and now Kaiser—have contributed to a new paradigm that emphasizes the ways in which a complex process of nation-making occurred as the ironic result of Soviet nationality and modernization policies, thwarting the Leninist goal of a post-nationalist amalgamation of the peoples of the federation.

Kaiser begins by showing that before the revolution of 1917 most peoples of the Russian empire were only beginning to develop a national self-consciousness, and then only among elites. The peasant masses had only slowly moved from an identification with village or district to "a more geographically expansive sense of spacial identity" consonant with the nation (p. 87). This growth of a mass consciousness of a national homeland was most developed in the Baltic region, Poland, and Finland. Soviet nationality policy, based on national territorial autonomy and *korenizatsiia*, the "rooting" of national culture and cadres in the national areas, enhanced a sense of national homeland, and the modernization program that promoted rural to urban migration contributed to "the more rapid nationalization of the masses" (p. 123). The Soviet Union was committed to the international equalization of its peoples, raising the more backward to positions equal to the more advanced, but the affirmative-action programs that were designed to achieve this end served also to the advantage of the indigenous peoples in their own national territories.

Geographic and social mobility in the Soviet Union resulted not in assimilation and the lessening of na-

tional cohesion, but instead in reactions against alien migrants, movement in most cases (at least at the union-republic level) back toward the "homeland," and a more intense national consciousness. Kaiser's critique of the "diffusion-erasure" theory—that modernization would lead to an end to nationality differences and conflicts—and the "internal colonialism" approach—that uneven development and an ethnic division of labor accentuate nationality—is balanced by his defense of the "diffusion-competition" argument that social mobilization intensifies inter-ethnic competition for limited social resources. The achievement of greater (although never complete) equality among nationalities did not lead to the "withering away" of inter-ethnic hostilities. Rather, urbanization and education led to "heightened national self-consciousness and increasing national separatism among the more socially mobilized members of each national community" (p. 248). Russification, Kaiser argues, was far less effective than Western observers thought, although it played an important role in a discourse of exploitation and victimization among the non-Russians. Instead of unification, "the indigenous language and culture were . . . promoted by upwardly mobile indigenes, who were becoming more numerous and more nationalistic over time" (p. 394).

Kaiser adds the centrality of territorial homelands to the great untold story of how nations were made during the seventy years of Soviet power, but by relying almost exclusively on structural and demographic explanations he slights the agency of nationalists themselves. His analysis provides the context and conditions in which the late Soviet nationalisms developed, but the contingency of the Soviet collapse under Mikhail Gorbachev and the variety of nationalisms (and non-nationalisms) that arose with the weakening of the central state need to be amplified.

This hefty volume has the solidity and thoroughness of a fundamental reference work, useful to scholars of the Soviet Union and nationalism in general. It is one that should lie close at hand, for its penetrating analyses, its reviews of the theoretical landscape, and its useful maps and tables provide stimulation and data for many more investigations.

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YURI SLEZKINE. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 456.

The reemergence of old nationalist antagonisms within the borders of the former Soviet Union has come as a surprise to many historians. Most have viewed tsarist and Soviet history through the lenses of the dominant Great Russian ethnic group and perceived a homogeneous nation-state rather than a complex, multiethnic empire more closely analogous to the Habsburg realm than to Western European polities. This timely book

by Yuri Slezkine is one of a number of new works that contend with the ethnic dimension in Russian history.

This is a study of the political relationships and mutual perceptions of Russians and the "small peoples" of the north, a Soviet term for Siberian hunters and gatherers, from the sixteenth century to the present. It is a close analysis of a prodigious amount of material, including ethnographic and historical monographs, newspapers, scholarly journals, communist theoretical writings, popular fiction, folklore, memoirs, and archival records.

Because expansion into Siberia took place gradually and over contiguous territory, interaction with the natives shocked Russian self-consciousness less than encounters with Native Americans did Europeans. Interestingly, the Muscovites viewed the natives not as inferior primitives but as foreigners. This meant that although the conquest of Siberia was attended by violence, disease, compulsion to pay fur tribute, and the breakdown of the traditional subsistence economy, it did not entail the kind of conscious assault on native culture seen in the New World.

These attitudes changed when the Russian government began to emulate European imperialists. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Russians viewed the natives as savages who were to be pressured into adopting "civilization," beginning with conversion to Orthodoxy. Unfortunately, the noble-savage concept—with accompanying sympathies—was applied exclusively to Russian peasants or Cossacks, whose exploitation of natives was often excused. The state's interest in fur profits conflicted with its paternalistic desire to protect natives from abuse.

Besides ineffectual Siberian regionalists, the first group to appreciate the natives on their own terms consisted of Russian-Jewish Populist revolutionaries, who, shipped into exile in remote Arctic locales, systematically studied the lives of their native "hosts." V. G. Bogoraz and L. Ia. Shternberg became the founders of Russian ethnography and promoted native interests in the early Soviet period. But this did not last long. The Soviet ethnographic profession, with its sympathy toward traditional culture, was destroyed under the Stalinist regime as an obstacle to Russification and industrialization. Using a contrived class schema, the government identified and persecuted "exploiters," then drove reindeer herders, fur trappers, and fishermen into collective farms. Industrial operations associated with the gulag brought large numbers of Russians to the north.

It was not easy to communize these natives, who often mistook V. I. Lenin for a bald-headed merchant or magician and whose social structures and cultural mores did not fit the government's ideological paradigm. Despite extensive resistance to Stalinization and the stubborn persistence of old ways, the 1930s spelled the beginning of the end for indigenous nomadism. Slezkine finds that the natives had internalized many Soviet values by the 1960s. Most of them did not question the benefits of industrialization, were eager

to adopt modern life styles, and absorbed the values of the Soviet "socialism of nice shawls with tassels" (p. 318).

That is not to say that life was good, or that Russians were the saviors of the natives, as contended by the Brezhnev-era "ethnography of paradise" (p. 352) and popular fiction. Indeed, under glasnost, such propaganda gave way to exposés of substandard living conditions and to fictional portrayals of Russians as predators. Romantic, antimodern environmentalism gave rise to a new perception of natives as noble savages. But by then natives had only a distant memory of their traditional cultures and languages and were so vastly outnumbered by Russians in their homelands that they could not hope to control their collective destinies, let alone the rich resources of their lands.

Covering a period of four centuries, this book sheds light on the history of a neglected people and reveals Russian self-perceptions refracted through the prism of their attitudes toward the natives. The volume assumes a fair degree of prior knowledge about Russian and Siberian history. It does not incorporate comparisons with ethnic minorities in other regions of the empire. And it makes excursions into postmodern theory that often obscure more than they reveal. But on the whole, it is a beautifully written, fascinating book that greatly enhances our understanding of Russia as a multiethnic state.

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ELIZABETH WILSON. *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 550. \$35.00.

Elizabeth Wilson synthesizes many of the significant political and cultural issues of the Soviet era in this impeccably researched biography of Dmitri Shostakovich. Following the controversy that surrounded Solomon Volkov's *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich* (1979), Wilson quiets the harsh voices by offering a brilliant reappraisal of the composer and his music. Through diaries, letters, commissioned articles, journal accounts, and exhaustive interviews with the composer's family, friends, and contemporaries, she makes important contributions to Shostakovich scholarship and to the study of cultural history during the Soviet period. Wilson offers a cogent and incisive survey of pertinent musical and political issues as she chronicles significant stages in the composer's career.

After a discussion of his childhood and youth, she describes the young composer's struggles during Joseph Stalin's repressive campaigns against formalism in music, most notably the blistering attacks on *Lady Macbeth of Mzensk* (1932) in *Pravda* in 1936 and the notorious "Zhdanov" decrees of 1948. She then assesses the events of the composer's last years, which coincided with the rise of the dissident movement following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Wilson is highly knowledgeable about Shosta-

kovich and his era. Her treatment of the source material suggests new ways of thinking about the composer and his music.

Among the contributors (which include both musicians and non-musicians), Flora Iasinovskaia Litvinova (1920-) illuminates Shostakovich's private and professional worlds. Litvinova, a biologist, met Shostakovich during the years in evacuation in Kuibyshev (present-day Samara) after Adolf Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. Here Wilson offers the reader a profound glimpse into perhaps one of the bleakest periods in the composer's life. In a commissioned article, Litvinova, quoting extensively from diary accounts, offers details about the composer not found in earlier Shostakovich studies.

After intensive treatments for poliomyelitis in 1970, Shostakovich met Litvinova at the House of Creativity in Ruza. He recalled the circumstances surrounding the composition of the Fourth Symphony, which he completed in April 1936. A few months earlier, in January 1936, the first of the Stalinist diatribes against *Lady Macbeth*, "Muddle Instead of Music," had appeared in *Pravda*. In Shostakovich's discussion with Litvinova, he conveyed his intense dislike of all forms of artistic repression. The attacks in *Pravda* and the sudden cancellation of the premiere of the Fourth Symphony at the behest of the secretary of the Union of Composers strongly undermined his patriotism. In the tradition of the anti-romantic poet Afanasy Fet (1820-92), Shostakovich defended his "art-for-art" aesthetic. He told Litvinova, "Yes, those were desperate times . . . You ask if I would have been different without 'Party guidance'? Yes, almost certainly . . . the line that I was pursuing when I wrote the Fourth Symphony would have been stronger and sharper . . . I would have displayed more brilliance, used more sarcasm, I could have revealed my ideas openly instead of having to resort to camouflage; I would have written more pure music" (p. 426). Except for this interview with Litvinova, Shostakovich rarely revealed his thoughts about the inner workings of his music. Rather, as much of the documentation in this book illustrates, he preferred to let the music speak for itself.

Shostakovich joined the Communist Party in 1960, setting off another round of political difficulties for the composer. According to Isaak Glikman (1911-), a Leningrad literary critic who served unofficially as the composer's secretary during the 1930s and the editor of a recently published volume of correspondence from Shostakovich to Glikman, the composer did not willingly join the party. He was officially coerced after Nikita Khrushchev strongly encouraged him to head the Composers' Union (p. 339). Party membership was a requirement for the position. Because Shostakovich had heretofore shown little interest in political ideologies of any sort (except when they adversely affected him or his work), his recruitment created general consternation among his colleagues and friends. Lev Lebedinsky (1904-92), a close friend of Shostakovich

and a former editor of the Moscow Sovetskii Kompozitor publishing house, expressed a generally held view that Shostakovich's party membership was "the most tragic example of his neurotic behaviour" (p. 336). Wilson does not pronounce judgment; she allows us to reach our own conclusions concerning such obvious contradictions in the artist's life.

Wilson presents new evidence illustrating Shostakovich's justifiable fear of arrest and imprisonment during Stalin's reign of terror. In a recorded interview with Wilson, Veniamin Basner (1925-), one of Shostakovich's composition students, recalls that in 1937, when Shostakovich was interrogated by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (later renamed the KGB) concerning an alleged plot to assassinate Stalin, only the timely imprisonment of his interrogator saved Shostakovich from possible arrest (p. 125). The omission of this significant event in *Testimony* indeed raises serious questions about the validity of Volkov's view of the composer as a *iurodivyi* or "holy fool" whose eccentricities are tolerated by the authorities.

Because of the even-handed approach that pervades Wilson's study, we now begin to understand the reasons for Shostakovich's actions: why he sometimes appeared to collaborate and why he sometimes did not. During his last years, as his health rapidly deteriorated, he signed important documents with apparent little regard for their content. In 1973, for example, two years before his death, his signature appeared on a highly controversial letter published in *Pravda* denouncing the eminent physicist and human-rights activist Andrei Sakharov. Here both Wilson and Volkov agree that Shostakovich had no deeply rooted political agenda; rather, the composer often failed to disassociate himself from the official letters and speeches to which his name was attached. Although it is difficult to justify his denunciation of Sakharov during the media campaigns against the dissident movement in the 1970s, his music contradicts these official writings. Shostakovich was, in fact, the only Soviet composer who, through his opera *Lady Macbeth* and his Thirteenth Symphony (composed in 1962 and set to controversial texts of Yevgeny Yevtushenko), openly opposed a totalitarian regime.

Galina Vishnevskaya (1926-), a former soloist of the Bolshoi Theater, perhaps best illustrates the incongruities between Shostakovich's official and private worlds. "He [Shostakovich] . . . knew the time would come when the verbiage would fade away, when only his music would remain. His only real life was his art, and into it he admitted no one. It was his temple: when he entered it, he threw off his mask and was what he was" (p. 430). At last, Wilson gives us a face behind the composer's mask.

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VALERY N. SOYFER. *Lysenko and the Tragedy of Soviet Science*. Translated by LEO GRULIOW and REBECCA GRULIOW. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 379. \$39.95.

The Soviet Union was the first country to launch a satellite into orbit, it developed the tokamak fusion reactor, and in a number of other fields its scientists were recognized as world leaders. The Soviets also gave rise to one of the most prominent and troubling cases of pseudo-science, Lysenkoism. Trofim Denisovich Lysenko, a simple agronomist of peasant background, was able to parlay his promises to revolutionize Soviet agriculture through Lamarckian science into dominance over the biology enterprise. The fact that Lysenko fulfilled none of his promises mattered little; he and his allies effectively forced genetics underground from the late 1930s until Lysenko's fall in 1965.

Valery N. Soyfer's book on Lysenko attempts to explain Lysenko's rise and his staying power. It has been shortened substantially and translated well from a version first published in Russian as *Vlast' i nauka* (Power and Science [1993]), and which had circulated in manuscript form for some years in the Soviet Union. The volume is a passion play of evil and good, Lysenkoism and genetics, Lysenko and his main rival, Nikolai Vavilov. Of particular interest are Soyfer's treatment of a public discussion between the two camps, and between Vavilov and Lysenko, held in Omsk in 1936, which revealed the ideological and scientific gulfs between the antagonists, and of the rapid deterioration of Vavilov's scientific and political fortunes. In this sense, his work is not traditional history of science, showing systematic concern with such aspects of science as ideology and institutions. Soyfer's primary goal is to depict heroes and villains, a goal he achieves.

Soyfer, a biologist, brings an insider's vision to the history of Lysenko. He was trained in the Soviet Union, and he met many of the actors in his passion play. Soyfer adds to earlier studies by David Joravsky, Loren Graham, and Zhores Medvedev with rare primary sources, a number of which are reproduced in full: materials drawn from Soviet archives such as transcripts of speeches and Communist Party meetings, personal papers belonging to several of the leading players, and interviews with many of the participants in this sad story. One striking example is a letter Lysenko wrote to Joseph Stalin on April 17, 1948, offering to resign as president of his power base, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, to regain full support for his "Michurinist" science.

Soyfer's book is weaker in terms of overarching explanations. The reader wants Soyfer to explore in greater depth some of his suggestions. Soyfer does not explain why the golden days of Soviet biology, characterized by a broad research program that encompassed plant hybridization, animal husbandry, population studies, genetics, and eugenics, ended so suddenly in the early 1930s. Perhaps the fact that Lysenko prom-

ised a revolutionary transformation from "bourgeois" to "proletarian" biology that would permit the Soviet Union to revolutionize peasant agricultural practices is one explanation. After all, Stalin's rise to power was accompanied by a period known as the "Great Break," which involved forced collectivization of agriculture and cultural revolution directed against perceived enemies of the state, including the better-off peasants and such so-called bourgeois remnants as scientists and educators. But as Soyfer indicates, Lysenko himself was often unaware of the need for ideological consistency, and he was much more effective in achieving his dominance through power politics.

It may be that in rejecting genetics and embracing Lamarckian notions of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, Lysenko's science was commensurate with Stalinist pronouncements about the primacy of changes in the political and economic spheres to bring about revolutionary social changes. But this explanation, not fully developed in Soyfer's book, does not get us closer to understanding Lysenko's staying power and effective destruction of genetics through 1965. Soyfer shows us how the brilliant, energetic, and productive Vavilov faced fire for empire-building, that is, for securing and dominating a broad institutional basis for his research program, like his counterpart in physics, Abram Ioffe. But why did Lysenko not face this charge?

After Stalin's death in 1953 it appeared that Lysenko would rapidly fall from favor. Leading biologists attacked Lysenko's theory of the transformation of one species into another and those of his associate, Olga Lepeshinskaia, who claimed to have created life in the laboratory. Several new institutes opened. And physicists who had acquired great authority owing to their successes in building nuclear weapons established a series of laboratories in their institutes that employed geneticists to evaluate the effects of radiation on living things. Furthermore, Lysenko usually failed to deliver on his promises; his "experiments" lacked rigor; when his methods increased yields it was because of the way he was able to organize peasants to work more efficiently in the hated collective farms, and because of the greater resources he had in his hands—equipment, fertilizers, and better seeds—not because of scientific advances. Future studies may wish to examine how the Stalinist system permitted entire fields of research to be dominated by one individual or institution.

Soyfer's passionate study remains a welcome resource for those interested in the history of Soviet science and Soviet history.

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DAVID HOLLOWAY. *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy 1939–1956*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 464. \$30.00.

As the first comprehensive Western study of the development of the Soviet atomic bomb, David Hol-

loway's book deals with a subject of key importance for historians of the Cold War and of Stalinist politics. Holloway provides a detailed account of Soviet atomic-energy policy from the discovery of nuclear fission in 1938 to the mid-1950s, when the Soviets first tested thermonuclear weapons. His book has three main themes: the development of Soviet nuclear weapons, the relationship between scientists and the political system, and the effect of nuclear weapons on international relations. Holloway does a good job of weaving his narrative around these three themes to provide a readable and coherent history of Soviet atomic policy in the Stalin and early Khrushchev periods.

At the centerpiece of the book is Joseph Stalin himself, who, as the supreme dictator, set in motion the Soviet program to build the bomb. Although he learned from Soviet intelligence reports about work on the bomb in the United States and Great Britain during World War II, Stalin did not realize the implications of the atomic bomb until the United States demonstrated its power at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. At this point Stalin gave the atomic program top priority, committing tremendous economic and scientific resources to developing the bomb. This was precisely the type of project for which a socialist command economy was well suited, and, within just four years, the Soviets were able to test successfully the first atomic (plutonium) bomb. As Holloway points out, the inherent contradiction between scientific autonomy and totalitarianism was to a great extent overcome by the sense of urgency and purpose that the Soviets attached to the bomb project. However suspicious Stalin was of his scientists, he had no choice but to rely on them, and hence allow them a certain amount of independence, if he wanted to compete successfully with the United States in developing the bomb.

In examining Soviet nuclear policy against the backdrop of international developments after the war, Holloway concludes that nothing could have deterred Stalin from the goal of developing thermonuclear weapons. Stalin wanted to catch up with the United States at all costs and no restraint or conciliatory gestures on the part of American policy makers could have lessened his determination.

Although Holloway avails himself of sources that have become available since glasnost, including memoirs of the Soviet atomic project, he uses few Soviet archival documents. As a result, his book provides little in the way of revelations. We do not learn a great deal, for example, about the espionage contribution to the development of the Soviet bomb or about the accusations of treason against Western scientists made in the controversial book by former NKVD official Pavel Sudoplatov (*Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness, a Soviet Spymaster* [1994]).

In one case, Holloway even confuses the issue of intelligence gathering. He suggests that the Soviets delayed in developing the bomb because NKVD Chief Lavrentii Beria did not believe the intelligence reports

he was receiving on atomic research in the West. But—and this is attested to by Soviet archival documents that have been made available—it was Beria who initiated and directed the ambitious atomic espionage effort from the beginning of the war. And it was Beria who, in early 1942, first drew Stalin's attention to American and British plans for an atomic bomb.

This book offers few new insights into the actual process of decision making under Stalin because it is based on the traditional premise that Stalin himself made all the decisions on key issues. Thus, it tells us little about the impact of leadership politics on Soviet policies toward the atomic bomb and relations with the West. Holloway assumes that Stalin was in complete control of policy making until his death, but there is much new evidence to indicate that in fact his subordinates, although clearly afraid of Stalin and outwardly subservient to him, were engaging in independent policy initiatives by the early 1950s. At the Nineteenth Party Congress in October 1952, as confirmed later by Nikita Khrushchev, Viacheslav Molotov, and others, Stalin was barely following policy issues. He managed only to climb up on the podium at the end of the Congress to give a brief speech. Yet Holloway insists that Stalin "dominated the proceedings" (p. 291).

Although Russian archives dealing directly with issues like the atomic bomb and espionage are still closed, a careful culling of the party archives might have yielded some valuable information about what was going on in the Soviet leadership when key decisions regarding the bomb and international politics were made. Holloway's book makes an important contribution, but, as he himself acknowledges, the story he tells is "incomplete and provisional" (p. 364).

AMY KNIGHT

Library of Congress

NINA TUMARKIN. *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia*. New York: Basic Books of HarperCollins. 1994. Pp. x, 242. \$25.00.

In this ambitious book, Nina Tumarkin continues her efforts to trace the "great legitimizing myths that . . . long sustained the Communist Party's mandate to rule" (p. 187). Her important study, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* (1983), examined how Bolshevik leaders employed V. I. Lenin's memory to solidify the young Soviet state. Here she investigates the state-organized remembrance of World War II, which served as a method to bolster faith in the socialist system.

Tumarkin also has a personal agenda in this wide-ranging study. While tracing the Soviet Union's excruciating national ordeal, she hopes to "confront and push beyond the great pain of my own life: the untimely deaths of my father, brother, and sister, all of whom died before the age of fifty" (p. 2). She relates the Russians' trauma through her own, particularly her sister's long ordeal with leukemia. Personal narrative

is intertwined with historical narrative throughout the book.

The constructed cult of World War II began with the first shots on the battlefield, argues Tumarkin. From the outset Soviet leaders used it to obscure the government's own mistakes. The regime blamed the demon enemy for the sufferings of the Soviet population, even as it put its own citizenry at risk. Not only did Joseph Stalin fail to prepare for the invasion, a well-known story, but also army commanders were forced to attack German forces even against hopeless odds. Recent excavations at battle sites have revealed that the military's "scorched-earth" policies included the execution of ill and immobile Soviet citizens before German troops arrived.

In the immediate postwar period, Stalin encouraged a history of the war that enhanced his own role as military genius and minimized the contributions of anyone else. His nemesis, Nikita Khrushchev, employed the memory of the war for opposite ends. He made Stalin's failures as a war leader a central piece in his de-Stalinization campaign. During the Khrushchev years, memoirs and novels began to emerge examining the population's role in the victory and revealing some of the hardships citizens had suffered to secure it.

Under Leonid Brezhnev the cult of the war reached its high point, hardening into a "master narrative" that transformed the ordeal into the central event of Soviet history. According to this account, the trials of industrialization and collectivization were justified to prepare the country for war. Although millions died in the onslaught of the fascist beast, ultimately the Communist Party, led by Stalin, saved the country and all of Europe from fascism. To promote this version of the war, the Brezhnev regime saturated public space with heroic art and sponsored compulsory commemorative events. This strategy aimed to shame the younger generation, increasingly skeptical about the Soviet regime's accomplishments, to appreciate the sacrifices of those who had freed the world from fascism.

This carefully constructed version of the war began to unravel in the Mikhail Gorbachev era and ultimately collapsed with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. New revelations, such as the publication of the real terms of the Nazi-Soviet pact, led many to question the regime's intentions. At the same time, alternative versions of the conflict emerged from right-wing nationalists, who stressed the unique sufferings of Russians and tinged their accounts with anti-Semitism. A unified history of the war dissolved along with political consensus.

Tumarkin does not attempt to document the internal decisions of the Soviet leadership in its constant struggle to mobilize the nation through the war. Rather, she interrogates the keepers of the cult, the museum directors, sculptors, and elementary school teachers whose task it was to communicate a sacralized version of the war to the population at large. She also gives voice to artists, historians, and ordinary people who attempted to bring the war's memory back down

to a human scale. This original book is a sustained attempt to rescue personal experience from the embrace of official myth. For these ends, Tumarkin's highly personal style serves her extremely well. As she returns to the painful death of her sister at the end of the book, Tumarkin seems to challenge her readers to imagine this human tragedy multiplied by thirty million, the current estimate of Soviet victims in World War II.

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NEAR EAST

DANIEL SILVERFARB. *The Twilight of British Ascendancy in the Middle East: A Case Study of Iraq, 1941–1950*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiii, 306. \$49.95.

The second of a projected three volumes on Anglo-Iraqi relations between 1929 and 1958, this book takes up where Daniel Silverfarb's *Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East: A Case Study of Iraq, 1929–1941* (1986) left off. Although Silverfarb must presume the reader is familiar with the anti-British Rashid Ali episode of 1941, explained in the first volume, and the closing date of 1950 is an uncertain roadmark on the way to the third volume and the revolution of 1958, this work may usefully stand alone as a detailed study of the 1940s. One may argue whether the phrase "case study" is appropriate, for the book does not offer a larger theoretical or even imperial framework in any detail. Silverfarb himself (p. 80) directs the reader to W. R. Louis's *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945–1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (1984), but he rightly claims to fill some gaps on Iraq.

Britain's position in Iraq was of course the classic dilemma: how to preserve predominant influence in the course of a world war—and its aftermath—which stretched resources beyond the limits required for that influence. The usual answer of supporting traditional elites was failing everywhere in the face of popular unrest for national and/or social goals. As Silverfarb makes clear, "Britain's continued intimacy with the ruling class made it virtually inevitable that it would incur much of that class's unpopularity; and that, as far as Iraqi history was concerned, it would follow that class into oblivion" (p. 92).

The strength of the book lies in separate chapters that treat each issue hastening that inevitable end: the nature of Britain's role in Iraq's armed forces; the widespread inflation; the Kurdish risings; the dispute over Kuwait and Umm Qasr; the lengthy, and ultimately unproductive, renegotiation of a treaty relationship; and, of course, the creation of the state of Israel. The weakness, some will find, is the fact that the massive documentation is all from British archives. The book is about Anglo-Iraqi relations, and Silverfarb is even-handed in his treatment of both sides, but the

Iraqi side must always pass through a British lens. Moreover, British policy is just that; seldom is the process by which it was shaped, and particularly the role of individuals, spelled out in any detail. Most citations are to multiple documents, usually by several different hands, compounding the problem. There is one final danger, that of letting the documents shape the analysis in a way that might satisfy the original authors, but will not stand up to historical hindsight. One example will have to suffice: the accepted wisdom that Britain needed bases in Iraq in a Cold War era, although Britain had neither the long-range bombers nor the A-bomb, which would make those bases of any real use in a war with Russia. Within these limits, however, it must be stressed that this book is a most useful addition to the history of British policy in Iraq in a complex era. The three-volume series, when complete, will certainly be definitive in that sense.

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AFRICA

HAROLD G. MARCUS. *A History of Ethiopia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 261. \$35.00.

Despite the longevity, diversity, and complexity of the subject, it has taken only fourteen chapters, 220 pages of text, for Harold G. Marcus to recount the Ethiopian historical experience. It is a lucid, authoritative, and richly textured narrative that attempts to consider the political, economic, cultural, religious, and psychological factors that shaped the evolution of modern Ethiopia.

During the past three decades, Ethiopian history has been a contested terrain between what may be conveniently called nationalist-hegemonists and cultural pluralists. Whereas the first group traced the lineages of the modern state to the ancient Axumite civilization, thereby laying claim to some three thousand years of history, the latter group dismissed that claim as historical mythology. To them Ethiopia is barely a century old. Although Marcus shows that Ethiopia's contemporary geographical make-up, with its varied peoples and cultures, was achieved only by the late nineteenth century, he argues that its history extends into the millennia. Dynastic and territorial changes notwithstanding, he sees an uninterrupted continuum. His argument is compelling, but will not please all of his readers.

Marcus thus begins his long, but magnificently compressed and eminently readable, story with the fossils of prehistoric times and finishes with the tangled political events of the 1990s. Chronologically, it runs from Axum through Zagwe to the Solomonic state, which collapsed in the eighteenth century. The three successive rulers reunified, enlarged, and preserved the country's independence in the face of internal opposition and imperialist challenges; absolutism tri-

umphed under Haile Selassie I, whose limited economic and social reforms spawned a political crisis that culminated in the destruction of the monarchy. Civil wars, repression, and human misery characterize a failed revolution that results in the country's dismemberment. The struggle to reconstruct both state and society continues, but the prospects are uncertain.

With remarkable precision and a sensible balance, Marcus has described the multiple and often contradictory and intersecting forces that have molded Ethiopia's rugged history. In his ambitious attempt to give a comprehensive account, he has paid considerable attention to broader social, economic, and cultural developments. Nevertheless, his study is quintessentially a conventional political history.

The author's liberal perspective and centrist approach preclude him from making any radical departure both in coverage and interpretation. Kings or emperors adorned Marcus's previous books. The illustrative jacket picture of this book is that of a simply dressed traditional leader of the Oromo, the largest nationality in the country. That dramatic shift in historical imagery is not, however, borne out by the book's contents. Although Marcus is alive to the various Ethiopian nationalities, classes, and their varied experiences, the emphasis is still on the Semitic north, the dominant and powerful, and courtly life. There is much less on the Cushitic and Omitic south, the powerless and the alienated, on everyday life of ordinary citizens, and on social conflicts and collective action.

It is thus interesting that Marcus has devoted four chapters to the Emperor Haile Selassie I, the near absolute ruler of the country for almost half a century. The emperor is portrayed as progressive, benevolent, and even charitable, a man who at times "redistributed the proceeds of his ventures to Addis Ababa's poor" (p. 118). Such fanciful observations are better left to official chroniclers. Despite his efforts to appear progressive, charitable, and merciful, Haile Selassie was determined to preserve the fundamentally Semitic-Christian-feudal cast of the empire, and his reign was marked for its meanness, corruption, and gross abuse of power. Haile Selassie was both a tyrant and a miser. No wonder he was violently removed in 1974, a pivotal event that deserves greater attention.

Nonetheless, Marcus has given us a concise yet complete overview of Ethiopia's history. Even those who are familiar with the events will find a good deal that is stimulating, provocative, amusing, and even entertaining. And as Ethiopians struggle with their conflicting past and present, they will find enlightenment and even some sage advice on how to manage the future.

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RENÉ LEMARCHAND. *Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series.) Washington, D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press or Cam-

bridge University Press, New York. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 206. \$54.95.

The political scientist René Lemarchand has been reporting on the states of Burundi and Rwanda for over twenty-five years. These two tiny, land-locked, heavily populated East African nations have long histories of ethnic violence, misery, and abuse of human rights. Lemarchand's new study deals only with Burundi, but he notes that it is impossible to write meaningfully about either nation without considering the other. Both were initially subjugated by Germany but passed most of the colonial era ruled by Belgium under League of Nations and United Nations mandates. Both were formerly kingdoms dominated by a Tutsi minority ruling a much larger Hutu majority. Ethnic persecution in either nation has resulted in refugees and unrest in its neighbor.

Lemarchand argues that Burundi (and presumably Rwanda as well) is the most misreported and misunderstood trouble spot in all Africa. He aims to set the historical record straight and by doing so to gain insight into "ethnic violence as a mode of discourse and a mode of political action" (p. xii). He wants to demystify the stereotypes about Burundi history and society. Lemarchand contends that for the long period of precolonial and colonial eras, the area's people experienced no widespread ethnocidal conflict, although they lived in competition and inequality. He claims that in traditional Burundi society, a struggle for adherents in ever shifting political alliances placed Tutsi and Hutu into patron-client relations of sufficient mutual interest to preclude widescale violence along dichotomized ethnic lines. Lemarchand claims that today's violent ethnic polarity mainly results from colonial and postcolonial policies, exacerbated by recent stereotypes of ethnicity and history invented by contending Hutu and Tutsi. He implies that if such ideas and practices are recent inventions, not deep-seated traditions, they may yet be overcome to provide a solution to Burundi's terrible recent past.

This is a useful, knowledgeable account of Burundi's history, at pains to take no side and assign no blame. It provides a brief but helpful account of traditional and colonial Burundi and a detailed, extended recital of the more recent history of political assassinations, plots, coups, and two major ethnic massacres (1972, 1988) at the heart of Burundi's current conflicts. Unfortunately, Lemarchand does not provide the analytical insights promised in the introduction.

Lemarchand has not convinced me that Burundi's traditional past was as free of resentment and animosities as he implies. One needs to reanalyze the biases and motives of historical accounts and their authors. Lemarchand makes clear that Belgian administrators favored the Tutsi and helped create a more exploitative system. He points out that, although both Tutsi and Hutu have suffered greatly, Tutsi politicians and elite were remarkably corrupt, callous, and cruel in their treatment of the Hutu. He repeatedly stresses the

common language and cultural traits shared by Tutsi and Hutu, as if these should inhibit hatred. To explain the current violence, Lemarchand emphasizes the supposedly recent stereotypes and biased histories manufactured by Hutu and Tutsi to support their claims. Yet he provides no sustained, analytical account of what ordinary Burundi say and think in these matters.

For thousands to die and suffer on account of ethnic fears and hate, powerful and pervasive cultural stereotypes are needed, however false they may be. Lemarchand mentions the abuse of blacks, Asians, and Mormons in America, but nowhere does he mention the most obvious comparative case. Nazi Germans persecuted millions who shared language and culture with them. Their victims were so similar to their oppressors in language and culture that yellow stars and pink triangles were needed to label them. Without a sustained, more detailed look at popular Burundi beliefs about ethnic traits and character, about vengeance and the significance of violence, we have only another horrid saga of human viciousness and brutality, persisting to the point of national chaos. Lemarchand's book is a scholarly, sympathetic account, but it provides few deeper reasons for how and why such horrors can permeate an entire society.

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CAROL SUMMERS. *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideals and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 311. \$45.00.

In a rich, complex, and nuanced volume, based on evidence from a variety of government and missionary archives, Carol Summers traces the efforts of the diverse communities of Southern Rhodesia to define and control social change during the first four decades of colonial rule. Describing her work as a history of perceptions, or contextualized discourse analysis, Summers explores the patchwork fabric of Southern Rhodesian social ideology and examines the ways in which it changed over time and was translated into policies and practices.

Within the European community, Summers argues, missionaries, settlers, and government officials had varying and often conflicting perceptions of Africans, largely coinciding with their differing material (and non-material) interests. These disparate views resulted in a wide range of policies and practices intended to promote and control the direction of social change. As perceptions changed over time, often in response to economic and political stimuli, so too did programs and policies.

Focusing on "native policy," particularly as it applied to education and development, Summers demonstrates how different groups within the European community championed competing views of social change. Missionaries promoted African assimilation into European culture as a means of saving African

souls. Settlers, like missionaries, advocated the breakdown of African social and authority structures, but to facilitate the recruitment of African wage labor. Often at odds with the evangelists, settlers feared the logical outcome of the "civilizing mission": heightened individualism, the transfer of knowledge and skills, economic competition with Europeans, and, finally, the blurring of social boundaries.

The British South Africa Company, which administered the territory until 1923, was primarily interested in profit, which required adequate supplies of African wage labor. The company, however, also encouraged African acquisition of skills, commodity production, and consumerism, in spite of settler pressure. Employees of the Colonial Office, fundamentally concerned with political and economic security, focused on the long-term viability of the empire. Political pragmatism and immediate economic gains were not always compatible. Thus, the colonial administration, which initially broke down local authority structures, was forced to rebuild them in order to contain the resultant anarchy.

Social and economic policies, Summers argues, were determined by the dominant social ideology in any given period. Before the Risings of 1896-97, when the company held sway, violence was the primary means of control. In the aftermath of the Risings, the influence of missionaries gained strength, along with their views of African educability. The result was the joint efforts of church and state to assimilate Africans into a single European civilization, which emphasized individualism, work discipline, wage labor, consumerism, and Christianity. As settler power increased, particularly after Responsible Government in 1923, the notion of a separate, quasi-European civilization for Africans gained ground. This period saw the emergence of inferior state-controlled "native education" and "native development," which were geared toward making African reserves viable and stemming competition with Europeans in both the wage labor and commodity markets. The new ideology emphasized social difference and distance rather than assimilation.

As segregation rather than civilization became the driving social force, "native policy" emphasized a revamped communalism and resurrected and restructured "traditional" authorities. The settler-dominated legislature introduced "immorality" laws, job color bars, separate commodity markets, and a pass system. Settlers now had the power to define social boundaries and demanded that the state enforce them.

Although the focus of Summers's book is colonial ideology and social control, she does make reference to African initiative and response. Africans successfully pressed for training in English, in reading and writing, and artisanal skills. Their intent was not to improve their lives in the "African areas" but to enhance their position in the wage labor and commodity markets; in effect, to compete with Europeans. Their demands, and their resistance, also helped to shape Southern Rhodesian society. Summers does

highlight some African voices, as filtered through government and missionary documents, but unfortunately she does not supplement them with oral interviews.

This volume is a thoroughly researched, dynamic, and highly textured analysis. It represents an important contribution to Zimbabwean historiography and to studies of colonial ideology and practices more generally. The book is highly recommended for academic libraries and specialists.

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COLIN BAKER. *Development Governor: A Biography of Sir Geoffrey Colby*. New York: British Academic; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiv, 407. \$59.50.

Biographies of colonial governors are historiographical atavisms for two reasons: first, the authors are more likely than not to be eulogizers of "great" individuals rather than analysts of social formations; second, the focus tends to be the high politics of the colonial center. The result is a blinkered view of colonialism that renders indigenous peoples invisible. Colin Baker's biography of Geoffrey Colby, Nyasaland's post-World War II governor, fits into this genre.

There is a disclaimer in the preface that the book is a biography, "not about development theoretically or *per se*" (p. xiv). Baker devotes only one summary chapter to development although the term is a key word in the volume's title. There is perhaps good reason for this: Colby had to devote most of his initial energy to coping with the famine of 1949 and its aftereffects. Although he coordinated the relief effort with consummate skill, the crisis was barely over when Nyasaland was integrated into the ill-fated Central African Federation with the Rhodesias (1953–63), a political scheme that stilted and further marginalized the protectorate's labor-export economy. Baker recognizes the stagnation of the 1950s, declaring that "even Colby could not go on working miracles indefinitely" (p. 347). What miracles? Circumstances, time, and the governor's position militated against successful social engineering. Indeed, Baker's evidence, as opposed to his language, shows that Colby's eight-year term was marked by civil strife, repression, and little development. Minimal achievements—Baker is not being ironic when he cites a contemporary's observation that Colby's "highest ambition for Nyasaland appeared to be the improvement of the telephone service" (p. 145)—are stretched to reveal a governor who showed "great ingenuity" (p. 307), "clarity of vision," and "accuracy of perception" (p. 360).

It is clear that Colby was a cold, aloof figure, hardworking rather than intellectual. He managed to alienate fellow officials, settlers, businesspeople, and Africans. After twenty-three years in the Nigerian service; Colby was fobbed off with the Nyasaland appointment—"such a mediocre governorship at such

a low salary" (p. 59)—and put out to pasture in 1956. He was a marginal governor of a marginal territory. He was not the tolerant, visionary, pro-African man of principle whom Baker contrives; he dismissed African protest as "foolishness" (p. 314).

Marginality, however, should not be an obstacle to analyzing colonialism. A more dispassionate dissection of the evidence (the book is based on a wide range of archival sources), utilization of recent scholarship (Malawi has a particularly rich recent historiography, most of it ignored), and the integration of Africans into the text (none are mentioned until p. 68, twenty-four years into Colby's African career) would have enhanced this project. Two chapters, on African labor tenants and federation, offer substantial insight into the making of policy and are contextually tight. When Baker moves away from Colby and tackles the history of major issues, his book has something to offer. For the most part, however, repetitive, overblown claims for Colby's achievements, the retention of much trivia, and inadequate documentation combine to produce a protracted encomium. This is old-fashioned colonial stuff. To use Colby's own words in describing Nyasaland's telecommunication service, it is "hopelessly overloaded and completely out of date" (p. 137).

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ISABEL HOFMEYER. *We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, or James Currey, London. 1994. Pp. xvi, 328. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.95.

Oral traditions became an accepted tool for reconstructing the precolonial history of Africa in the 1960s. By the late 1960s, however, a number of historians and anthropologists began to question the ways in which these sources were being used. They argued that oral traditions were both socially and culturally constructed and needed to be used carefully in reconstructing the past. This critique led to the development of more sophisticated methods for collecting and interpreting oral traditions.

In the late 1970s, African historians began shifting their focus away from the precolonial era and toward a critical reappraisal of colonialism and its impacts on African lives. Unlike histories of precolonial Africa, histories of colonialism relied heavily on archival data. Oral sources, particularly in southern Africa, played a limited role in these revisionist writings. By the early 1980s, however, there was growing concern that colonial documents, even if read critically, could provide only limited insights into African experience under colonialism. There was a call to raise up African voices.

Concern for raising African voices has led African historians to a reengagement with oral sources. Yet this reengagement has not been accompanied by a

renewed concern for the dynamic nature of oral sources and the methodological problems associated with their use. Issues of transmission and cultural construction seem less important when dealing with more recent narratives. Overall, historians have tended to approach oral narratives of colonialism with a less than critical eye, rehearsing in some ways the approach taken by precolonial historians in the early 1960s.

Isabel Hofmeyr's study of historical oral narratives among a group of northern Ndebele-speaking peoples living within the Tswana-dominated homeland of Lebowa in the northern Transvaal provides a much-needed corrective to this tendency. It suggests that we are at risk in taking such liberties with oral historical narratives. Oral narratives are protean and have been shaped by a range of contextual and performative influences, including the incursion of literate institutions and the social and physical reordering of African lives under colonialism.

Hofmeyr approaches her subject from the perspective of both a historian and a student of African oral literature. This dual perspective allows her to examine Ndebele oral narratives in a critical and refreshing manner. The study proceeds by first laying out the gendered and geographical contexts within which oral narratives were performed at the end of the nineteenth century. She argues that there were two distinct oral narrative traditions among the Ndebele. The first was male storytelling, which was performed in the courtyards (*kgoro*) of homesteads, or groups of homesteads composing wards. The *kgoro* was where men met to discuss affairs of the homestead or ward and where young boys learned about laws and customs through the performance of oral narratives. The second tradition involved female storytelling and occurred within the households that made up a homestead. It thus occurred in spaces that were geographically and socially marginal. The distinction between these two forms was not clear in terms of either content or performance. Yet the male genre was remembered as being more serious in terms of its subject matter and performance style. There was little room for interplay between teller and audience in the male storytelling, whereas female storytelling was highly interactive. Most important, from the perspective of historians, male storytelling was viewed as chronicling the events that shaped the homestead, ward, and chieftaincy.

Hofmeyr next chronicles social and cultural transformations associated with the expansion of colonial domination over the Ndebele and their neighbors from the middle of the nineteenth century. In doing so, she gives special attention to the impact of literate institutions—missions, schools, colonial bureaucracies—on the oral culture and narrative traditions of the Ndebele. Hofmeyr argues convincingly that although literacy spread among the people of her study, it did so in highly interactive ways. Chiefs and converts adopted the use of literacy, yet always adapted it to fit with their oral culture. Written communications by Ndebele re-

sisted the distancing of communicator and audience associated with writing. Written messages from chiefs to white authorities, for example, would refer to oral messages to be presented by the messengers conveying the written communication. In the face of this resistance to written forms, colonial authorities strove to enforce their authority by prescribing forms of written communication for all areas of political and economic life.

If literacy itself was of limited importance in transforming the oral culture of the northern Ndebele, literate institutions, and particularly schools, had a more disruptive effect. This was because they introduced new forms of narrative performance, new ways of ordering and viewing the past, and new themes, both fictional and historical. Hofmeyr shows how these new themes and forms entered the oral narrative traditions of the northern Ndebele.

More subversive than the literate institutions, however, were the social and political transformations initiated by colonial authorities. These included land alienation and the regrouping of homesteads into what soon became sprawling rural slums. This geographical reordering had two distinct impacts on the performance of oral narrative. First, it largely eliminated the institution of the *kgoro*, the men's meeting area, and consequently led to a weakening of this form of oral narrative. Women's narratives, by contrast, located within the space of the household, retained their vibrancy. Second, the consolidation policies removed people from their physical surroundings. These locations had provided mnemonic reference points for historical memory and narratives. The relationship between oral memory, place, and location was severed. People lost access to the topography of chiefship, the landscape on which their memory and understanding of chiefship and the past was linked.

This combination of losses had a reductive impact on the performance of men's oral narratives. Tellers retained core clichés, but both the elaborative and connective material associated with earlier performances of these narratives was greatly reduced. In addition, themes and narratives associated with literate institutions came to replace the connective and elaborative material identified with oral narratives in the past. Thus, storytellers blended pieces from Afrikaner national history into oral narratives in a kind of *bricolage*.

Hofmeyr illustrates these trends by focusing on narratives that describe the siege of Gwasa, a seminal event in the local history of both Ndebele resistance to white domination and Afrikaner nationalist history in the northern Transvaal. Hofmeyr shows how oral narratives describing the events surrounding the siege have been transformed under the combined impacts of social disruption and cultural osmosis.

Hofmeyr's brilliantly crafted study provides current practitioners of oral history in Africa with important lessons. Numerous authors have described the social transformations that have accompanied the rural ex-

pansion of colonial rule. Few historians, however, have considered the implications of these transformations for the retention and performance of historical oral narratives (Steven Feierman's *Peasant Intellectuals* [1992] is a notable exception, though he does not address the performative aspects as much as the reworking of traditions). Neither have historians paid sufficient attention to the process of thematic and performative osmosis that Hofmeyr describes, the infusion of themes and styles drawn from literate traditions into oral narratives. Although this was certainly recognized by earlier students of oral traditions, it has been largely ignored by more recent scholars working on colonial narratives. Hofmeyr's study suggests that the ways in which literate and oral traditions become intertwined can be both subtle and profound. This intertwining can only be adequately mapped through a careful tracing of the parallel development of both traditions.

Hofmeyr suggests that the contemporary reworking of the past, shaped by the loss of historical landscape, the destruction of sites of narrative production, and the *bricolage* adhesion of external themes and styles, has produced not history but farce. The recent forms of oral narrative are entertaining, but they lack the intellectual content of earlier forms of men's narrative that were concerned with the normative re-creation of the chiefly world. This assessment raises questions about history and meaning of oral narratives that the current study does not adequately address.

The historical processes that Hofmeyr credits with having transformed oral historical narratives among the northern Ndebele were part of a much longer history of change. Earlier Ndebele history also was marked by population movements and social transformations. In addition, Ndebele settlement in the northern Transvaal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought them in contact with Tswana-speaking peoples, whose traditions and narrative styles were no doubt different from those of the early Ndebele settlers. In effect, the processes that Hofmeyr identifies with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries almost certainly have been occurring, at some level, for a much longer period of time. This raises a question. Would a comparison of late-nineteenth-century oral historical narratives with those produced a century earlier reveal thematic and performative changes? If so, would the later forms appear "farcical" to an earlier generation of Ndebele storytellers?

This relativist position challenges notions of authenticity that are implied in Hofmeyr's distinction between earlier and later narrative forms. Clearly all oral narratives, as Hofmeyr's study shows, reflect and are shaped by the social contexts in which they are performed. As such they give witness to the social processes that have formed them. In what sense, then, is one set of traditions more authentic than another?

The narratives that Hofmeyr describes as "farcical" may be more problematic than earlier narratives in terms of their usefulness for reconstructing the siege of

Gwasa. They are nonetheless potentially valuable historical sources. Hofmeyr's central argument about the relationship of location and landscape to oral memory and narrative, in fact, rests on the existence of these subverted forms. They give testimony to the impact of the historical processes she is describing. Yet it is only through the kind of careful literary and historical analysis that Hofmeyr applies to these narratives and the conditions which produced them that they become useful historical sources and not simply "farce."

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NANCY L. CLARK. *Manufacturing Apartheid: State Corporations in South Africa*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 226. \$35.00.

Nancy L. Clark devotes as much of this work (the first two chapters) to theorizing and company formation before 1918 as to the apartheid period (the last two chapters). The core of the work (its three middle chapters) is a study of the policies developed by a protégé of Jan Smuts, H. J. van der Bijl, "the major architect of state-controlled industrialization in South Africa" (p. 49), who died in 1948.

Van der Bijl shaped the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom), the Iron and Steel Corporation (Escor), and the Industrial Development Corporation, founded respectively in 1923, 1928, and 1939. Faced with a government unwilling or unable to provide state capital to take over private enterprises, he worked closely with both. Accepting job reservation practices, for the most part, he sought nonetheless to control costs by slipping cheap black labor into tasks from which whites could be excluded. Mindful of the golden egg laid by the mining industry, he avoided challenging its agenda. He made deals with Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American juggernaut.

Escom has been the subject of a monograph that, Clark claims (p. xii), overstates the corporation's function as a tool of capitalist interests. The Victoria Falls Power Company (VFPC), the private enterprise that supplied electricity to the Rand, had to accept an arrangement by which Escom produced power and sold it for distribution to the VFPC. Escom would have the right of expropriation after 1948. Meanwhile, VFPC made substantial profits, an arrangement that annoyed Oppenheimer.

Clark's book makes its most original contribution in its examination of Escor. It, too, was faced with private competition, local and foreign. Before World War II the government would not provide protection from cheap steel from abroad (not something another state corporation, South African Railways, or the mine owners wanted) or capital to take over local firms. So van der Bijl used what leverage Escor had to provide these firms with raw steel, which they would turn into finished products while working out a quota arrangement with foreign producers. Meanwhile, he defied

government policy and increased the number of blacks employed. These initiatives put the corporation in a strong position from which it was able to exploit the cutoff of imported steel with the outbreak of war. The corporation responded to white labor's demands for more jobs by hiring whites at lower-paid less-skilled positions, and black labor's demands by raising wages. It "chose to raise black wages, as well as to depend on white workers to a greater extent, to ensure peace and productivity" (p. 124).

Clark uses van der Bijl's private papers, an array of government archives, and the reports of directors of the state corporations. But she includes no tables of production, capital, wages, or profits for any state corporation. Such systematic data and their analysis are necessary because, as Clark points out, South Africa's state corporations, especially on the side of the gold mines, have been insufficiently studied. Instead, a good deal of the book situates the corporations in the socioeconomic and political order of South Africa over a period of more than a century. A shorter time span and a better balance between background and central subject might have been employed to produce a more insightful work.

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ASIA

JOHN MAKEHAM. *Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 286. \$17.95.

"Name" and "actuality" (*ming shi*), John Makeham remarks in the introduction to this book, "is a key polar concept in early Chinese thought" (p. xi). He traces the development of this concept through several eminent thinkers of the late Zhou and Han eras, ranging from Confucius to Dong Zhongshu (ca. 179–ca. 104 B.C.). But he treats these figures' cogitations principally as preliminaries to those of a little-known Confucian philosopher who lived near the end of the Han dynasty, Xu Gan (170–217).

According to Makeham, the history of *ming shi* in ancient Chinese thought may be reduced to a sort of struggle between two lines, the nominalist and correlative theories of naming. The former held that "it is man who arbitrarily and conventionally determines which *ming* should be applied to which *shi*," and the latter maintained that "there is a proper or correct correlation between a given name and a given actuality," determined either by "Heaven" or by "what is naturally so of itself" (pp. xiii, 9). Makeham rates his own "identification of the emergence of correlative theories of naming in the late third and early second centuries B.C.E." as "the most important conceptual interpretation advanced in this study" (p. 147).

Xu Gan advanced a modified version of these correlative theories that addressed the sociopolitical cri-

ses of his own time. Indeed, he went so far as to associate the political and social breakdown at the end of the Han dynasty with the influence of the rival theory of names. Nominalism, he charged, encouraged fame-seekers and charlatans to pursue personal reputation by means of deceit rather than by actually enhancing their own potency, inspiring all sorts of "perverse behaviour" (p. 103). Because the Han recommendation system rewarded reputations for moral worth with official appointments and titles, there was much to be gained by acquiring an undeserved reputation that did not correspond to a more modest actuality. Whether the nominalist theory of names provided as much incentive or inspiration for Han fame-seekers as Xu contends Makeham does not resolve. But he might have noted that the unlikely attribution of the fall of dynasties to the influence of rather recondite trends in scholarship is an *idée fixe* in Confucian thought from the Han era to the Qing (1644–1911).

Another of Xu's intellectual (or rhetorical) fixations that Makeham might have placed in the broader context of Chinese intellectual history is Xu's contrast of his own quest for the "essential meaning" of the classics with the "ossified scholasticism" of his opponents (p. 118). One might wonder what those Xu attacked had to say about their alleged ossification. In some cases, however, it is not clear who can be called the most ossified, as in Makeham's discussion of the Old Text and New Text schools of classical scholarship in the Han era (pp. 116–117).

In general, Makeham's work is informed by careful and meticulous scholarship. Although his subject is rather esoteric, he offers interesting insights and assorted *aperçus* on larger questions in late Zhou and Han intellectual history. Makeham's writing is clear and comprehensible, but there is some repetition and disjointedness from chapter to chapter. This could stem from the fact that versions of six of the eight chapters were first published as journal articles. Makeham's seven-page set of conclusions, however, presents a remarkably clear and concise summary of his major findings. Moreover, almost any scholar in the field should find something of interest and value in the book's nine appendixes, which broach subjects ranging from "Zhuang Zi's Skepticism about Names and Naming" to "An Outline of the Old Text School–New Text School Rivalry in the Han Dynasty."

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CHAE-JIN LEE. *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 241. \$35.00.

Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), one of the most important Chinese leaders of the twentieth century, is a difficult subject for any biographer. Zhou had a complex personality and led a long life that spanned several complicated eras of Chinese history. Most biographies fail to grasp his human essence and sacrifice depth to

breadth. Chae-Jin Lee's book avoids these weaknesses by focusing on his childhood and early radicalization. Utilizing Chinese and Japanese sources, including some archival materials and personal interviews, Lee clarifies several misconceptions and delivers some penetrating analyses of Zhou's character and development. The book is divided into four chronological periods: Zhou's childhood in Jiangsu and Manchuria (1898–1913); his formative educational experiences at the progressive Nankai Middle School (1913–17); his unsuccessful experience in Japan (1917–19), which also encompassed the first exposure to Marxist theory; and his activities of the May Fourth era (1919–24), which included participation in student movements, prison, and a sojourn to Europe.

As Zhou has often been the subject of hagiography, Lee's monograph performs a real service by debunking several myths surrounding his youth. His relationship with his family, for example, was not one of neglect but of support and respect. He did not adopt revolution because he was an "angry son." Zhou was not a Marxist in Japan, although he was exposed there to the writings of Kawakami Hajime. Nor did he immediately become an activist when he returned to China from Japan after failing two entrance examinations to Japanese universities.

Lee fuses historical clarification with strong analysis, making several assertions. He makes the point, for example, that Zhou was someone who held back before commitment to action because he had to adapt as an outsider. Lee also points out that Zhou's earliest accomplishments in school were his prize-winning essays. One of these essays won a school competition and was included in a national publication, and Lee concludes: "From then on, his academic and political career was intimately tied to his writing ability" (p. 31). This significant point is often not considered in a substantive manner by biographers of Zhou. It is particularly important because most of Zhou's essays, both early and later ones, are available; memoirs and skewed political biographies are not so reliable as Zhou's own writings. Although at times Lee also succumbs to the lure of these unreliable works, for the most part he sifts his evidence well.

Another strength of this monograph is how Lee illuminates Zhou's early personal relationships, particularly the influence of the founders of the Nankai Middle School, Zhang Boling and Yan Xiu (Yan Fansun). Their relationship with Zhou is discussed in the context of their emotional, intellectual, situational, and political ramifications. Lee contends that Zhou was slow to political commitment because he had such diverse personal relationships, although he was one of the few New Culture activists who had a real intellectual understanding of socialism.

The major weakness of Lee's biography is the rather superficial section on Europe. Although Zhou's sojourn in Europe lasted twice as long as his time in Japan, it is treated in less than half the space and without the meticulous attention to archival sources

and Zhou's own writings that typifies the rest of the book. Zhou's pivotal conversion to Marxism and the full range of his activities in Europe need to be more clearly articulated. But this does not detract from the overall historiographical and analytical contributions of Lee's book, which provides a more cohesive sense of Zhou's personality than any other English-language work on the early phase of his life.

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CHANG-TAI HUNG. *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 432. \$37.00.

In Chen Kaige's film *Yellow Earth* (1992), an Eighth Route Army cadre is sent to remote Shaanbei in 1939 to collect folk tunes for revolutionary songs. Hosted in the cave home of a peasant family, he tries to impress on them the meaning of socialist revolution in China. When he returns to Yanan, he watches an all-male peasant cast drum-dancing as soldiers march off to fight the Japanese. Back in Shaanbei, his former host, fearing drought, leads all the male peasants from his village to pray to the Dragon King for rain. This narrative raises a troubling question for scholars of modern China: to what extent have all the social and cultural movements since 1919 succeeded in "enlightening" rural China?

Chang-tai Hung's well-researched, well-illustrated book argues that the War of Resistance against the Japanese spawned the most important cultural movement in modern Chinese history, the one that most transformed the mental world of rural China. After the fall of Shanghai and other major coastal cities, many Chinese intellectuals fled with the Nationalist government to the interior. To mobilize the country for protracted war against the Japanese invaders, they launched a "popular culture campaign" to popularize and politicize such urban cultural forms as spoken drama, cartoons, and newspapers, using these means to "educate" peasants about patriotism and national unity. The campaign was so successful, Hung claims, that it contributed to a "ruralization" of Chinese culture that "marked a critical shift in Chinese consciousness" (p. 279).

The most valuable part of Hung's study is the first three chapters, devoted to the rise of spoken drama, cartoons, and newspapers in such major cities as Shanghai and their spread into the interior during the war. These are fascinating stories. They describe the efforts of idealistic young practitioners of progressive drama, cartoons, and press to move into the cultural mainstream and, after the outbreak of the war, their painful struggles to establish channels of communication with the rural masses. In the hope of "nourishing a symbolic universe of patriotism," dramatists staged "street plays," cartoonists mounted "picture storytelling" in rural towns, and newsmen experimented

with "paper bullets" to arouse the peasants' patriotism. Despite such efforts, Hung concedes, the impact of their works on the audience was "meager" (p. 136).

The fourth chapter narrates how such writers as Lao She and Lao Xiang used traditional popular art forms to convey patriotic messages. Hung contends that their products are poor in artistic quality but important in popularizing national salvation. It is again, however, unclear that any of their work was actually read by their intended readers, the peasants.

Hung's last chapter deals with the Communists' systematic use of popular culture to create a "unified ideology," featuring Mao Zedong's Yenan as the citadel of China's future. This use of popular art forms was related to their attempt to forge a new "people's language" as a "vehicle of cohesion," creating a sense of shared identity in the liberated areas (p. 250). The linkage of this chapter with the rest of the book, however, is rather unclear except that, according to Hung, despite a lack of direct evidence, it was through the discourse of "ruralization" that the Communists successfully promoted their political vision.

Hung leaves some critical problems unresolved in this study. Even if we agree with his definition of popular culture as artifacts "widely diffused and generally accepted by the people in a particular social setting" (p. 7), we can still doubt whether such progressive genres as spoken drama, cartoons, and newspapers can be called popular culture. True, there were dramatic productions and tabloids in Shanghai that were popular with the urbanites, but they were dismissed by the artists and writers Hung discusses as "poisonous." They insisted on producing progressive, didactic versions of popular culture that circulated mainly among like-minded members of the intelligentsia.

Thus, the struggle of these urban intellectuals during the war to popularize their cause in the interior was to some extent an extension of their previous struggle to reach out, only now their targets were peasants. Their wartime efforts seemed to be largely futile, however, as the impact of their campaign on China was small. The case of drama illustrates the problem. Except in the first two years of the war, when patriotic morale was high, most of the intellectuals gathered in interior cities spent their time staging anti-Chiang Kai-shek historical plays and debating the historicity and aesthetic of such plays. With such evidence as this it is somewhat doubtful whether there actually was a "ruralization" of Chinese culture.

Moreover, Hung seems subject to what Roger Chartier has called a "reductive assumption that . . . symbolic actions express a central, coherent, communal meaning." He never asks how peasants or town folks "read" the literature created in their name. Indeed, although Hung credits Lynn Hunt for alerting him to the drive for national unity through a "popular culture campaign" (p. 160), Hunt stressed elsewhere the importance of social and gender differences in cultural practice. By imagining a new China through

their propaganda art, Hung's intellectuals actually also devised a new code of marginalization. In the Manichean world of wartime discourse, they marginalized both traitors and people in occupied regions as the Other. Thus, when Ouyang Yuqian's film *Mulan congjun* opened in Chongqing in 1940, a mob, instigated by the dramatist Ma Yanxiang, burned it because it was produced in Shanghai and therefore traitorous. And many women writers, such as Xiao Hong, were uncomfortable with the profusion of female symbols in wartime literature, for these symbols represented a male fantasy that suppressed female differences in the name of a male-defined nationhood rather than showing gender equality and national unity, as Hung argues.

Despite these reservations, Hung's study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of resistance intellectuals and their propaganda efforts in unoccupied China.

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KEVIN MICHAEL DOAK. *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xliii, 197. \$35.00.

In 1935, among the ruins of the Japanese Communist and Marxist movement and amid a fear for liberals' similar demise, six men of letters, some of them former Marxists, built a literary house called the Japan Romantic School. In the course of its three-year life, the school garnered sixty-eight like-minded men and women as members and associates. Through their works published in the journal bearing its name, the school became known as a major ideological force behind the Japanese fascism that engulfed Asia and the Pacific in the war of 1937-45.

Kevin Michael Doak examines these works. It is best to let the author outline the content of the book. Each of five chapters "focuses on one of the hegemonic voices . . . in the . . . School's search for a new basis for cultural identity" (p. xl). The chapters are "synchronic, each breaking away from diachronic narrative and moving beyond the layers of history to arrive at a deeper analysis of [the school's] claims for [Japan's] particularity" (p. xl). "Internally," moreover, "each chapter moves in a roughly diachronic manner, a step that risks repetition, or even worse, incoherence" (pp. xl-xli). But the flaws "may be an unavoidable result of the irrepressible drive to produce meaning historically" (p. xli). In the end, "as these critical impulses become embedded in cultural identity, an implicit narrative emerges: the tragic irony of the Romantic School gives way to farce and triumph of myopia" (p. xli). The "hegemonic voices" include the writers Yasuda Yojūrō, Hayashi Fusao, and Kamei Katsuichirō, and the poet Hagiwara Sakutarō.

Like the modesty and pride Doak wears on his

sleeve, the book is a grand complex of many fine moments marred by equally numerous problems. The first problem is the plethora of jargon and theoretical excursions. Because of space constraints, I will give no examples here, but a taste of it can be found in the outline of the book. The question is: is it helpful for an intellectual-historical narrative of Japan to forage the literary theories of the West when the result is no more than a series of sound bites that jar the narrative's progress?

The second problem is Doak's Japanese, which is not up to the task at hand. Obvious manifestations of his weak Japanese include translating *chisei* as "knowledge" instead of "intelligence" (p. 10), *sōmonka* as "a poetry of correspondence" rather than "a love poem" (p. 10), and *gōhō* as "magnanimous" not "intrepid and unbridled" (p. 26). Subtler but more serious examples are his translation of Hagiwara's poems entitled collectively *Kyōdo bōkei shi* and his subsequent interpretation of the poet's attitudes toward modernity.

Rendering *Kyōdo bōkei* as "Hopeful View of the Homeland," Doak calls the poems "ironic" expressions of the poet's unease with both the modern city and the countryside. True, one meaning of the word *bō* is "hopeful" as given in the book. But it also means "distant." In his introduction to the collection's first edition, the poet stated that he was then viewing his hometown from *tōku* (distant). Moreover, if he missed anything of his hometown, it was "the rivers and mountains," not the people there who had "spat from behind" at the poet and "stuck out their tongues at him saying 'There goes the idiot.'"

Doak's critique of what he terms "the most pivotal poem in the collection" (p. 41) commits another improvident act of critical license. The Ōwatari Bridge of the poem "The Great Crossing Bridge" does cross the Tone River, as the author informs us, but it nowhere connects the poet's hometown with Tokyo as he claims. The poet's own postscript notes that it goes from Maebashi to a poorer and even more desolate neighboring village. Therefore, the bridge is not meant metaphorically to belong "to a space independent of both the tradition of Maebashi and the modernity of Tokyo" (p. 41). The space that caught the poet is between a rock and a hard place of premodern Japan.

To a more literal critic, this seems like a confusion that arises from not only the author's failure to read Hagiwara's book of poems in its entirety but also the inaccurate reading of the two "pivotal" lines of the poem. According to Doak, these lines read: "Alas! To stay in my home town / exhausts the pains of sorrow that penetrate like salt." Alas, the poem's literal wording says: "Not going, staying in hometown. Extreme are the pains of melancholy that scald like salt." As the author argues, "The Ōwatari Bridge" is a poem of frustration. But the poet's frustration is with neither "the coldness of the city" nor "a town where he no longer belongs." Rather, it is with himself for being unable to leave the closed, bigoted hometown where he never belonged.

Such incongruity in Doak's interpretation of his materials is also related to a third problem. Despite (or perhaps because of) his promise to "recontextualize" literary texts (p. xi), the author remains basically impervious to biographic and related data even as aids in approaching literature. With due respect to the deconstructionist argument against reducing literature to biography, one might nevertheless gainfully heed the notion that non-literary sources help better understand poetic license and reduce the risk of license in criticism.

In the case of Hagiwara's poems, the introduction to the collection is a glaring warning that one should not overlook. If one unfortunately misses it, rudimentary knowledge of the poet's early years and modern Japanese history and society should still raise a "red flag" to misinterpretations and overinterpretations. To wit, Hagiwara's father, who was a physician, was not a native of Maebashi. Like colonials, he transplanted himself there by taking advantage of the occupational and geographical mobility that the "modern" Meiji era provided. Like all traditional Japanese communities, Maebashi was a small old town that honored a narrow definition of "the insiders" and forgave no misfits. Hagiwara, who was not only the son of a colonial but also lacked a steady job at age twenty-eight when he penned "The Ōwatari Bridge," was a quintessential outsider and misfit.

In short, an analysis of his poems, especially in reference to Japanese fascism and "the crisis of modernity," must go beyond the much-touted paradigm of disenchantment with the "cold" mechanistic modern city on the one hand and longing for the "warm" communitarian countryside of the past on the other.

Biographic data tied closely to Japanese history are invaluable in understanding the voice of Yasuda Yōjūrō, too. As Doak points out, he was born in Sakurai near the Nara-Kyoto center of ancient civilization. What Doak fails to note is the fact that Sakurai is also a site of mythical proportions in the modern imperialist ideology. In a well-known song for school children, it is the place where Kusunoki Masashige, the royalist samurai of Emperor Godaigo, bids a tearful farewell to his young son as he throws himself into the last-ditch battle to save the emperor against Ashikaga Takauji, the traitor. "Your mother awaits you," says the father to the son; "Grow up in a hurry and give your service to the Emperor, for the country." Granted, the forty volumes of Yasuda's opus should not be reduced to his biography. Yet, to use the author's favorite words, such a legendary place "grounded" at birth the leading ideology of the emperor-centered modern Japanese fascism, stunting his intellectual growth to tragic "myopia," not "farce."

Why Doak missed these fine points and others—such as Kamei Katsuichirō's fascination with Lev Shestov's *Dostoevsky and Nietzsche: Philosophy and Tragedy*—is the problem with which I must conclude. Mastering the idioms of Western literary criticism is insufficient to write a book of Japanese intellectual

history. Linguistic, historical, and cultural sensitivity is essential to the task, and one can acquire it only by studying Japanese language, history, and culture more, and studying them still more.

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EDWIN H. GRAGERT. *Landownership under Colonial Rule: Korea's Japanese Experience. 1900-35*. (A Study of the East Asian Institute.) Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 210.

The search for the origins of South Korea's rapid economic growth has brought renewed attention to the decades when the peninsula was under Japanese rule, 1910 to 1945. In contrast to earlier scholarship that depicted the colonial experience solely in terms of exploitation, recent studies have emphasized an indigenous Korean role in colonial economy and society and the ideological and structural consequences of that role for postcolonial growth. The consensus of earlier scholarship on the use of the cadastral survey as a means to insure Japanese domination of landownership provides the foil for Edwin H. Gragert's study. He finds that "no major transfer of landownership from Korean to Japanese owners occurred at the outset of the colonial period" (p. 159) and concludes that "the Japanese cadastral survey perpetuated the late Yi dynasty land-tenure system, not seriously altering it" (p. 110). Moving between a statistical profile of landownership across the peninsula and profiles of four selected villages, Gragert offers a well-documented and cogent argument for rationalization of landholding rather than expropriation through 1914. The argument, the documentation, and the careful descriptions of precolonial Korean land policy and survey efforts as well as Japanese agricultural immigration efforts offer an important contribution to scholarship on the period, useful for scholars and graduate students alike.

In the closing chapters Gragert raises a further argument for subsequent land transfers, extending the study to the economic depression in the colony in the early 1930s. He contends that a depressed market for agricultural products was the major cause for the transfer of ownership from Koreans to Japanese, arguing that "transfers that did occur resulted not from official scheming but through colonial market forces" (p. 159). More explanation of colonial market forces would help dispel the ambiguity of market dynamics and strengthen the institutional analysis of both state and economy. Although a more detailed analysis of market, trade, and agricultural policy would be beyond the scope of this study, more information about colonial markets is necessary to sustain the latter argument that market was more central than administrative design in the land transfers of the 1930s. Nonetheless Gragert has drawn attention to the need for further study of the depression years, and he has offered a challenging thesis for the priority of market or structural forces rather than state policy in land transfers.

I find merit in the design, results, and promise of this study. The blend of statistical profile and village case study permits attention to significant details such as the value of land purchased by the Japanese, the recalcitrance of the Korean population toward foreign ownership of local land, and the accuracy of the survey and the Korean surveyors. The progression from indigenous land policy in the late Yi dynasty to the Kwangmu cadastral survey (1898-1903), and only then to the colonial cadastral survey, permits comparisons between them. Rationality and greater efficiency were the immediate goals of both survey efforts, but the Koreans were hoping to secure tax revenues to sustain a financially solvent state while the Japanese planned to open Korean land to settlement and development by the wider empire (p. 53). The focus on rationality so critical to the debate on the origins of contemporary Korean economic success deserves further attention. Assessing the colonial transition, Gragert concludes that "changes in Korean landownership from the Yi dynasty to the colonial period were of persons/corporations, not system" (p. 109). With closer scrutiny of institutional developments in the late dynastic and colonial period, we may well find further evidence of continuity in plan if not procedure and learn more of the origins of patterns of rationality.

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ROBERT G. WIRSING. *India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xii, 337. \$45.00.

The dispute between India and Pakistan over the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the oldest and most threatening of contemporary conflicts. It erupted shortly after India and Pakistan were created out of British India. Kashmir was a princely state, nominally self-governing but carefully watched over from New Delhi by the British. The princes and maharajas were instructed to choose either India or Pakistan; a few held back, and some, including Kashmir, toyed with the idea of independence. In all but a few cases their final disposition was negotiated.

Kashmir was different. Its maharaja was a Hindu, but most of its population was Muslim. Hindu-majority areas remained, however, and one region, Ladakh, was predominately Buddhist, with religious and ethnic ties to Tibet. Furthermore, the political core of the state, Srinagar, had an important Hindu minority.

These facts are not in dispute, but just about everything else about Kashmir—the maharaja's accession, Jawaharlal Nehru's promise of a plebiscite, Pakistani support for Kashmiri separatists, and the events that led to a massive uprising in the valley in 1989-90—are. It is not surprising, therefore, that solutions to the Kashmir problem are easier to promulgate than implement. There are Pakistani solutions (India should pull out of the valley, or be forced out, before or after a plebiscite that would, Pakistanis think, reject India, but

which most observers think might also reject Pakistan). There are Indian solutions: fuller integration into India (advocated by some hawkish Hindu groups in India, but likely to lead to a blood bath), or simply better Indian government. Finally, there are Kashmiri solutions, including independence (opposed by both New Delhi and Islamabad, about the only thing on which they can agree).

The complexity of the Kashmir problem and the passions it has evoked have deterred objective scholarship. Robert G. Wirsing, however, has written the best available study of the Kashmir dispute and the many proposals that have been offered over the years. With great care he sets forth and evaluates the claims and counterclaims of all parties; his review of the highly partisan academic literature is a tour de force.

Wirsing also has his own ideas on resolving the dispute and the role of the key parties and important outside powers (the United States). Although the ultimate responsibility lies with India and Pakistan, as well as Kashmiris of all political and religious affiliations, he favors a strong U.S. role on the grounds that this is a problem that will not solve itself and that Kashmir could become the flashpoint of a major war between two near-nuclear states. We may, in four or five years, find out whether this optimism is justified, but in the meantime Wirsing has provided us with the best available guidebook to this vexatious problem.

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'Atu EMBERSON-BAIN. *Labour and Gold in Fiji*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 270. \$69.95.

In the opening decade of the twentieth century, Sir Everard Im Thurn, British colonial governor of Fiji, traveled several times a year to the northern section of the island of Viti Levu to visit the "wild" hill tribes of Colo North, people who still had only the slightest dealings with British officials despite thirty years of colonial rule on Fiji. All of this changed in the 1930s after gold was discovered in Colo North, and the Tavua gold field began to be worked by gold-mining companies owned and operated mainly by British and Australian expatriates.

'Atu Emberson-Bain's lucid study of the gold-mining industry on Fiji is largely devoted to the first two decades (1930s to 1950) of operations and, in particular, to how mining companies and the colonial government treated Fijian gold miners, many of whom settled at the mining town of Vatukoula on the Tavua gold field. She devotes five chapters to this time period and adds two chapters on the period 1950 to 1970, when Fiji became an independent country, and on the years since independence.

Emberson-Bain convincingly shows that, in the economic world created by the off-island gold-mining companies, indigenous Fijian miners fared badly in

every respect—lower wages, poorer on-site housing at Vatukoula, worse health care, and more dangerous working conditions—compared to expatriate employees and even to other Pacific Island employees, mainly Rotumans. It would be fair to say, as Emberson-Bain often does here, that Fijians were victims of racism in their own homeland since many of the justifications set forth in business and government files for the inferior conditions imposed on Fijians were based on putative racial characteristics and on several purported properties of Fijian society at large.

Emberson-Bain's careful, trenchant analysis of the plight of Fijian gold-mine workers makes her study a more-than-worthwhile contribution to Pacific Island labor history and could well serve as a model to be emulated in future approaches to the history of indigenous workers in Papua New Guinea, with its large copper mine on Bougainville Island, and in New Caledonia, with its nickel mines. And yet this is only one aspect of her study. She broadens her approach by continually cross-referencing her findings with similar studies done on other former British colonies, such as South Africa, Rhodesia, Ghana, and Uganda. She ties her work in with frontier studies and with gender issues, such as restrictions placed on female freedom within Fiji. Finally, taking a Marxist perspective, she addresses a number of issues related to the ideology of power and its impact on Fijian economic life. Her work stands alone in this field of Pacific Island labor history in finding a place, and a proper place, to discuss so many contemporary issues.

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RAELENE FRANCES. *The Politics of Work: Gender and Labour in Victoria 1880–1939*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 267. \$59.95.

Raelene Frances undertakes an intervention between "gender-blind" accounts of Australian industrial development on the one hand and, on the other hand, unitary feminist interpretations of the work-force sexual division of labor, training, pay, conditions, and trade-union participation. Insisting at the outset that each element requires specific historical and empirical testing, she presents a richly detailed study of the industrial experiences of men and women in three of Victoria's manufacturing industries: clothing, footwear, and printing. Victoria remained the Australian state employing the largest number of women in factories even after its neighboring and more populous state, New South Wales, emerged as the more significant industrial producer in the 1890s. Frances contends that we must understand the industrial position of the sexes as an interplay between "product and labour markets, capital supply, technology, racial and gender orders, and the activities of the state" (p. 11). No one "element is *determinant*" (p. 2).

Frances offers a densely wrought narrative of differ-

ential struggles in her three distinct industries. She ably demonstrates the importance of perceiving uneven development with regard to gender and labor and of avoiding monocausal explanations of both change and the maintenance of the status quo. Although women workers dominated the clothing trades, they formed only a fraction of printing workers, and constituted one-quarter to one-third of the principally male bootmaker work force. Frances outlines in six chapters changing gender patterns in each of these industries during two periods: the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century up to the eve of World War II. This periodization enables her to investigate the impact of mechanization and other changes augured during the depression of the 1890s, the effects of the early twentieth-century Wages Boards, and the fuller development of federal government industrial arbitration (in effect the fixing of wages, conditions, and working hours by Commonwealth judges).

One of Frances's more interesting themes is the complex, sometimes paradoxical outcomes of different forms of wage negotiation and fixing. Perceiving women as an economic threat, male trade unionists pursued various strategies such as the exclusion of women from training and skill grades or, where that failed, demanding that they receive equal pay, thereby eliminating the attraction of women as cheap labor. Generally women received less than half of the average man's wages. Wages Boards, by contrast, inconsistently attended to skill levels required of women workers, so that some received as much as two-thirds of men's wages, although they generally respected customary gender distinctions specific to various industries. Ironically, when arbitration judges entered the picture, they evaluated women's situations not by comparison with men in the same industry but, rather, in relation to women in other industries and women workers as a whole. Women, then, were treated as a single category of worker, although men were not.

Frances's book makes a useful contribution to a more nuanced understanding of women's labor history. Thus, it is regrettable that her undertaking—to explore the interplay between “product and labour markets, capital supply, technology, racial and gender orders, and the activities of the state”—is not fully realized. Frances devotes extensive and almost loving attention to the volatile histories of labor markets, capital supply, technology, and the activities of the state, consistent with her professional focus as a labor historian. By contrast, what she terms the “gender order” receives little specifically historical scrutiny; it finally seems a flat, given, and thus unelaborated element that contributes little significant change to the interplay claiming Frances's attention. This is particularly unfortunate in view of the rich published body of relevant Australian historical work that could have introduced substantive historicity and dynamism into her assessment of gender issues. For such issues affected the supply of female labor, the gender image

of particular industries, differing intensities of masculine hostility to women workers, and a host of changes she needs to explain. Gender issues especially relevant to Frances's project include childbearing patterns (including “illegitimacy”), the domestic economy, housework, child care, education, religion, shopping and marketing, marriage and divorce, women's paid work in nonindustrial occupations, women's nonunion political participation, sickness and health, crime and insanity, masculinities and masculinism, femininities and feminism, and nationalism and national identity. Important contributions relating to such issues have been made by Margaret Anderson, Alison Bashford, Joy Damousi, Raymond Evans, Shirley Fitzgerald, Stephen Garton, Patricia Grimshaw, Renate Howe, Beverly Kingston, Noeline Kyle, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath, Allison MacKinnon, Jill Julius Matthews, Susan Magarey, Heather Radi, Gail Reekie, Jill Roe, Kay Saunders, Katie Spearritt, and many others.

Meanwhile, the “racial order” receives no elaboration. One indexed reference to “racism” concerns trade unionist prejudice against Southern and Eastern European immigrant workers and anti-Semitism, which more correctly constitutes ethnocentrism. The only other reference is one line about the Boot Trade Union officials' intolerance and racism. Such imprecise and minimal discussion of the question of race is astonishing in view of the centrality of racial tensions in Australian labor history. This is particularly evident when, in the single indexed reference to Chinese labor, Frances supplies the telling quotation from a union official declaring women a greater threat to organized labor than “John Chinaman himself” (p. 66). There is a fuller story to tell here, integral and not incidental to the interplay of gender and labor in the period.

Fundamental problems attend the use of bland descriptors such as “gender order” and “racial order,” as in Frances's study. These terms do not function with any historical exactitude. The temptation for authors to assume readers know already what they mean in any given context often proves ill-founded. Moreover, they are arguably too monolithic and inclusive to offer much explanatory assistance. Explorations of the kind of interaction Frances has undertaken are worthwhile, but they will only be more fully delivered with more carefully wrought analysis. They can only succeed if all the examined elements receive equally and fully historical status, with all the theoretical implications that this entails.

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UNITED STATES

EUGENE D. GENOVESE. *The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitations of an American Conservatism*. (The William E. Massey, Sr., Lectures in the

History of American Civilization.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 138. \$22.50.

Eugene D. Genovese remains a dominant figure in American historiography. For three decades, his portrayal of the Old South as a distinctive civilization defined by the master-slave relationship has essentially set the agenda for the writing of antebellum southern history. In this published version of the William E. Massey, Sr., Lectures in the History of American Civilization delivered at Harvard University in 1993, Genovese delineates the southern conservative tradition, explores its historical roots and ideological complexities, and argues for its contemporary relevance and enduring value.

Genovese contends that the essential ideological tradition of the American South has been "quintessentially conservative" (p. 1). He reconstructs the basic tenets of southern conservatism from a close reading of southern thinkers such as John Randolph and John C. Calhoun in the nineteenth century and Allen Tate, Richard Weaver, and M. E. Bradford in the twentieth. At the core of southern conservative thought has been the persistent desire to maintain the Christian values of Western Civilization. Its view of human nature has been colored by the Calvinist emphasis on original sin. Rejecting the celebration of unfettered individualism, southern conservatives place the individual instead in a corporate structure such as the family and community. Indeed, the importance of the historically evolved and organic community has been central to southern conservative thinking. In terms of ethics, the southern tradition rejects moral relativism in favor of a belief in a transcendent natural law and an objective moral truth.

In several ways, Genovese's construction of the southern conservative tradition downplays the uniqueness of southern thought. This seems like a curious departure from his earlier work, which emphasized the distinctiveness of the southern experience. For example, he carefully explains how Calhoun and the Massachusetts jurist Joseph Story were both part of an American conservative republican tradition that sought constitutional safeguards against the extremes of democratic radicalism. Genovese's explication of the southern conservative tradition also suggests the ideological affinities between the southern Agrarians and the Marxist Left. Both provide a searching critique of market society and warn about the dangers of unrestrained capitalism.

Genovese is openly admiring of the southern conservative tradition, insisting that it "contains much of intrinsic value" to any political movement "that expects to arrest our plunge into moral decadence and national decline" (p. 7). The ideas of southern conservatism, according to Genovese, offer an antidote to dangerous current tendencies toward irresponsible financial capitalism, ideological totalitarianism (from the Left as well as the Right), and libertine individualism. These ideas also remind us of the necessity to reconnect

individuals to their past, community, and institutions. Genovese is careful to distinguish southern conservatism from fascism, pointing out the former's distrust of ideological crusades, repugnance of total war, and aversion to any identification between a nation-state and an ethical vision. Despite his high esteem for southern intellectuals, Genovese maintains a healthy critical balance in his study of conservative thought. Although he insists that southern conservatism must divest itself of its racist elements, he might have explored further the question of whether the southern conservative tradition can ever be divorced from the social relations of race and class from which it was constructed.

Genovese's book is important for several reasons. As intellectual history, it provides a welcome affirmation of the vitality and respectability of the southern mind in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As political commentary and moral polemic, it will provoke readers to ponder more carefully the dilemmas of contemporary American life and an emerging international world order. It confirms the enduring contribution of Genovese to the writing of southern history.

MITCHELL SNAY
Denison University

JOHN NERONE. *Violence Against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 306. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Observing that violence against the press is an old theme in American history, John Nerone says that it has usually been seen merely "as a part of the distant and colorful past, a product of antique prejudices and outmoded values, one of many obstacles overcome on the road to pluralism." The author, however, believes that such violence is part of the warp and woof of the nation's culture and that violent acts against the media are therefore "systemic rather than episodic" (p. 9). In pursuing his thesis, he shows how the evolution of anti-press violence over more than two centuries paralleled and reflected changes in American political, social, and economic life. He convincingly demonstrates how carefully orchestrated and limited actions against newspapers were staged to enforce prevailing ideas of republicanism and civic responsibility during the period of the American Revolution, whereas in the nineteenth century editorial discretion yielded to unabashed partisanship with the rise of strongly developed political parties. Editors replaced "printers" as the key figures in the publishing business, and by their unrestrained attacks on other editors and political leaders of the opposing parties, they became the lightning rods of political battles, often inviting both mob and individual violence. So widespread was violence for two generations after the War of 1812 that Nerone calls that period "the golden age of editorial fighting and dueling" (p. 72).

Following the Civil War era, which the author calls

a "watershed" for the press, mob violence turned increasingly toward various minority journals and toward organized labor. The "trigger" to this later violence, however, "would be the specter of group empowerment, not the voicing of obnoxious ideas" (p. 127). Nerone concentrates in this chapter almost entirely on African-American papers from Reconstruction through the civil rights movement, although he devotes a few pages to violence against German-American editors during World War I. The chapter on antilabor violence deals chronologically with most of the important strikes from the late nineteenth century to recent times. Attacks on the press have declined in the recent past, primarily because the media are more remote from the general public and better protected; nevertheless, the author argues that "the number of alienated people is large and growing" and contends, somewhat vaguely, that this is "a cause for concern" (p. 212).

Nerone has written a provocative, if uneven, book. The historical context for the revolutionary and Federal eras is detailed and well developed; that for the pre and post-Civil War periods is sketchy at best. The best-written portions are the vignettes describing cases of anti-press actions and explaining the conditions that started them. Yet when the author concentrates on theory and ideology, which is often, his prose too frequently becomes verbose and pedantic. Moreover, he demonstrates the danger of generalizing too much about recent events when he says that mass political movements "have always withered in the marketplace" and that "the U.S. public is thought of as pragmatic, immune to the influences of ideology" (p. 215). In view of the new phenomenon of ultraconservative talk shows—which, incidentally, the author does not mention—and their apparent influence on the recent congressional elections, this observation will already seem outdated to some.

This book nevertheless is still a worthwhile addition to the growing number of studies in journalism history.

DONALD E. REYNOLDS

East Texas State University

JANICE KNIGHT. *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 301. \$45.00.

Telegraphing her intent with a title meant to contrast with Perry Miller's *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (1933), Janice Knight offers a rereading of American Puritanism that challenges Miller's emphasis on a single New England religious voice. Knight contends that there were two separate communities of belief in early seventeenth-century Puritanism. The one, represented by Richard Sibbes, John Preston, John Cotton, John Davenport, Henry Vane, and John Norton, she labels the "spiritual brethren" or "Cambridge group." They emphasized Augustinian piety, the broad communion of saints, sin as an absence of good, and a theology that stressed God's love. The dominant Puritan group in England, they were eclipsed in the colonies by the

advocates of "Winthrop orthodoxy," whom Knight labels the "intellectual fathers." This group, "marginal men in an already marginal movement" (p. 37) in England, were preparationists, were more concerned with the local congregation than the international community of faith, saw sin as a palpable evil, and emphasized the power of the deity. They included William Perkins, William Ames, John Winthrop, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, Peter Bulkeley, and John Wilson.

The two parties are presented as distinct social and political networks, with their own doctrinal emphases and forms of expression. These differences produced a dialogue that helped to define the colonial religious experience, influencing the formation of churches, the Antinomian controversy, and debates over the Half-Way Covenant and the formation of the Third Church of Boston. In attempting to demonstrate this dualism, Knight shows considerable insight and sheds new light on a variety of themes, especially views on the nature of evil and the importance of communal piety.

But attacking Miller for his portrayal of a single New England mind is rather stale. Students of the region's religious culture have long recognized the multivocal nature of Puritanism and the fact that unity did not mean uniformity. Whereas Knight dismisses the work of such "religious scholars" as having "complicated our understanding of Puritan theology and church organization" (p. 6), others would argue that their achievement has been precisely in demonstrating a complexity and richness within orthodoxy, which is threatened by Knight's effort to simplify the discourse into a simple dialogue.

Her effort to group the clergy into two distinct groups is undercut by flaws resulting from her admitted failure to engage in a thorough prosopographical analysis. Her "Cambridge group" includes two Oxfordians—Vane and Davenport—whereas all members of the opposing faction were Cambridge students. She downplays or ignores many ties of affection, cooperation, and correspondence that forged links between those she separates. Inclusion of George Herbert as a Puritan, much less Sibbesian, is never adequately explained; nor is the inclusion of laymen (Winthrop and Vane). Evidence for two groups is drawn from a narrow sample. Forty-nine English clergymen migrated to New England before 1640, and forty-one of them published at least one work. Yet a mere fourteen are mentioned by Knight. Including all the clergy would provide a picture of greater complexity.

In fact, Knight is too good a scholar to actually accept her own contention that the colonial clergy were significantly divided into two groups. Her notes contain numerous examples of ties across camps that undermine her textual rhetoric. On numerous occasions she accepts that differences were more matters of emphasis than fundamentals, and she allows for a more multivocal discourse when she acknowledges that two of her key actors—Shepard and Norton—actually held a middle ground.

Puritan writings do reflect different personalities and different emphases, or attempts to reach different audiences. Apparent differences result in part from the Sibbesians pitching their sermons to those already saved, while the Amesians were more likely to address those who had not yet experienced saving grace. It should not be surprising to find less emotion in a theological treatise by William Ames than in a sermon preached to a congregation of fellow saints. Moreover, allies on one issue were often opposed on another, as when Hooker sided with Vane and Cotton sided with Winthrop on the question of flying the royal ensign with the cross of St. George. There were indeed "orthodoxies in Massachusetts," but the story is more complex than presented here. Belief ranged across a spectrum rather than falling into two camps, and alliances of belief varied from issue to issue. By trying too hard to attack Miller, Knight has obscured some of the findings of merit in her study.

FRANCIS J. BREMER

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NIAN-SHENG HUANG. *Benjamin Franklin in American Thought and Culture: 1790–1990*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 211.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 1994. Pp. xviii, 270. \$25.00.

Only occasionally does a reader pick up a book that is a happy concurrence of effort by both author and publisher. This is such a volume. The American Philosophical Society has lavished great care on the layout and format of this treatise, from the use of paper that will last to numerous pertinent illustrations reflective of the text and grouped not in a separate middle section but spaced out within the pages of this book so they will be most effective. The publisher has also seen fit to expend the additional energy necessary to place notes where they belong, at the bottom of each page, rather than clustering them at the back as endnotes. This is a beautiful book, a pleasure to pick up, to hold, to examine.

Nian-Sheng Huang seems to have read everything ever written about Benjamin Franklin, from contemporaries to modern authors, and he judiciously assesses the various interpretations that have come about over two centuries, by laymen, essayists, and historians, in after-dinner speeches to solemn and sober professional examinations, since the death of that great Pennsylvanian. He examines Franklin in terms of character, virtue, morals, public life and service, and private man as seen both by Europeans and Americans, from the caustic to the filiopietistic. He gives us a description of Franklin's writings and the way others have handled them, from the publications by William Temple Franklin through Sparks, Bigelow, and Smyth, to the ongoing efforts at Yale.

Huang discusses nearly every modern writer or historian who has treated Franklin in a significant way. He rummages through interpretations as diverse as

Ben and Me to 1776, from Norman Rockwell covers for *The Saturday Evening Post* to a tribute by Isaac Asimov. He is at pains to treat carefully the works on Franklin from Carl Van Doren to the present. He traces the various commemorative and anniversary celebrations held in honor of the Sage of Philadelphia, both in the United States and abroad. It was not surprising to read that Franklin's "universality" brought forth ceremonies on the centennial and bicentennial of his birth in France, England, and Italy. It was unexpected to discover he was also remembered in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Huang suggests that "five hundred million people in seventy-two countries participated" in such events (p. 194) throughout America, Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa (p. 196). Huang is comfortable dealing with themes in Franklin's life ranging from his alleged anti-Semitism (thoroughly laid to rest) to his hunger for western lands (I wistfully wish my name had been spelled correctly [pp. 214, 265]).

Throughout the text, Huang makes clear his purpose: to show that Franklin's legacy has a distinctive place in American culture and that both during his life and posthumously he played a significant role in shaping the American way of life. This is a difficult thesis, perhaps, but one Huang handles well. This book is a gem.

CECIL B. CURREY

University of South Florida

NANCY PARROTT HICKERSON. *The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 270. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

Among the more mysterious American Indian groups of North America, the Jumanos rank high. Álgar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca is said to have visited among them, calling them Cow People, in 1534–35. At the end of the sixteenth century, and on a number of occasions during the seventeenth century, Spanish expeditions came into contact with the Jumanos in their home country. For their part, the Jumanos repeatedly appeared at Spanish frontier settlements to trade or seek alliances against their enemies. Yet by the early 1700s the Jumanos had disappeared from the borderlands frontier as an independent group. Fleeting references to them in association with their former enemies, the Apache, crop up in the nineteenth century. Only traces of their linguistic affiliation, sometimes contradictory notions of their culture—sedentary agriculturalists, nomadic hunters and traders, elements of both—and glimpses into their sociopolitical organization remain. In her book, Nancy Parrott Hickerson attempts to organize this limited archaeological and ethnographic information into a chronological narrative that fixes these little-known people into the history of the American Southwest.

Unfortunately, despite her best effort, Hickerson does not bring the Jumanos out of the shadows of history. Aside from arguing that the term Jumano had

a more precise usage among Spanish frontiersmen than some scholars have employed, and that the Jumanos more properly belong in the Tanoan language family rather than the Uto-Aztecan, the author presents nothing new. Even in the matter of the Jumanos' linguistic affiliation Hickerson presents no direct evidence. Many of the chapters, which are organized around individual episodes in Spanish borderlands history, are only marginally related to the Jumanos. In many cases the author must assume that vaguely identified Indian groups are Jumano. Also problematic is the author's reliance on secondary works and published documents. Much of the ground covered in the book has been gone over (succinctly) by W. W. Newcomb, Jr., in his survey *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (1961). Hickerson treats some subjects, for instance Jumano encounters with the Oñate and La Salle expeditions, without reference to the most recent literature on these subjects. The absence of any clear exposition of the Jumanos' culture does not help. Because the Jumanos were divided into groups of sedentary agriculturalists and bison-hunting traders, it would have been helpful to understand what, other than language, made these bands a single people in historic times.

JESÚS F. DE LA TEJA

Southwest Texas State University

PATRICK FRAZIER. *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 307. \$35.00.

James Fenimore Cooper was wrong: there could not have been a "last of the Mohicans" during the eighteenth century because these Indians survived that epoch. As Patrick Frazier makes clear in this detailed monograph, many Mohicans made a series of "pragmatic" (p. 240) adjustments to the presence of colonists in their midst. They often suffered as a result, but they nonetheless survived.

Frazier is not the first historian to write a history of Indians in colonial New England, to be sure. Since the age of William Bradford historians have described relations between the natives and newcomers who inhabited the region. In recent years a number of important studies by historians such as William Cronon and Neal Salisbury have provided readers with analytical frameworks for understanding why Indians and colonists created the world that they did. Yet although these works often contain shrewd insights, historians of colonial New England have often avoided telling the stories of particular Indian communities. Frazier's monograph partially fills the historical lacuna. By writing what is, in essence, a town study, Frazier provides readers with perhaps the most in-depth inquiry into the changing fortunes of a specific New England Indian community.

The outlines of the story are clear enough. Mohican Indians, gathered near Stockbridge in western Massachusetts, had to confront colonists who wanted their

land and their souls. To a surprising degree, the Stockbridge Mohicans were willing to provide both: they allowed settlers to move into the region and become their neighbors and often their trade partners; and they allowed Christian missionaries to take up residence among them. Over the course of the eighteenth century, many Stockbridge Indians perhaps regretted these decisions. However critical some became, the conversion of many Mohicans to Christianity nevertheless did not eradicate them as a people with an identity distinct from their colonial neighbors. Mohicans continued to engage in traditional pursuits, such as seasonal maple sugaring ventures, even when these pursuits annoyed local clerics. And, as Frazier makes clear, colonists in Massachusetts and New York could only rarely see the Indians as anything but Indians; the Mohicans' participation as British allies in the Seven Years' War and as allies of the patriots during the American Revolution hardly altered the prevailing sentiment that Indians could not be converted into Europeans.

We know much about these Mohicans because colonists lived among them. Perhaps the most notable observer was Jonathan Edwards, who was a missionary in the town from 1751 to 1757. Edwards was convinced that his work could progress best among the Stockbridges, and he initially resisted his appointment to the presidency of Princeton so he could remain with his Indian charges. Through the writings of such witnesses, Frazier gives us indelible images of a community wrestling with threats to its identity and vitality. Alcohol purveyors seemed to hover around the edges of the settlement at all times, sending their wares into the town with Indian women who then distributed liquor to others. Marauding colonists dug up freshly buried corpses and scalped them for bounties, an act of treachery that threatened to undermine any efforts to preserve peace along the western boundaries of the Bible commonwealth. And what must Edwards have thought when he witnessed a local neophyte summon the Indians to church by blowing on a conch shell? Such episodes provide the reader with insights into daily experiences often left out of histories of Indians during the colonial period.

Frazier's book will find an audience among readers seeking the stories of individuals and how they wrestled with the challenges of their era. Some readers may despair that the details crowd out analysis; others may question Frazier's assertions that these Indians' responses to land-hungry and soul-hungry colonists were always based on pragmatic assessments of available options. But few will question the message here: even Indians wanting to accommodate colonists could not keep them at bay. Some Mohicans remained in eastern North America, but they had to struggle to survive in a world increasingly beyond their control.

PETER C. MANCALL
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G. S. ROWE. *Embattled Bench: The Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the Forging of a Democratic Society, 1684–1809*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1994. Pp. 366. \$45.00.

State supreme courts have provided significant forums for debate about the nature of American society since the earliest days of the republic, although the degree of their influence on American law and culture has gone largely unexamined. G. S. Rowe's volume illustrates the possibilities that await those who undertake similar studies of high bench in other states.

Rowe embraces the formative era of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He concentrates on the shared relationship between the evolution of court and commonwealth that gave motif and refinement to both. The book is thus cast as a chronologically arranged sociopolitical study that analyzes the shaping of the court from its shaky colonial beginnings, through the upheavals of the revolution, to its emergence as a "modern," democratic judicial entity. Rowe maintains that by 1809 the court had "assumed the form and powers, with a few revisions, that characterized it for the next half century, and more." Although the route to that destination followed a "difficult, uneven, and traumatic course," the result was "a bench that served the people of the state in a manner efficient and satisfactory enough to silence most critics" and shared "with the Legislature the role of spokesman of the popular will" (p. 290).

This is a book one might pick up eagerly. Given the distinctive beginnings of the Pennsylvania legal order, its subject is inviting to any reader with interests in the history of American law. The undergirding assumptions that inform it are sensible. Likewise, Rowe appears to have done an exhaustive amount of research in the pertinent manuscript and secondary literature, and its conclusions appear reasonable.

And yet, sad to report, this book fails on balance. Its good points cannot compensate for its two signal weaknesses. Misused legalisms abound, and maladroit prose, at once painfully inept and grindingly tedious, mars the work from start to finish. The recurrent oxymoron "serious felony" stands out as an obvious example of terminology wrongly understood. Clumsy structure, redundant word choice, misplaced modifiers, split infinitives, dangling clauses, and repetitive phrasing all result in murky sentences that one must read, re-read, and read again to take their meaning. (For example, "To move the judicial process back into more formal and permanent channels, in September 1776, the Convention assigned to produce a new state constitution, which began its sessions in the west room of the State House on 15 July 1776, named special justices of the peace" [p. 19].)

Given the promise of the topic, plus the investment Rowe has made in the book—more than twenty years by his reckoning (p. 7)—one regrets that his editors at the University of Delaware Press and his outside readers served him ill. Rectifying the flaws before their

rendition into print could have spared an author from embarrassment and a reviewer from an unpalatable assignment.

WARREN M. BILLINGS
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STEPHEN L. LONGENECKER. *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700–1850*. (Pietist and Wesleyan Studies, number 6.) Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow. 1994. Pp. xv, 195. \$27.50.

With this book, Stephen L. Longenecker joins the growing number of scholars challenging the prior consensus (exemplified by Sydney Ahlstrom) that those characteristics thought to typify American democracy (such as "respect for the rights of all") and antebellum Christianity (such as revivalism) were primarily the legacy of Puritan New England (p. xiii). Here, Longenecker makes a case for Pennsylvania German Protestants as progenitors of the American tradition of tolerance.

Longenecker contends that the very diversity of the German Protestants who settled in Pennsylvania between 1700 and 1850 makes Pennsylvania an excellent test case for the emergence of religious tolerance. The settlers ranged from Reformed and Lutheran contingents (who in Germany had enjoyed state protection) to Anabaptists and radical Pietists (who in Germany had suffered oppression). Longenecker asserts that a common factor united all of them: Pietism, Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, Wesleyans, communarians, Calvinists, and Lutherans all came under Pietist influence, either in Europe or Pennsylvania, or both.

Pietism stressed the necessity of conversion and spiritual awakening. Such a theology, Longenecker argues, was inherently egalitarian, since it presumed the ability of each individual to find salvation. Pietists, he believes, were also inherently tolerant of other Christians, since salvation depended not on ecclesiastical affiliation but on spiritual experience. Independently of New England, Pennsylvania Pietism spawned a series of spiritual awakenings that produced the very democratizing effects (respect for those outside one's particular faith and a propensity to question gender and racial discrimination) that scholars have typically credited to Puritanism. Thus, the middle colonies, in all their diversity, "perhaps" did more to create a tradition of tolerance than did New England, "a region of little ethnic variety that treasured conformity" (p. xiii).

Longenecker's contention that, compared to New England or Virginia, colonial Pennsylvania was a model of religious pluralism is persuasive. He is convincing, as well, in depicting Pennsylvania as a progenitor of revivals. Fully to counter the "Puritan primacy" thesis, however, he would have to demonstrate—as numerous scholars have done on behalf of New England—not only that his region of study provided a prototype for American democracy but also that that paradigm concretely affected the developing nation.

Longenecker works diligently to demonstrate the democratizing effects of Pietism across the spectrum of German Protestant groups, but his analysis works best with the Anabaptists, who were from the start more egalitarian. Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkers had always chosen ministers by lot from among eligible males in the congregation. As survivors of persecution, Anabaptist groups embraced suffering as a theological virtue and shunned conspicuous wealth. They were naturally inclined to condemn slavery, since owning slaves was an ostentatious show of wealth.

The Reformed and Lutheran congregations, however, remained hierarchical institutions governed by ordained clergy. They were less comfortable with increasing women's public roles and far less likely to oppose slavery. Longenecker makes much of the universal German assertion that African Americans were spiritually equal to Euroamericans, but such a claim was not in itself evidence of democratization, since proslavery clergy also typically argued for the spiritual equality of the races.

Nevertheless, Longenecker's defense of German Protestantism is a welcome addition to recent "de-centering" projects seeking a new narrative to describe the development of religion in America. Of particular value is his discussion of Anabaptists and radical Pietists. Most readers know little about the radical wing of the Reformation, much less about how the Pennsylvania setting demanded a reformulation of what it meant to be Christians who shunned the world.

VALARIE H. ZIEGLER
DePauw University

EDWARD J. CASHIN. *Governor Henry Ellis and the Transformation of British North America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 294. \$40.00.

The lateness of Georgia's arrival on the colonial scene meant inevitably there were few royal governors; three in all if we exclude George Edward Oglethorpe, the founder. Oglethorpe and James Wright are, for good reasons, familiar names. But Henry Ellis, despite his occasional label as the "Second Founder," is not well known. Edward J. Cashin thinks Ellis deserves a higher profile; this biography affords a good if unconvincing case.

Ellis, born in 1721 in Monaghan County, Ireland, was descended from English gentry who had migrated from England in the reign of Charles II. At the age of nineteen or twenty, Ellis decided to go to sea in search of a better life. In his several voyages Ellis saw himself more as a scientific observer than as a mariner. His account of his search for the Northwest Passage led to his induction into the Royal Society, where he was to enjoy Oglethorpe's company. Unlike Oglethorpe, Ellis was comfortable with slavery, sufficiently to captain a slave ship (*The Earl of Halifax*) and support the Royal African Company.

Naming his ship after his powerful patron was good politics. Halifax presided over the Board of Trade

from 1748 until 1761 and throughout these years Ellis enjoyed his confidence and support. It was Halifax who singled out Georgia and Nova Scotia for special attention and who made Ellis first lieutenant governor and then, after the recall of the ineffective Captain John Reynolds, governor of Georgia. Ellis held this appointment with distinction from 1758 until he returned home in 1761 pleading ill health but in time for Halifax to name him governor of Nova Scotia. He never chose to occupy this position.

Ellis subsequently served as something of a Clark Clifford (avoiding bank scandals), making himself available as an imperial advisor, a low-profile *eminence grise* for such power brokers as Halifax (of course), Egremont, and William Pitt (occasionally). As they faded from power, thanks to infirmity, George II, and Bute, so did Ellis. By 1768 Ellis was ready for a comfortable retirement and the travels so many retirees seek and do not achieve. He died in Naples in 1806, a "rich old bachelor" (p. 222). He left an adopted son and a girl who claimed he was her father, which he denied, but to whom he bequeathed all of twenty pounds sterling.

Where does Cashin fail? Or does he? Despite truly impressive research on both sides of the Atlantic, Cashin is unable to make Ellis genuinely interesting, at least to me. There is too much reliance on phrases such as "it seems that" (p. 52) and "it has been said that" (p. 32). We do not need to be told on consecutive pages that Ellis was "the model governor Halifax wanted" (pp. 121-22). Yet Cashin's treatment of the British political scene is convincing, perhaps because this is a life-and-times study where the times are more interesting than the life.

In short, Cashin's study of Ellis, "the man who influenced the course of war and the terms of peace" (p. 243), is a welcome contribution to British and Georgia history, but, like Ellis, somewhat unexciting.

TREVOR COLBOURN
University of Central Florida

JEAN B. LEE. *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1994. Pp. xv, 388. \$29.95.

The American Revolution brought independence and new political rights to many people of Charles County, Maryland, but those advances came at a substantial cost, Jean B. Lee argues in this readable study of one Chesapeake County's experiences. What had been "a principal crossroad of America" and "a terminus for transatlantic commerce" (p. 4) became "a backwater of the new nation" (p. 259) without a significant post road through the county. Lee posits that the "price of nationhood" also included extended economic decline, devastating disruption of the tobacco trade, and increased outmigration, significant developments that tempered exuberance about the more positive consequences of this upheaval that severed allegiance to

Great Britain, established a new nation, and spawned a new political ideology.

Lee's study is divided into three broad sections. Part 1 presents a prewar picture of the county as a mature planter society that had grown from 2,800 persons in 1700 to a population of 16,000 by 1775, with African Americans comprising about half of that number. A self-confident gentry presided over this tobacco-driven economy and polity with minimal challenge. Despite severe limitations of freedoms and rights for the great majority of whites and blacks, "neither nascent democrats nor dissenting Protestants endangered social stability" (p. 44) on the eve of revolution.

This population did not march boldly toward independence. Part 2, primarily examining the political and military struggles of these eventful years, finds some local "invitations to change" (p. 88) that eventually fueled participation, but Lee argues that these Marylanders entered the protest movement very cautiously. Although loyalist sentiment was rare, county residents tentatively followed the lead of other Americans. Lee effectively narrates and analyzes the slow evolution to extra-legal politics by 1774, the total collapse of the county's traditional government within scarcely more than a year, and the subsequent waging of war and creation of a new government. Basically the same persons remained in authority through the revolutionary period, with but a slight increase in their numbers. Indeed, a remarkable continuity of leadership would persist into the next century, with the most significant change being the inclusion of some Catholics previously barred from most offices. Once involved in revolution, enthusiasm for the war effort initially ran high, but over time waning commitment, as elsewhere, made it hard to keep militia units staffed at sufficient levels. Provisioning the troops was less a problem, however, with few instances of profiteering or unwarranted shortages.

A final section on postwar adjustments chronicles the political, economic, and social transformations that ensued in Charles County. Most immediately obvious were the end of the proprietary authority of the Calverts and the disestablishment of the Anglican church. More elective positions and other republican changes soon characterized the new government. A "nearly palpable passion for improvement" (p. 190) sometimes conflicted with more elitist and conservative sentiments, such as those that manifested themselves in the new Society of the Cincinnati. Lee describes the returning soldiers as having "a better awareness of America, a keener interest in events beyond their immediate purview" (p. 228), but she fails to illustrate very persuasively what this meant, beyond the interest of some persons in internal improvement projects. There is little discussion of possible political differences over the new constitution or other issues that divided the young nation in the 1790s, much less how prior experiences during the war years might have influenced alignments. As the book's title suggests, Lee stresses in this last section the costs of revolution

and nationhood. Since some scholars have noted many of these "negative" economic and social changes were in motion a decade before independence, one wonders whether the revolution so singularly caused these developments or rather accelerated and exacerbated them.

This book attempts to provide for a Chesapeake County what Robert A. Gross so successfully achieved for a New England town in *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976). Indeed, Lee's research complements many findings about Concord. Unfortunately, there remains a less personal dimension to this community study. For example, Lee's attempt in chapter 1 to use the lens of "John Elgin's World" to portray Charles County quickly loses sight of Elgin, a planter of Lower Durham Parish, and relies almost exclusively on general observations. The book does liberally provide maps and pictures of contemporary structures and objects that render the world of these people somewhat more familiar.

DAVID W. JORDAN
Austin College

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, ROBERT DAVID WARD, LEAH RAWLS ATKINS, and WAYNE FLYNT. *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xxvii, 735. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$29.95.

Single-volume histories of individual states tend toward the undistinguished. A celebratory tone often sets these works apart. Targeted toward a popular readership, they avoid bold interpretive departures. Much of the literature these works draw on is necessarily dated and at times amateur, and correcting for these biases is not easy. This work illustrates some of these difficulties, but it provides a good overview of the topic as well.

This volume does demonstrate some quirks. The various sections of the book are written by different authors, and their writing styles are distinct. The discussion of antebellum Alabama is long on political detail, whereas the coverage of Reconstruction is synthetic and rather terse. One portion of the book is given to philosophizing and puns of uneven merit. Still, the work does possess a certain underlying unity. The authors share sympathy for the dissident heritage among northern Alabama's small farmers, who long distrusted the rich planters of the central Black Belt. Alabama had a vigorous Jacksonian/Populist/New Deal tradition, as well as a significant biracial labor movement. The interaction of the white egalitarian heritage with the African-American freedom struggle is the overarching issue of the book. Readers will find the book to be an even-handed exploration of this complex theme.

Perhaps inevitably with a topic of this breadth, inaccuracies creep into the text. Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural was not delivered on April 4, 1865 (p. 226). It seems unlikely that in the antebellum era "the

small-farmer yeoman class was mostly illiterate," given the contrary evidence in a later chart (pp. 150, 326). The discussion of Reconstruction-era railroad fraud is garbled; 240 times \$16,000 per mile equals \$3,840,000, not \$768,000 as indicated in the text (p. 253). Interpretive points are similarly muddled on occasion: the distinction between share wages as a form of labor payment and decentralized "sharecropping" is confusing if not factually wrong (p. 270).

Another problem relates to the topic of race relations. African Americans are hardly absent from the book, and the general discussion of racial issues is reasonable, but the black perspective on events is not much in evidence. For example, the Populists' approach toward black voters is examined, but the whole issue of how blacks responded receives far less attention. It seems possible that the authors' vigorous sympathy for Populism as a "true and native people's crusade" leads them astray here (p. 319). Similarly, the chapter on women after the Civil War slights the dramatic changes emancipation brought to black women and their families. The Freedmen's Bureau receives more careful scrutiny than what the freed-people themselves were doing.

One striking example of this occurs in the generally excellent portion of the book dealing with civil rights. The movement's rejection of Martin Luther King and turn toward Black Power in the late 1960s had national ramifications. It also had much to do with Alabama, given the presence of Stokely Carmichael and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the group that first popularized the Black Panther symbol. From this book, one might not know that the phenomenon of black nationalism existed, then or earlier. Marcus Garvey is not mentioned in the section dealing with the 1920s, despite the recent literature suggesting his strong following in the South. In general, the book does not much explore internal conflicts within the African-American community. It might have profited from presenting events less consistently from a mainstream viewpoint.

The book does have strengths beyond its generally reasonable interpretive line. It integrates social and cultural history into the political narrative, often in the form of individual vignettes. The final section of the book pulls together an argument skillfully, despite the difficulties of writing instant history. The study generally maintains its critical distance, with perhaps one exception: it takes a pardonable pride in the athletic accomplishments of Alabamians, including, it seems, the world water-skiing championship of one of the authors (p. 587). The volume provides a judicious interpretation of the state's history that should remain the standard treatment for some time.

MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD
St. Olaf College

RICHARD H. CHUSED. *Private Acts in Public Places: A Social History of Divorce in the Formative Era of*

American Family Law. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 234. \$32.95.

This concisely written, richly researched study of divorce in Maryland during the first half of the nineteenth century offers the most thorough historical examination of the politics of divorce I have ever seen. By linking shifts in the treatment of divorce, custody, alimony, and property settlements to changes in the structure of state government and the nature of electoral politics, Chused successfully challenges many historical generalizations about why divorce laws were reformed and which groups favored judicial, as opposed to legislative, divorce. His examination of 1,300 divorce petitions also sheds new light on the changing nature of marriage in Maryland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, providing an index to shifting attitudes toward gender and domestic violence.

Before 1841, authority to grant divorces or annulments rested exclusively with the Maryland legislature. Over time, however, legislative divorces went through several abrupt shifts, underscoring the importance of the legislature's composition and the fact that reform was not a unilinear process. Between 1790 and 1815, the legislature only granted complete divorces with a right to remarry. But for a decade after the Federalists, led by Roger Brooke Taney, a Catholic, regained control of the Maryland senate in 1816, the legislature granted only partial divorces. This era, however, combined "traditionalist" and "reformist" elements. For example, rural southern legislators proved much more willing to vote for bed and board divorces than they had been for complete divorce; the legislature also granted child custody to an increasing proportion of mothers and extended *feme sole* protections permitting women to participate in economic transactions otherwise precluded by marital property laws. After 1826, the number of divorce petitions increased, the proportion of full divorces rose, the divorce process grew less adversarial, and the legislature became increasingly willing to grant divorce for male adultery, gross intoxication, and physical and even mental cruelty (although even then the level of cruelty and ill-usage that needed to be proven was exceedingly high).

As Chused persuasively shows, the increasing number of divorce petitions did not, in and of itself, lead frustrated legislators to approve judicial divorce. Even after adoption of judicial divorce in 1841, pressure to continue granting legislative divorces persisted, and it was not until 1850 that a new state constitution finally banned legislative divorce altogether.

This book rebuts several widespread historical presumptions. For example, Chused suggests that the sharp contrast drawn between divorce in colonial or early national New England and its absence in early Maryland may have been overdrawn, since at least some women, victimized by their husband's adultery or physical cruelty, were able to receive alimony and separation agreement through Maryland's chancery

courts. He also shows that the shift to judicial divorce did not lead to a sharp increase in the rate at which couples sought to divorce.

Perhaps his most striking finding is that the drive for judicial divorce was spearheaded not by liberal reformers, critical of the inaccessibility of legislative divorce, but by traditionalists, like the planter John Lewis Millard, who inveighed against procedural irregularities and the public airing of scandalous adultery accusations. Far from reflecting a radical change in marital norms, judicial divorce was favored by many traditionalist rural legislators as a way to slow the de-facto liberalization of the grounds for divorce within the state legislature.

Social historians will find a great deal of valuable information in this book about changes in domestic behavior and values. Before 1806, most petitioners were rural and male, and petitions were granted only for interracial adultery or prostitution (by the wife). After 1806 (when the Republicans had swept the Federalists from power in Maryland), women (especially urban women) petitioned for divorce more often than men, and with greater success. Like Norma Basch, however, Chused finds that the rise in the number of women's petitions was less an expression of women's increasing independence in a world of disappointed romantic expectations than an effort to formally end marriages that had been terminated earlier by desertion. Chused also reveals the strikingly high number of divorce petitions from Baltimore and from relatively poor petitioners. One minor point needs to be corrected: it was Rachel Jackson, not Andrew, whose divorce had not been finalized at the time of their marriage (pp. 90, 134).

Anyone who has ever tried to reconstruct the legislative history of family law reform in the antebellum period will attest to the difficulty of uncovering the politics of reform on the state level. Chused has done this brilliantly, and his book will be a valuable source of information not only for family and women's historians but for students of legal history and antebellum politics as well.

STEVEN MINTZ
University of Houston

THOMAS DUBLIN. *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 324. \$35.00.

Thomas Dublin had a hard act to follow. It is difficult to imagine a book that has a greater influence on women's labor historians and on the field of women's labor history in its formative years than Dublin's *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (1979). Its recovery of the importance of women in the Industrial Revolution, its sensitivity to culture and gender, and its creative methodology made the work an enduring classic. In this volume, Dublin returns again to women's work and the Industrial Revolution

in New England. Broadening his work to include a variety of female occupations throughout the nineteenth century, Dublin answers larger questions about the relationship among women's work opportunities, family, and working women's independence during this period of industrial transition. He greatly expands on his use of manuscript census linkages, compiling a data base of demographic information for over 2,000 working women. The painstaking labor involved is breathtaking and the detailed, extensive explanations in the appendixes are both impressive and useful. Dublin's findings add to our knowledge of the effects of the Industrial Revolution on women, yet I found myself frustrated by some of the limitations of this study.

Dublin begins with a clear but selective survey of the literature; labor historians have traditionally left women's stories out of their portrayals of the Industrial Revolution, not only doing a disservice to these female workers but also distorting the story by the omission of these important historical actors. The issue of whether or not work provided by industry accorded women greater or less independence and the relationship between wage-earning women and family have preoccupied many women's historians interested in correcting this omission. Through a number of case studies defined by chronology, work, and geography, Dublin pledges to "explore women's experience of the industrial revolution by placing women at the center of the analysis" (p. 13).

Dublin's findings are presented in roughly chronological chapters. He starts with rural New Hampshire outworkers who made palm hats in the early nineteenth century. These daughters and wives in farm families received payments in credit from local merchants. This type of work could either be a strategy to combine domestic responsibilities with work for pay or a way for young, single women to have access to some discretionary income of their own. Dublin believes rural outwork "must be viewed as transitional" (p. 74).

The transition was to factory labor, the subject of the next two chapters on textile operatives at Lowell and female shoemakers in Lynn. Because Lowell mill girls did not work in the factory out of dire economic necessity, their work, too, was transitional to the extent that, "by working short, repeated stints in the mills and returning periodically to their rural homes, early mill women could live in both worlds. They remained farmers' daughters, integrated within the family farm economy and yet earning the higher wages that urban mill employment offered. They could take advantage of what industrial capitalism had to offer without permanently renouncing their status as 'daughters of freeman'" (p. 149).

Lynn shoemakers, however, were usually daughters of shoemakers. They stayed in Lynn and had an intermittent but lifelong connection with shoemaking. It is in this case study that we see the first evidence of women as permanent members of a growing urban working class and of the family wage economy, with the contributions of daughters and wives key to the

survival of the family. In his next chapter on the working women of late-nineteenth-century Boston, Dublin associates the emergence of this family wage economy with "a distinct decline in the social and economic independence of Boston women workers" (p. 154). In addition to the changing mix of available occupations and the increasing demographic diversity of the female labor force, Dublin notes that the "proportions of employed women who resided with their families while working rose substantially" (p. 204).

The last case study is of rural New Hampshire teachers of the late nineteenth century who, despite professional trappings and education, could not make enough to support an independent existence and frequently boarded with families or strangers. Dublin takes stock and summarizes these various case studies in a final chapter on women's work in 1900. These conclusions reinforce the thesis that women's loss of independence throughout the century resulted from changing work, residential patterns, and familial relationships.

Let me offer some of my frustrations with the book. On the face of it, I am not at all convinced that whether a woman lived with family or not should be the only gauge of female independence (which is really only defined in economic terms). Even though an extraordinary amount of information about these women is provided, I found the portrayal sometimes to be two-dimensional because, as a result of the nature of the sources used, we only learn about two of the worlds these women inhabited: the world of work and the world of family.

Dublin conceptualizes the progress of industrialization in a linear way. For women, "it entailed a movement from unwaged productive and reproductive labor in the home first to waged labor within the home and then to waged labor outside the home" (p. 256). Not only does this conceptualization overlook the possible unevenness of the industrial transition (the persistence of homework into the twentieth century, for example) but it also presupposes a certain historical actor: the native-born white, rural female worker. Dublin is specific and clear about who his subjects are, but he needs to be more careful not to generalize the experience of industrialization of this group of women onto others.

This universalizing of the white native-born female workers' experience creates a major tension at the end of the book. On the one hand, Dublin supports the thesis of decline, that working-class women experienced a decline in independence as "women's work and wages in New England were reintegrated within a patriarchical family wage economy by the turn of the century" (p. 257). On the other hand, Dublin claims that by 1900, "native-born women of native-born parentage [and he means white here] had emerged as a distinct elite among all workingwomen . . . A clear occupational hierarchy existed, with native-born women of immigrant parentage following them on the scale and with immigrants and then African Americans

trailing far behind" (p. 243). The question is, then, for whom was this a century of decline?

LISA M. FINE

Michigan State University

NAOMI R. LAMOREAUX. *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections, and Economic Development in Industrial New England*. (NBER Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development.) New York: Cambridge University Press, in association with the National Bureau of Economic Research. 1994. Pp. xii, 170. \$39.95.

This thin volume packs a powerful message. Naomi R. Lamoreaux, in classic revisionist style, argues that previous accounts of the development of the commercial banking sector in New England during the nineteenth century are seriously flawed. She shows conclusively that banks functioned very differently in the antebellum and postbellum periods. During the early decades of the century, insider lending to directors and stockholders was common; indeed many banks functioned much like modern-day investment clubs. Entrepreneurial groups, relying primarily on funding from the sale of bank stock, created hundreds of small institutions, granted themselves generous loans, and invested the proceeds in new plant and equipment. Despite the long maturities of many insider loans, these banks were generally safe and sound. Today, insider loans usually translate into fraud and bankruptcy, and are therefore severely limited by law, but Lamoreaux explains how, under certain conditions, insider loans for entrepreneurial purposes can have a positive effect on economic growth. Speaking to a larger, global audience, she suggests that Third World countries look more closely at the advantages of banking institutions with the leeway to grant loans for projects with long-term payouts.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, commercial banking in New England evolved into a system more familiar to us in the twentieth century. Banks were managed by salaried professionals rather than part-time administrators drawn from the ranks of the largest stockholders. The main source of funds were deposits, and most loans had short maturities and were often fully backed by collateral. Managers put a high premium on liquidity because they feared the possibility of bank runs. As a result, insider lending was sharply curtailed. The problem with this altered system, Lamoreaux argues, is that commercial banks were no longer able to serve the needs of entrepreneurs who needed funding for several years. One warning seems in order: readers should be aware that Lamoreaux frequently makes generalizations that might be misinterpreted as being applicable to the entire U.S. banking system, although her data base is confined to the New England states, which may have been atypical of the nation as a whole.

Because banking issues so often intersect with politics in this era, every scholar who delves into U.S.

history during the nineteenth century should become familiar with the broad outline of Lamoreaux's revisionist thesis.

EDWIN J. PERKINS
University of Southern California

ANDRÉS TIJERINA. *Tejanos and Texas under the Mexican Flag, 1821–1836*. (The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 54.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 172. Cloth \$29.50, paper \$14.95.

In March 1995 this book by Andrés Tijerina won the Kate Broocks Bates Award, given by the Texas State Historical Association for the best book on a Texas topic prior to 1900. I was a member of the prize selection committee. A second reading of the book has served to reinforce my view of its scholarly merits, as well as its stylistic shortcomings.

The central thesis of the book is essentially unassailable. Tijerina argues that the contributions of Tejanos (Hispanic Texans) to Texas history have been underappreciated in an Anglo-American dominated state. Hispanic settlements on the *frontera* of New Spain (Colonial Mexico), especially those at San Antonio and Goliad, served to bring about accommodation with the land and its native inhabitants, experiences that shaped the course of the Texas Republic and statehood by providing "a vital continuum" (p. 3) supplied by Tejanos. Perhaps most significant to this continuum was the military nature of Hispanic outposts.

Spanish Texas was indeed a "buffer province" (p. 5). It was initially settled as the first line of defense against foreign competitors and non-Hispanicized Native Americans. Through a combination of persuasion and force, the mission-presidio system lay tenuous claim to one of the most sparsely settled provinces of Spain in America. On the eve of Mexican independence, Spain on its terms attempted to populate Texas with Anglo-American settlers. And that same policy was quickly adopted by the Mexican nation in the 1820s. The resulting influx of Anglo-Americans, argues Tijerina, brought Texans who had much to learn from Hispanic inhabitants of the land. Most notable was the equestrian skills of the highly mobile *compañías volantes* (flying companies) of presidial soldiers. The advantages of offensive cavalry first appeared in the organization of Anglo-American militia units between 1822 and 1832, and they profoundly affected the formation and tactics of the famed and infamous Texas Rangers. Those troopers sought to ride like Tejanos, and they carried the accouterment of the flying companies: "a pistol, a rifle, a knife, a Mexican saddle" (p. 91).

Tejanos also demonstrated their strong disposition toward a pastoral economy. The author steers clear of the controversy between Jack Jackson and Terry G. Jordan over Hispanic versus Anglo-American influences in Texas ranching. Instead, he credits Tejanos with the "underlying reality of the open range" (p. 67).

Tijerina has crafted a meticulously researched book,

drawing from Spanish and Mexican archives to elucidate a neglected topic. Unfortunately, the writing is uninspired, and the author's claims concerning more subtle Tejano influences are often difficult to fathom. There are also some hard-to-explain mistakes in the rendering of Spanish names, such as the omission throughout of a diacritical mark in the important surname "Seguín" and the misspelling of José Antonio Echávarri (p. 95). Nonetheless, this book is required reading for those who seek a better understanding of Mexican Texas.

DONALD E. CHIPMAN
University of North Texas

PETER IVERSON. *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 266. \$24.95.

Peter Iverson's latest book is an assemblage of essays intended for "more than a scholarly audience" (p. xvi), an assertion that may explain but might not justify the scant adequacy of the volume to introduce to nonspecialists the subject of Indian ranching in the West since the Civil War. General readers in search of what the book's title promises will perhaps wonder about references to Clifford Geertz and an array of social scientists whose attendant jargon is employed to prove that cattle were not only property but also potent sociocultural symbols of group identity, meaning, one imagines, that you eat what you are. Specialists may ask how someone can discuss the importance of beef among Native Americans in the Great Plains region without ever once mentioning the virtual extermination of those bison that the Europeans' cattle so conveniently replaced.

The book changes focus rather frequently, but, withal, it seems to center on getting the indigenes on horseback, dressing them in boots and jeans, and having them replicate things white folks do when similarly mounted and attired. There is considerable discussion of Native American participation in rodeo, which is well and good but almost entirely irrelevant to the history of the cattle business in either the nineteenth century or the twentieth; but of course Iverson draws no distinction between working cowboys and the athletes who are rodeo performers, because his point is that cowboying in whatever way, shape, or form it appears is a native survival strategy. In contrast is the interesting notion convolving through the book that Indians have become cowboys, cowboys have become irrelevant, and people of whatever color who insist on holding to outdated ways are all in the same obsolete boat. For readers interested in the economic history of Native American cattle ranching, there are two fine chapters on, respectively, the 1930s and the 1950s and 1960s.

There once was a time when earnest scholars of Iverson's ilk received assistance from their academic publishers, but, alas, that day is in most cases long past.

When quantity is the desideratum, quality suffers. Acquisitive publishers have no time for reading and cannot establish context for their lists; and editors, laden with manuscripts to process, are far too busy to edit. Presses are often managed by technocrats who believe that computers are truly capable of correcting proof, and who consequently refuse to pay for human agency. On the positive side, however, some editors who once embraced anonymity as an article of professional faith now unblushingly allow their names to appear in acknowledgments, along with an author's family, friends, and intellectual benefactors, enabling the frustrated reader, tired of stylistic infelicities, typographical errors, and whatnot, to know exactly where the blame lies. Some examples are: "He even employed a fellow . . . who knew a thing or two about brands to keep an eye of things" (p. 72); "First a farmer, then the operator of a general store, his initial entrance into the cattle business proved disastrous" (p. 87); "Semisuburban, I'd like an acre or two of my own sprawl continues to engulf good farm- and ranchland" (p. 220). Editorial inattention in the matter of Iverson's book appears to have occupied a period of at least two years. Clio weeps, as must those waiting to be published.

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR.
University of Oklahoma

WILBUR R. JACOBS. *On Turner's Trail: 100 Years of Writing Western History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xviii, 342. \$35.00.

This latest book on Frederick Jackson Turner (dare we hope that it will be the last?) is written by a mature and sophisticated scholar who has authored and edited many other books and treatises on the celebrated founder of American frontier history. After witnessing a full century (Turner penned his immortal essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in 1893) of Turnerian, neo-Turnerian, anti-Turnerian, anti-anti-Turnerian scholarship, one wonders at the strange inability of American historians to leave the controversy alone and, sixty-three years after his death, let its founder rest in peace. Why cannot historians of the American frontier and/or the American West perform their scholarship without ceaseless recourse to often highly personal arguments about Turner himself, his devotees, and his critics?

Jacobs proves no exception to this tendency. Combining meticulously through the myriad memoranda of the voluminous Turner Papers in the Huntington Library, he unearths evidence that Turner unsurprisingly shared many of the prejudices of his generation and stands convicted, by modern standards, of being somewhat of a racist, anti-Semite, sexist, and (I love this one) a "reverse environmentalist." He also faults some of Turner's methods and scholarship, although part of his critique seems a bit off the mark. Turner's alleged Lamarckism is both misconceived and misspelled ("LeMarck," p. 53). Jacobs's Freudian assess-

ments of Turner's psyche (p. 72) seem strained at best. His attack on Turner for failing to live up to his chosen "multiple hypotheses" approach to historical research is vitiated by his admission that this approach "may well be inapplicable to history" (p. 71). And after accusing Turner of having "an arrested . . . intellect" (p. 109) for ceaselessly adhering to his allegedly outworn frontier-sectional hypothesis, he cites voluminous evidence to the contrary throughout his book and asserts that "at the same time, a source of his strength was his eagerness to adapt his ideas to new themes" (p. 109).

After subjecting Turner's main disciples and defenders, especially Frederick Merk and Ray Billington, to searching and cogent but fair-minded criticisms, Jacobs, with great finesse, addresses the efforts of the "new Western historians." Although he is warmly hospitable to the efforts of Patricia Limerick, Richard White, William Cronon, and Donald Worster, as well as appreciative of their findings, he convincingly demonstrates that they have not, at least as yet, disproved Turner's main contentions nor dislodged him from his preeminent position in the field. He asks, "Who knows how the debate will end? My bet is on Turner and the frontier-sectional theory" (p. 246). So is mine to some extent.

Turner, after all, is a protean figure in American historiography. The first professional historian to argue that the frontier, the Great West, the westward movement was fundamental to an understanding of American history, all other historians in the field, including his most virulent critics, essentially agree with him. Otherwise, why write about the subject at all? Having granted his major premise, since it is hard to imagine American history without the westward movement beginning in 1492, Turner's critics are then reduced to quibbling over details. If they cannot refute him, however, they can transcend him, and, in so doing, they can ultimately ignore him. Turner's defenders, Turner's critics, and Turner's ghost would probably welcome that.

JACKSON K. PUTNAM
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PHILIP M. FERGUSON. *Abandoned to Their Fate: Social Policy and Practice toward Severely Retarded People in America, 1820-1920*. (Health, Society, and Policy.) Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 212. \$34.95.

This study joins a burgeoning body of literature exploring the social history of mental retardation. Whereas several other works, among them James Trent's *Inventing the Feeble Mind* (1994), offered far more comprehensive analyses of this history, Philip M. Ferguson focuses on persons labeled "severely retarded" in the century between 1820 and 1920 and deals largely with the Rome institution in upstate New York. Such a specific focus, however, proves hard to sustain;

instead, this monograph moves back and forth between broader changes affecting social policies and the special problems posed by severe retardation.

Ferguson begins by describing his own encounter with a Rome resident named "Peter," a severely retarded seventeen year old who never learned to walk, talk, or feed himself, and who was subjected to seizures so frequent and powerful that he had to be strapped to his wheelchair. Peter's twisted body, Ferguson writes, "was shaped like a human question mark." Despite policies promoting deinstitutionalization, this individual still spent nearly all his brief life in large state facilities. "The questions that live after him," Ferguson concludes, "all concern how relatively unaffected he was by the momentous reform efforts of the past two or three decades" (p. x).

Yet if many of the questions raised by Peter's tragic life and death are poignant and compelling, most of the answers that Ferguson uncovers in this history are by now largely familiar. In general, his findings emphasize the same social forces described in many other accounts: the growth of large, impersonal, and often abusive institutions; the state's role in controlling or hiding persons considered dangerous, burdensome, or embarrassing; the self-interest of professional experts; and the dominance of a marketplace mentality that evaluates people largely in economic terms. All of these forces, Ferguson argues, doomed (and still doom) severely retarded persons to lives of institutional "abandonment."

Such indictments of the past and present break little new ground. Even so, Ferguson's research suggests some important directions for future studies. For instance, he argues convincingly that the role of asylums has been greatly overemphasized in most histories of this subject, for only a small percentage of the retarded population ever lived within these institutions. Conversely, the role of almshouses has been seriously understudied, for many retarded persons lived out their lives as paupers. Most in need of study, Ferguson suggests, are the many families who resisted all efforts toward institutionalization and cared for retarded relatives at home.

Equally valuable is Ferguson's contention that the history of severe retardation might benefit from being considered within a different context. Severely retarded persons, he proposes, may actually have less in common with mildly retarded persons than with multiply disabled, chronically ill, or aged and infirm persons—persons, in other words, equally dependent on extensive medical care and continuing social support for their very survival. What is most needed, he rightly argues, is a broader history exploring how American society has responded to the larger question of severe disability. Such a history would indeed be a welcome addition to this field.

LEILA ZENDERLAND
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Fullerton

JOAN GITTENS. *Poor Relations: The Children of the State in Illinois, 1818–1990*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 295. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Joan Gittens analyzes the evolution of public policy toward "children of the state" from the early nineteenth century to the present. The monograph is organized thematically, with sections on dependent, delinquent, and handicapped children, and each section covers the entire period. Gittens argues that a Progressive consensus favoring the parental state emerged in the early twentieth century and then unraveled under the onslaught of antistatist attacks first from the Left in the 1960s and, more recently, from the Right. The book recounts the impact of legislative decisions, summarizes key state and federal court cases, and shows how underfunding and politicization of state institutions undermined their mission almost from the beginning.

The chapters on handicapped children, including the physically and mentally disabled, are the most original and interesting in the book. Here parents enter Gittens's pages as actors who reshaped state policy in conflict with bureaucrats and legislators, and who even warded off Ronald Reagan-sponsored raids on federal funding. Gittens argues that parents of all classes had children with handicaps, and therefore the movement to gain support for community placements and to defend funding enjoyed articulate leadership and powerful support. By contrast, dependent and most delinquent children were the offspring of the unworthy poor and lacked advocates to plead their case in legislative halls. She concludes that the parents of handicapped children achieved a balance in public policy between state intervention and respect for individual rights that eluded other public wards.

Gittens's focus on formal policy making leads her to underestimate the impact of the poor on public policy. She recounts how in 1879 mothers in the Cook County almshouse subverted a plan to remove their children and place them in private orphanages, which would have terminated their custody. Mothers managed to find homes for most of the children, and a rule that parents had to surrender their rights over children when entering the almshouse went unenforced. Poor people may have lacked powerful legislative advocates, but they were not without power as public institutions (and later welfare offices) became sites of resistance. Although one can make too much out of incidents such as the mothers' rebellion, surely it suggests that some policy making happened from the bottom up.

Gittens's work contains provocative but unsubstantiated insights. She argues that the antistatist position of 1960s radicals had the unintended effect of reinforcing Americans' deep-rooted individualism. This may be true, yet it does not follow from the evidence that she presents. Revelations of abuse and misuse of power in public institutions occurred fairly frequently, and anti-institutionalists certainly capitalized on them.

But one might well argue that the state lost the faith of its citizens entirely on its own.

Ultimately, the book suffers from its thematic organization and the attempt to cover such a long period. The creation of state institutions, legal challenges to *parens patriae*, and deinstitutionalization affected all of Gittens's groups, and as a result the book contains redundancies. Much of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century material on dependency and delinquency will be familiar to readers of social welfare history, whereas the potentially more interesting period since World War II is covered in a cursory fashion. Only in the chapters on handicapped children does Gittens really sparkle.

ERIC C. SCHNEIDER
University of Pennsylvania

MORTON KELLER. *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900–1933*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 396. \$49.95.

This book is the second volume in Morton Keller's planned trilogy on public policy during the Progressive Era and the 1920s. The first volume was *Regulating a New Economy* (1990). The third volume is to cover the structure of government, politics, and law. In the present volume on social policy, Keller selects certain institutions, issues, and groups of major concern today, such as family law, public education, civil liberties, drugs and alcohol, crime, social welfare, and civil rights. He then looks at the public policy debates and actions with respect to these subjects during the first three decades of the twentieth century, particularly at how pressures from an increasingly diverse society challenged, but did not totally defeat, traditional forces. Reminiscent of historian Robert Weibe's "search for order" thesis, Keller emphasizes the Progressive goals of efficiency and national uniformity, goals that could have a conservative impact in areas like immigration restriction, the undermining of Indian tribal identity, prohibition, radio licensing, and movie censorship. Thus, Keller is able to make a case for the 1920s continuing some of the public policy initiatives of the Progressive Era.

Keller's analysis, however, is not totally convincing. First, these issues may be of concern to us today; but some, such as civil rights, ranked very low on the Progressive list of priorities. Second, Keller's focus on public policy applied to social issues does not do enough with the social context of these issues. For example, he discusses both birth control and suffrage, but only mentions women social reformers in passing, neglects the growing impact of college-educated women, and does not really deal with the feminist movement in a wide-ranging way. Another example is his failure to set his discussion of changing public policy toward prostitution in the general context of changing manners and morals. Even in evaluating public policy narrowly, he sometimes misses its signif-

icance, as when he devotes less than a page to the Progressive decision to turn to government, not private charity, in instituting mothers' pensions. He dismisses these pensions as too small to be of much significance, ignoring the fact that they provided the local precedent for the federal Aid to Dependent Children program passed in 1935. Third, Keller's sources tend to reinforce a mainstream bias. He has done a prodigious amount of research in the major public issue and professional periodicals of the era. Yet he has not done primary research in publications that would allow certain groups, like immigrants and blacks, to speak for themselves. Granted, Keller does cite other historians doing things like referring to Ida B. Wells's attacks on lynching, but missing are direct citations to the *Chicago Defender*, the NAACP's *Crisis*, or ethnic newspapers. The result is a book narrowly focused on public policy that emphasizes conservative links between the Progressive Era, the 1920s, and, by implication, today. Probably the chief value of Keller's effort will be to stimulate additional debate about the true nature of the Progressives while bringing to light past debates over some of today's social policy concerns.

JUDITH ANN TROLANDER
University of Minnesota,
Duluth

AVRAHAM BARKAI. *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914*. (Ellis Island Series.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1994. Pp. xiii, 269.

Avraham Barkai's study is not just another saga of the German-Jewish immigration to the United States during the nineteenth century. Rather, it opens a new inquiry about the character of this immigration. It analyzes the impact that the Jewish exodus from Germany had both on American Jewry and on those it had left behind. Throughout the book, Barkai alternates his gaze between both sides of the Atlantic, constantly nudging his readers to remember that the experience of transplantation is an interacting process, one in which neither side completely releases its grip totally on the other.

Even the Jewish entrepreneurial achievements, about which so many glowing words have been written, Barkai characterizes as being little more than an extension of experiences in Germany. Barkai attributes the successes of many immigrants in America more to their inherited experience and good fortune at being in the right place at the right time. To underscore the extension of both societies, Barkai observes that up to the 1920s and beyond, despite the diverse social and cultural environments of Germany and the United States, Jews on both sides of the Atlantic continued to display almost identical sociocultural traits. These traits were manifested not only in the marketplace but also in their home life and in the role that women played in the immigration process.

Barkai's discussion of how American Jews also

transported their class antagonisms to the New World constitutes one of the provocative themes of his study. For example, Bavarian Jews, who arrived earlier in the nineteenth century and who were generally better educated but not as religiously observant, snubbed the "Polacks," their neighbors from the eastern provinces of Germany who emigrated somewhat later. Also, unlike most American students of German-Jewish immigration, Barkai distinguishes between those who arrived from Germany before the Civil War and those who came after. The later immigrants, he explains, were more cultured, more affluent, and better prepared to shape their lives in America than their predecessors. At least for a time, explains Barkai, each of these waves represented a distinct German-Jewish subgroup with its own unique composition and character.

Such differences, however, paled when German-Jews faced the late-nineteenth-century mass immigration of Russian and Polish Jews. As did their brethren in Germany from whom they had inherited many of their attitudes, American Jews feared that these newcomers would exacerbate the rising tide of anti-Semitism. At first many urged that their unfortunate brethren be barred from entering the United States. Eventually, but with a degree of ambivalence, America's German-Jews launched philanthropic and educational programs, even fought restrictive immigration legislation on behalf of the new arrivals. But they also avoided any close association with non-Germans. Barkai even attributes the rise of Reform Judaism to the German desire to separate themselves from Eastern Europeans.

Clearly, Barkai has traveled much further than other historians in his transatlantic perspective and his emphasis on the rifts within the German-Jewish community and between it and other Jews. His book should be welcomed as a model for the study of other ethnic groups as well.

EGAL FELDMAN
University of Wisconsin,
Superior

LESTER I. VOGEL. *To See a Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 338. \$35.00.

Franklin Hoskins, an early twentieth-century missionary to the Middle East, loved to tell an apocryphal story of two women. The younger was describing her forthcoming trip to the Holy Land, outlining plans to see Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Galilee—to walk where Jesus once tread. The older friend listened quietly and then, removing her glasses, blurted, "Well now! I know all these places were in the Bible, but I never thought of them being on earth" (p. 187).

The gentle, albeit naive woman was in good company. Nineteenth-century Americans were at the same time both consumed with interest in the Holy Land

and largely ignorant of the place. At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, the Jerusalem Exhibit Company built a large-scale reproduction of Jerusalem. Missouri's rich soil was contoured to replicate Middle Eastern hills and valleys, with the Holy Sepulchre, Temple Mount, Wailing Wall, and Via Dolorosa reproduced to full scale. Americans flocked to the exhibit.

Lester Vogel has written a useful and thoroughly engaging volume. His work rests on a solid bedrock of guidebooks, travelers' accounts, diaries, and diplomatic documents. From these, Vogel draws an account of the vital role that the home of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam played in nineteenth-century Americans' imagination.

If the Holy Land was the source of three great religious tributaries, they did not all flow into the American cultural mainstream with equal might. Vogel explains that prior to World War I, the Holy Land was perceived largely through the lens of Protestant Christianity. Like the American West so eloquently explicated by Henry Nash Smith in *Virgin Land* (1950), the Holy Land grew into a great geographical myth that set expectations and patterned the actual experiences of those who ventured to the region. Vogel borrows geographer John Kirtlan Wright's term "geopieté" to describe Americans' special relationship to the biblical landscape and the reverberations of that relationship in American culture.

Vogel offers a nuanced perspective, rich in anecdote, separating the views and experiences of Americans by category: tourists and pilgrims; religious missionaries; settlers/colonists; explorers, biblical scholars, archaeologists; and diplomats. Memorable stories convey the deep sense of disappointment and at times even disillusionment that many felt when they experienced the heat, dust, and disorganization of the ancient land or when they had unpleasant encounters with residents who shared neither their guests' definition of progress nor their commitment to the Protestant work ethic. Especially engaging are Vogel's descriptions of American utopians intending to create a "city on the hill" on or near the very mounds where the patriarchs made their homes.

Vogel is less successful engaging the cultural themes that caused Americans to care so much about the Holy Land in the first place. He cites the colonial "myth of the new beginning," the idea that the American was the "New Man from the New Eden." True, Puritans thought of America as their new Canaan, but why did the myth remain so cogent into the nineteenth century, long after secular dreams had replaced religious visions?

Still, even those intimately familiar with the thematic terrain of American culture may find themselves detouring to the Middle East thanks to Vogel's suggestive observations. Perhaps those intrigued by themes of renewal and salvation may explain why, on the afternoon before his final visit to Ford's Theater, President Abraham Lincoln, not a conventionally reli-

gious man, mentioned to his wife how much he would enjoy a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

ALAN M. KRAUT
American University

ELIZABETH D. LEONARD. *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1994. Pp. xxv, 308. \$23.00.

Elizabeth D. Leonard has written an important study of northern women's efforts to be recognized as professionals during the Civil War crisis. Asserting that wartime emergencies create opportunities outside of socially imposed gender roles, she examines the lives of three women in detail. Drawing on the memoirs of each one, Leonard supplements her portraits with research in government documents and private collections. The picture that emerges is one of highly competent women who used the crisis to gain entry into places denied to them before the war. Their gains were limited, however, by the opposition of the male professionals and the gender expectations held by the larger society.

The first profile is of Sophronia E. Bucklin, an Auburn, New York, seamstress who became a Union Army nurse in 1862. Leonard describes Dorothea Dix's early appointment as head of the nurses corps as honorific and an example of male resistance to the female presence in the hospitals. By 1863, however, the skill displayed by Bucklin and other nurses encouraged the authorities to allow women to assume greater responsibilities. Leonard agrees with Kristie R. Ross ("Women Are Needed Here": Northern Protestant Women as Nurses during the Civil War, 1861-1865," [1993]) that the women overcame their initial revulsion with horrors of war to become efficient health professionals.

Although Annie Wittenmyer was the best known of the three subjects, Leonard chooses to emphasize a struggle that attracted little public notice. That was Wittenmyer's success in maintaining the supremacy of her Keokuk Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society against the Iowa State Army Sanitary Commission. Leonard notes that Wittenmyer's status as a wealthy widow removed many obstacles that limited the effectiveness of other pioneering women. Wittenmyer also became a master lobbyist in Iowa and Washington, a significant personal achievement.

Dr. Mary Walker presented the most radical challenge to male domination chronicled by Leonard. Walker sought to be a commissioned medical officer in the army. Leonard demonstrates that gender prejudice and Walker's graduation from a nonregular medical school prevented her from reaching her objective. Walker also became the object of scorn because of her adoption of utilitarian clothes that resembled men's attire.

Leonard concludes the book with a valuable chapter on the impact of these gender challenges. By 1873, the first professional school for nurses opened providing a

permanent presence for women in health care. Wittenmyer continued her benevolent work in a conservative, religious manner as the first president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Walker refused to compromise her demands for full equality and was marginalized by the larger society. Male historians refused to recognize the contributions of women like Walker and emphasized activities that were similar to traditional expectations, thereby ensuring that the impact of wartime advances would be diminished.

There is little to criticize in this well-written work. One should note, however, that Leonard has narrowed the scope of the study. She is investigating northern women who sought to establish a professional position. There are few comparisons made with similar southern women or with other northern women who sought government or industrial positions as replacement workers. Leonard indicates her strategy is made possible by the broader studies of women in the Civil War that allow scholars to focus on more limited topics. This decision means that some interesting issues remain unexplored, but it is a small price to pay for this insightful study of a significant topic.

GORDON B. MCKINNEY
Berea College

STUART E. KNEE. *Christian Science in the Age of Mary Baker Eddy*. (Contributions in American History, number 154.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. xii, 158. \$49.95.

Stuart E. Knee's volume in the Contributions in American History series is a somewhat loosely integrated sequence of essays about Christian Science, from its origins in the theories and therapies of a New England matron to her death after the first decade of the twentieth century. The book opens with a short sketch on the significance of Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), the founder of Christian Science, which compares the formative events in her life (as she herself did) to the forces that shaped religious figures such as Moses, Jesus Christ, and Martin Luther (pp. 8-9, 13). But this section is less a standard biography than a rumination on existing approaches to Eddy's life. With its concern for categorizing more than accounting for Eddy, it presupposes a fair degree of familiarity on the part of the reader with the cultural setting of the late nineteenth century generally, and the historiography of Christian Science in particular.

Still, Knee's style of history resists too much contact with historical conditions and trends themselves. This tendency is clearly evident in the second chapter (pp. 19-44), a tracing of the torturous paths of Eddy's personal alliances and subsequent fallings-out, which were usually followed by public attacks and lawsuits. The repeated pattern is to present fact-laden musings in the place of theses or historical argument. And, in what little explanation the author does offer, he relies heavily on generalizations concerning individuals and

their personalities rather than on reference to the "social need" (pp. 6–7) of people in this period.

At the heart of the book, however, are three absorbing and well-researched chapters that examine reactions to Christian Science within other denominations, among practitioners of conventional medicine, and in the pages of the muckraking newspapers of the time. Throughout his narrative, Knee is not reluctant to display his sympathy for Christian Science and Eddy. At certain points, however, his effort to balance the harsh treatment that the religion and its founder received at the hands of mainline churches, the professions (including "the medical establishment" in "its century of inadequacy" [p. 94]), and the secular press becomes purely defensive. When the author notes, for example, that "the movement's success was based upon its ability to promote, sell, persuade, and recruit a group in America who looked for relief but were not impoverished," he rushes to plead that "this is not a crime, not even a misdemeanor. Nor is it a fault for a faith to concern itself with fiscal affairs because money is essential to its survival," he adds; "the smaller the group, the greater the demand" (p. 122).

Readers in search of a broad historical introduction to Christian Science in the United States would do better to consult Robert Peel's *Christian Science: Its Encounter with American Culture* (1958) or Stephen Gottschalk's *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life* (1973). Nevertheless, Knee does a capable job of describing in detail the special world of Mary Baker Eddy, her associates, and their detractors, even if on occasion he pulls his critical punches.

KEVIN J. CHRISTIANO
University of Notre Dame

ALLEN C. GUELZO. *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 404. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$14.95.

The Reformed Episcopal church was organized by dissenters who separated from the Episcopal church in the United States in 1873. Although such a secessionist origin for a new church was not unusual in nineteenth-century American Protestantism, it was, in fact, highly unusual in the history of the Episcopal church in the United States until the church's present troubled days. The Reformed Episcopal church was never large, and today it has only 6,000 adult members. Allen C. Guelzo argues, however, that its story is worth telling anyway, in part for its broader implications for American religion.

Guelzo knows how to tell a story very well. I confess I had never heard of the Reformed Episcopalians before reading this book, but Guelzo's presentation, effectively organized and deeply researched, got me involved in the events, personalities, and issues of his tale. It is no wonder to me why Guelzo's account won

the Albert C. Outler Prize in ecumenical church history from the American Society of Church History.

Guelzo develops his story through consideration of the Episcopal church in the nineteenth century. He presents its Reformed Episcopal offshoot in the context of reactions to Anglo-Catholic elements in the Episcopal church as well as the powerful evangelical dynamics in American religion at that time. I enjoyed his portraits of leading figures in the Reformed Episcopal movement, especially its founder, a Kentucky bishop, George David Cummins. Guelzo draws nice portraits and is notably sensitive to the ironies in human experience, such as the fact that the secessionist Cummins actually loathed and feared human conflict even as he generated an enormous amount of it.

Theological issues among the elite actors also receive a good deal of attention from Guelzo. He deals deftly with the debates in the Episcopal church and the Reformed Episcopal church that raged over such questions as what was the legitimate Episcopal prayer book, the authority of the thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal church, the nature of authentic church authority, and ecumenical relations. What we learn is that such disputes mattered and that many of the controversies that helped lead to the creation of two Episcopal bodies in 1873 reappeared within the subsequent history of the Reformed Episcopal church.

Guelzo also explores larger themes beyond the history of the Reformed Episcopal church that he recounts so well. Among these broader topics are ecumenical relations among the evangelical movement, the Episcopal church, and the Reformed Episcopal church in the United States; the role of republican ideology and religion in the nineteenth century; antimodernism and American religion. Among the more interesting of these considerations are Guelzo's observations on the difficulties that the Reformed Episcopalians had at first in establishing an identity as a church and the subsequent problems it had in becoming too closed on itself: "self-authenticating and self-accrediting" (p. 336). Such reflections suggest awareness of sociological and organizational factors that cannot be ignored in church history. This effort underlines the admirable range of Guelzo's study in the topics he explores and the approaches he employs. This is an illuminating, engagingly written history.

ROBERT BOOTH FOWLER
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

MARC JEFFREY STERN. *The Pottery Industry of Trenton: A Skilled Trade in Transition, 1850–1929*. (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 306. \$48.00.

Marc Jeffrey Stern has written a masterful account of Trenton's pottery industry that significantly advances historians' understanding of this skill-intensive, batch-oriented economic sector. Modeled on the type of industrial history pioneered by Philip Scranton, Stern

examines both the interaction between employers and employees and between potteries in Trenton and in East Liverpool, Ohio, the other major center of the American pottery industry. In developing the intensely work-centered perspective of these skilled workers, Stern penetrates a world that normally remains obscure to historians. Examining potters on their own terms, Stern deftly describes a perspective that included work customs brought over from Staffordshire, England; support for Republican Party high tariff policies, a strategy partly intended to keep women out of the trade; defense of apprenticeship systems and exploitation of helpers; a stubborn resistance to mechanization even when this worked to the disadvantage of Trenton producers.

Stern's analysis divides the history of Trenton potteries into three major phases. During the first phase, which stretched from 1850 to 1897, large numbers of Staffordshire potters emigrated to America in order to continue the practice of their craft. Due to the industry's skill requirements, these potters achieved what Stern describes as a "semi-autonomous" status, a term he employs because for all of their "power" on the shop floor the overall economic and social structure imposed constraints on them. Many of the potters established their own firms and the industry remained highly competitive. During the 1880s, in an effort to gain recognition as "citizen-workers," many of the potters joined trades assemblies affiliated with the Knights of Labor. This effort showed promise but fell victim to the Knights' collapse, economic depression, and the low tariff policies of the Democratic Party.

The next phase, between 1897 and 1915, saw the emergence of contractual relations between a manufacturers' organization, the United States Potters' Association, and the pottery workers' union, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters (NBOP). As in the coal and clothing industries, agreements between employers and employees brought a sense of stability. In Trenton, sanitary ware began to dominate as the less-skilled generalware sector found it difficult to compete with Ohio firms. Contracts incorporated aspects of the stint and most Trenton pottery workers appeared content to leave union negotiations in the hands of a small group of NBOP leaders.

Producing nonessential items, the pottery industry actually suffered difficult times during the World War I era, which ushered in a period of crisis between 1920 and 1923. The period of labor peace began to fall apart when the Warren G. Harding administration, responding to protests over the high cost of construction, gained indictments against a number of firms. The companies in turn began to challenge workers' cherished work practices. As in so many other industries in the early 1920s, the conflict inevitably brought on a bitter strike won by employers. Refusing to acknowledge inroads made by new technological processes, local militants rejected all attempts at compromise, thus insuring the NBOP's demise.

Stern approaches his work like the craftsmen he

describes. Stern, in mastering an enormous amount of information related specifically to the pottery industry, gives us a book that will be of great interest to students of technology as well as to business and labor historians. Employing a rather mechanical writing style, Stern might have made some effort to enliven the narrative. Paying scant attention to community life, Stern says little about potters' family networks or consumption patterns. But these aspects themselves reflect the determinedly work-centered world of highly skilled workers, a world that Stern captures with considerable aplomb.

DAVID J. GOLDBERG
Cleveland State University

CHRIS FRIDAY. *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942*. (Asian American History and Culture.) Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 276. \$34.95.

From the 1870s to the 1940s, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans were the major source of labor for the canned salmon industry on the Pacific Coast from Alaska to central California. Chris Friday's book, based on extensive research, provides a comprehensive study of the role of Asian and Asian-American labor in shaping that industry and a careful examination of the evolution of the Asian-American labor movement in the industry. Chinese were the first to enter the industry in the 1870s, as rapid development of the business led cannery owners to hire them as seasonal workers through a system of labor contracting, under which a small elite group of Chinese contractors recruited and supervised the Chinese laborers for the owners and managers. In chapters 1 through 3 Friday provides a detailed examination of the evolution of this system and a remarkable description of the working and living conditions of the Chinese workers. In the next three chapters he explains how the number of Chinese laborers decreased as a result of the Chinese Exclusion Acts passed by Congress between 1882 and 1905 and thus provided greater opportunities for Japanese immigrants, as well as Native Americans and European Americans, to enter the job market as workers and subcontractors, and that they quickly became strong competitors of the Chinese. He discusses the fragmentation of the labor market caused by the introduction of new technology and more immigrant laborers and analyzes how Japanese *Issei* men and women and their *Nisei* children became influential within the industry. Next he focuses on the Filipino workers' drive for unionization, discussing how the contract work culture in the canned salmon industry evolved into a union work culture (chaps. 7-8). As their initial attempts to enter the contracting system failed, by the early 1930s Filipino laborers in the Northwest began to push for unionization in the Alaska canneries in order to control labor recruitment and management. At the same time, Asian Americans

and other waterfront workers in San Francisco formed their own local. By 1937, the two regional locals joined forces to push aside contractors and began to represent Asian-American workers' interests in negotiations with the companies. But this multiethnic alliance only lasted for a short time. The start of the Pacific war and the consequent internment of Japanese Americans and enlistment of many Chinese limited union activity largely to Filipino workers, and eventually the multi-ethnic coalition crumbled.

Drawing on a wide variety of sources, including primary sources untapped previously, Friday for the first time has brought together the stories of labor organizing among the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in the Pacific Coast canned salmon industry. While emphasizing the theme that all Asian-American workers sought to improve their conditions in the United States through collective actions, the author deals with the enormous diversity and complexities of the Asian-American groups with great sensitivity. Friday has made great efforts to place these Asian-American laborers at the center of the historical stage and provide fine narratives of their daily lives. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the Asian-American labor movement.

RENQIU YU

State University College of New York,
Purchase

CRAIG PHELAN. *Divided Loyalties: The Public and Private Life of Labor Leader John Mitchell*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 438. \$19.95.

Perhaps no one sentence better describes the anomaly of John Mitchell than Craig Phelan's simple statement that Mitchell "was unique among labor leaders in that he enjoyed the respect of both employers and employees" (p. 212). Mitchell accomplished this, in part, through a conservative and practical approach to trade unionism that never embraced the idea of class struggle. At the same time, he convinced rank-and-file coal miners that he championed their cause because he portrayed himself as one of them and delivered on the promise to win improved working conditions. Ironically, as he underwent a transformation from labor leader to professional labor bureaucrat, his actions tended to protect the union and the sanctity of the trade agreement above the cause of the mine worker. Yet he also abused his power as head of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), which ultimately hurt the union as well as the individual miner.

Mitchell's personal life offered further evidence of an enigmatic nature. He spent little time with his family, despite having experienced himself the traumatic effects of parental separation at a young age. As an adult, he suffered from chronic alcoholism and a variety of nervous disorders and physical illnesses. He engineered investments that clearly involved conflicts of interest, amassed considerable wealth by associating

himself with wealthy operators and other businessmen, and aped the mannerisms and dress of those from whom unionized miners expected him to protect their interests. He remained devoted to the miners' cause, but his own professional and personal shortcomings did not allow him to carry his public posture into the union office.

By 1908 when he retired from office, Mitchell symbolized the rise and decline of the conservative American labor leader. Few noticed in 1919 when the man who had engineered the anthracite coal victory of 1902 died. The open shop movement and the growth of socialist influence within the union movement had established new agendas. Mitchell by that time was "hopelessly dated" (p. 355).

Despite his failures, Mitchell the labor leader left a powerful legacy. The miners' daily lives improved significantly because of the gains his leadership had won across the years. Additionally, Mitchell created a new image for the labor leader that won the admiration of a president and more than one coal operator as well as the rank and file and the general public. His tenure as president of the United Mine Workers reflected the evolution that had occurred within the labor movement by the Progressive Era when efforts at cooperation rather than conflict between capital interests and employees prevailed. Correspondingly, Mitchell's declining influence in the United Mine Workers by 1908 demonstrated the failure of the Progressives' endeavor. Employers turned to welfare capitalism as an antidote to unionization, and militant socialists emerged as leaders in the UMWA and other unions. Mitchell's philosophical heart simply was not in that kind of struggle.

In portraying the public and private Mitchell, Phelan utilizes an impressive array of primary sources (the extensive collection of Mitchell letters) and secondary works. The author is not above psychoanalyzing Mitchell from time to time, but it is not difficult to imagine that the childhood loss of his mother and his father, the difficulty of growing up in his stepmother's home in "abject poverty" (p. 3), and the indignity of receiving very little education, even for a miner's son, left a significant imprint. The inclusion of photographs of Mitchell, particularly since the author makes a point about Mitchell's sensitivity concerning his appearance, would have been interesting, but this is a minor point. Phelan delves into Mitchell's life with great detail and a colorful style and fills a significant gap in the literature on Mitchell and the United Mine Workers. That his own analysis of Mitchell displays some ambivalence is not unexpected considering Mitchell's own "divided loyalties."

MARILYN D. RHINEHART

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JOSEPH HOROWITZ. *Wagner Nights: An American History*. (California Studies in 19th-Century Music.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 389. \$30.00.

Readers conversant with Richard Wagner's operas will enjoy Joseph Horowitz's book. Sadly, such a preface primes many to dismiss a work that should interest any student of late-nineteenth-century American culture. This prejudice is indeed part of Horowitz's concern, as Wagner has suffered more *ad hominem* reductions than almost any figure in cultural history. The heritage of Wagner is so vast that it can accommodate a myriad of perspectives. In his day he was largely taken as a radical. In the past half century, of course, the specter of Adolf Hitler's twisted Wagnerianism has rendered the composer "politically incorrect." Like many Wagner discussants, Horowitz demonstrates how Wagner represented a systematic alternative to the taboo-laden life of the late nineteenth century. Drawing on the works T. J. Jackson Lears, John Higham, and other scholars of Gilded Age America, Horowitz contends that with the era's repression of all matters sensual and radical, Wagnerianism held great poignance. The 1890s marked what Higham once termed a "break out" from social constrictions (*Strangers in the Land* [1955]), and Horowitz casts America's embrace of Wagner as a significant part of this evolution. Laden with Victorianism, earlier Wagnerians lacked the nuanced sensitivity to express Wagner's full message without lapsing into mere sentiment or sensation. A flowering came in the 1890s with Horowitz's hero, conductor Anton Seidl. To Horowitz, this change was more than a mere relative shift. Horowitz is unashamedly partisan: Seidl and the 1890s were not merely different but better.

Seidl was indeed one of the outstanding conductors of his day. At the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, and elsewhere, Americans loved Seidl and thrilled to the sensuality, Christian affirmation, radicalism, and excitement of his presentations. Wagner's operas reified audiences' political, religious, and personal yearnings amid their eclipsing of Victorian conventions. Horowitz lucidly explicates several Wagner operas as metaphors of this transformation.

There is a *Niebelung* character to Horowitz's story. From Wagner, Seidl learned about the divine knowledge of the great texts. He slew the clumsy giants who had been clumping about the New York opera world. For a brief moment, America had the ambrosia fed them by one who could hear the murmurs from on high. And all gained enlightenment. Critics lauded; benefactors heaped contributions. Even the rich women, whose clubs carried out supportive work for the Metropolitan Opera, were magically transformed into "protofeminists." Alas, the perfection proved fleeting. In 1899 Seidl died at the age of forty-seven. From that point, the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Opera did not evolve; they decayed. Hagen-like commercialism overtook higher artistic considerations. The feminist political consciousness that flourished with Seidl somehow vanished. A decade later, we find the women working at the Philharmonic to be mere "meddlesome, ignorant ladies" (p. 239). Decline continued during the world wars, with Wagner

left at times untouchable and forever devoid of systematic content.

Horowitz is indeed compelling in illustrating how critics grasped something truly special at work under Seidl. Their word has to be taken at face value, of course, for Seidl did not survive into the recording age. But in Horowitz there seems a touch of advocacy and sentiment, the very pitfalls into which Wagnerianism should not fall. Many critics lauded Seidl, but others had reservations. From Arturo Toscanini to Georg Solti conductors have since done wonders with Wagner; can nothing measure up to what we have never heard? Horowitz's foray into feminism, drawing on the closely available insights of Carol Smith-Rosenberg and Helen Leffkowitz Horowitz, also appears a trifle forced. The rich women who staffed Gilded Age arts organizations showed a range of sensibilities, protofeminism being but one. A writer of another era could have forged a different view, linking tinges of the anti-Semitism that dotted American elites, female and male, to similar strains in Wagner. Our political climate demands other trumpetings. With Wagner most any such slant is possible. There lies his universality. Horowitz's interpretation appears more time-bound. The contrast drawn between the pre-1890s and 1890s can also be questioned, using Horowitz's own evidence, because the social and political pressures at the end of the century could be construed to have led the wealthy to find in Wagner only a non-threatening bit of radical chic, revealing at least this part of the "break out" to have a touch of façade.

Such questions of interpretation and political shading are naturally triggered by such stimulating cultural history as Horowitz has given us. Rich in detail and lucid in exposition, the work will interest students of both cultural and music history, and the work is a must for any opera buff.

ALAN H. LEVY
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HELEN DAMON-MOORE. *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post 1880-1910*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. x, 263. \$17.95.

Helen Damon-Moore states that she draws on women's studies, men's studies, and cultural history in writing this work. Unfortunately, she overlooks studies in economic history. As a result, her focus on gender and commerce is not grounded in the very commercial realities she purports to analyze. Damon-Moore claims that the message of mass media in the period under review was that men earn and women consume, or what she repeatedly calls gendered commerce and commercial gender. She declares that the popular woman's magazine was the teacher of consumerism and in that process defined woman solely as consumer. But how is "gendered commerce" different from specialized marketing to men, women, and children, by

the use of weekly advertisements instead of monthly or daily advertising? The weekly *Saturday Evening Post* was designed to meet the marketing needs of a new group of advertisers. Damon-Moore does not consider these issues; gender is her sole focus. She asserts that at the turn of the century, women were interested in change; men, however, sought to maintain the social status quo (p. 8). The author says that the *Ladies' Home Journal* under Edward Bok's editorship provided conflicting messages on the roles of women, although the editor himself was consistently unprogressive.

In fact, these magazines grew out of a changing economic culture, one that shifted the production of goods from the home to the marketplace. In the urbanizing society of this period, extended families among the middle classes no longer were available to provide traditional training at home, and servants were becoming increasingly scarce among middle-class households. Where could the persons responsible for home management and purchasing learn the ropes? Moreover, one Victorian-era legacy was a reluctance to speak plainly about private matters. Clearly the mass magazine provided the missing instruction and mixed it with the unavoidable commercial message. The didacticism of Bok's *Ladies' Home Journal* offends Damon-Moore: she does not explore how preachiness could contribute to its popular success.

Damon-Moore probably selected 1910 as her ending date because her analysis could not be squeezed into the turbulent period of 1910 to 1920. Ironically, the book's illustrations of copy from the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* often reveal concepts that the author ignores or misunderstands. Moreover, it is troubling to read a monograph that is riddled with jargon and offers little to historical scholarship.

Damon-Moore believes that the practice of consumerism is pleasurable and that this explains women's interest in reading about products in magazines. She asserts that "reading would appear to be a mixed blessing" because "print material is on the whole more supportive of conformity than it is of change" (p. 22). This skewed world view permeates her analysis. She states in her epilogue that "Cyrus Curtis, Edward Bok, and George Horace Lorimer all promoted women's spending and men's earning because it was good business; they illustrate clearly the expected pattern of male capitalists seeking to exploit women for financial gain" (p. 195). This may be so, but surely there is evidence from the commercial enterprise for a more penetrating analysis of U.S. social and economic history at the turn of the century.

SALME HARJU STEINBERG
Northeastern Illinois University

JESSICA H. FOY and KARAL ANN MARLING, editors. *The Arts and the American Home, 1890-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 194. \$32.95.

This anthology of nine articles was compiled from papers delivered at the Fourth Annual McFaddin-Ward Conference in Beaumont, Texas, in 1990. The contributors include museum curators, a librarian, and professors of American Studies, home economics, art history, and business and cultural history. Kenneth Ames offers an introduction and conclusion, praising and summarizing this effort to analyze the cultural dimensions of domestic life from 1890 to 1930 by interpreting such artifacts as parlor pianos, quilts, decorative objects, and popular fiction. As a group, the scholars expose a romantic Victorian view of the American home as secure and morally uplifting, a haven from the harsh public sphere outside. Individually, each provides illuminating details and scrupulous documentation of specific aspects of material culture.

Several essays document the evolution from Victorian values to twentieth-century preferences. Bradley Brooks traces the movement from a cluttered Victorian interior decoration, or "bricabracomania" (p. 20) to modern notions of simplicity of design. Jessica H. Foy examines the changes in musical furniture, from the nineteenth-century parlor organ to piano, for classical and then popular song. Later, the popularity of the Victrola, player piano, and radio invited a more passive relationship of Americans to music. Beverly Gordon defends women's early decorative needlework as culturally significant. It allowed mothers to infuse their homes with good taste, energy, and positive influences for their loved ones. By the 1920s, however, fashion dictated that it was more ladylike to purchase decorative objects rather than to create them. Anne MacLeod documents the books that families once read together. Shakespeare, Dickens, and the Brontës were enjoyed by parents and children alike. When the twentieth century brought specialized children's literature (*Treasure Island*, *Peter Pan*, *Arabian Nights*), all members of the family continued to share them. Not until 1910 did children's and adult literature begin to diverge, adults leaving Romanticism to children and embracing realism for themselves.

Other essays observe a relationship between material culture and morality. Craig Roell addresses the piano, not only as a symbol of refinement and respectability but also as a vehicle for daughters to demonstrate morality and hard work to prospective husbands. William Ayres draws on popular decorating magazines to examine the virtuous signals that paintings and reproductions were said to lend to the homes they graced. Kate Roberts contributes seventeen photographs to document the continuing presence of fireplaces, even when heat came to be provided by stoves and furnaces. Shirley Wajda, the only scholar here to consider the working-class home, discusses the importance of the formal studio portrait, displayed in the parlor, to mark the status of an immigrant family. Karal Ann Marling reviews the determination of Carol Kennicott, protagonist in Sinclair Lewis's novel *Main Street*, to bring modernization to her community by redecorating her home.

The collection serves up new material and invites further scrutiny of household arts for an understanding of history.

KAREN J. BLAIR
Central Washington University

HELEN LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ. *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. xxi, 526. \$30.00.

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz has written a fine biography of M. Carey Thomas, the second president and chief architect of Bryn Mawr College. Her book offers a fascinatingly nuanced portrait of an enormously complicated individual. Bright, willful, and energetic as a child growing up in a large, well-established Baltimore Quaker family, Thomas became a woman of great vision and intensity and of vast contradictions. Having convinced her father to allow her to attend Cornell University and then to go to Europe to earn the Ph.D., she spent her life creating new educational opportunities for women. She helped force the opening of the Johns Hopkins Medical School to women; she was a founder of the Bryn Mawr School for Girls; and she devoted thirty-seven years to building a college that would offer women advanced education on a par with that available to men.

As Horowitz's study demonstrates, however, Thomas was hardly a feminist saint. In pursuit of her ends, she could be cruel, manipulative, and duplicitous, lying to Bryn Mawr faculty, spying on students, and taking credit for essays and speeches she did not write. She was more anti-Semitic than many of her contemporaries and she went to considerable lengths to bar African Americans from Bryn Mawr. She was also capable of great cruelty in her personal relationships. For many years, she was deeply (although often deceptively) involved with both Mamie Gwinn and Mary Garrett, the two women with whom she was in love, and when Gwinn eventually decided to leave the Bryn Mawr deanery she had long shared with Thomas to marry a former Bryn Mawr professor, Thomas placed her furniture in storage, refused to see her, and even turned against her in a child-support suit brought against her husband. Although Horowitz praises Thomas's achievements and agrees with the Bryn Mawr student who said that Thomas "was a backer who might use devious means, but who'd never let a student down" (p. 336), she also concurs with Gwinn's belief that Thomas was "incapable of an altruistic feeling" (p. 373).

Capturing all sides of Thomas's life and personality, Horowitz's biography offers a forthright and incisive discussion of the evidentiary challenges and problems involved in writing a life history that seeks to do more than interpret public ideas and activities. Throughout her life, Thomas's most important loving relationships were with other women. As Horowitz notes, however, this does not in itself tell much about Thomas's sex life. Writing of Thomas's early relationship with Gwinn,

Horowitz notes, for example, that "no record exists of Carey's and Mamie's physical intimacy . . . ; yet no record determines it was absent" (p. 171). Discussing a similar silence concerning Thomas's relationship with Garrett, she observes: "absence of evidence . . . proves nothing at all. Testimony to the most private pleasures of lovemaking does not usually rest in archives" (p. 290).

Lacking direct evidence, Horowitz bases her interpretation of Thomas's sex life and self-perception as a sexual being on contextual evidence, all the while commenting *en passant* (and unobtrusively) about her logic and sources. The result is a sensitive portrait of the evolution of Thomas's self-consciously aesthetic identification with other women to her more purposively private recognition based on reading of medical literature that "passion was sex and that she was a lesbian" (p. 290). Set within an analysis of the lifelong tension Thomas endured between her commitment to Bryn Mawr and her wish to give herself to the private enjoyment of luxury and beauty, Horowitz's treatment of Thomas's homosexuality avoids quick categorization in favor of an account that is beautifully integrated with other aspects of Thomas's life.

As a biographer, Horowitz is more focused on Thomas than on the college Thomas so profoundly shaped. Although she details Thomas's dealings with Bryn Mawr trustees, faculty, and students, she says relatively little about differences between Bryn Mawr and other institutions. If somewhat more attention to the institutional context of Thomas's work would have enriched the study, this book is nonetheless a model biography that will be of interest to all historians who have pondered the problems associated with portraying a life.

ELLEN CONDLIFFE LAGEMANN
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DOUGLAS CLAYTON. *Floyd Dell: The Life and Times of an American Rebel*. Chicago, Ill.: Ivan R. Dee. 1994. Pp. xv, 335. \$30.00.

In 1923 and 1924, novelist, critic, and intellectual Floyd Dell published a series of essays in the radical journal the *Liberator* entitled "Literature in the Machine Age." In these essays he suggested that many of the writers of his generation, in reacting to recent political, economic, and technological developments, had become increasingly alienated. Their alienation had led to a feeling of powerlessness that encouraged many to retreat into their own personal and creative worlds in which private dreams and arcane symbols frequently and tragically replaced social concern and historical awareness. Publishing the essays in book form under the title, *Intellectual Vagabondage* (1926), he concluded by advocating a return to a literature that recognized the political, economic, and historical as much as the personal. Although *Intellectual Vagabondage* has often been overshadowed by two later books with similar themes, Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle*

(1931) and Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return* (1934), Douglas Clayton in this excellent biography has not only demonstrated Dell's intellectual originality and importance in the period before and after World War I but also in the process emphasized a continuity in Dell's life and works that often had been overlooked.

In 1908 Dell moved from Iowa, where he grew up in impoverished circumstances, to Chicago. For the next four years he was at the center of what has been labeled the Chicago Renaissance. In 1913 he moved to Greenwich Village, where he became one of the best known and creative members of the bohemia that flourished there in the years before World War I. As a committed socialist, associate editor of the *Masses*, and, later, the *Liberator*, as the light-hearted playwright for the Liberal Club, lover of Edna St. Vincent Millay and numerous other women, as a novelist and as a defendant in the *Masses* sedition trial during World War I, Dell appeared to be the archetype Village radical intellectual. What most puzzled his contemporaries and later scholars was his apparent retreat from radical political beliefs in the 1920s and a glorification of such traditional values as marriage and the family.

By adroitly juxtaposing Dell's life with his creative efforts, Clayton shows that Dell was amazingly consistent. There was no change, as with Jerry Rubin, from Yippie to Yuppie. Skeptical, ironic, and doggedly independent, he was radical but not doctrinaire, fearful of both communism and McCarthyism, bohemian but supportive of marital stability and the joys of family life, creative but disapproving of the elitist nature of modernism. Although Clayton suggests that the independence and skepticism that Dell displayed as a public intellectual seems "more formidable than ever before" because of the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and "widespread concerns about the routinization (and professionalization) of the academic left" (p. xv), he wisely does not pursue this kind of interpretive hindsight. Instead he focuses on the ironic questioning and persistent independence that characterized Dell's long career first as a self-supporting writer and later as an employee for the Works Progress Administration and the Special Reports Section of the Information Service.

DAVID DUKE
Marshall University

GREGORY D. BLACK. *Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics, and the Movies*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Mass Communications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 336. \$27.95.

Academic interest in institutional censorship of the American commercial cinema shows no signs of abating. Gregory D. Black's work complements several recent studies, including Annette Kuhn's *Cinema, Censorship and Sexuality, 1909-1925* (1988), Leonard Leff and Jerold Simmons's *The Dame in the Kimono* (1990), and my own *Cross and the Cinema* (1993). As early as

the turn of the century the nascent film industry was conscious of the need for self-defense against an array of institutions, federal, state, city, and private.

Most of these institutions had misgivings over the new medium's potential to subvert morality, especially that of the "lower orders." A preamble to the Hays Code unconsciously reveals this patronizing attitude: "Most art appeals to the mature. This art appeals to every class, mature, immature, developed, undeveloped, law abiding, criminal." A series of internal Hollywood scandals in the early 1920s forced Hollywood to fend off the possibility of federal censorship by importing Will Hays, a career politician, to police the film capital's output and generally refurbish its image. For a time he succeeded, but the advent of the Great Depression forced the studios to produce ever-racier fare, the better to lure impecunious customers back to the theaters. The Production Code, the work of two Catholics, Father Daniel Lord and Martin Quigley, a layman, was largely ignored until the Catholic church supplied the necessary muscle with the creation of a Legion of Decency. For the next quarter century the movies were encased in a chastity belt that studios attempted to loosen only at their peril. Hollywood's moguls, feared by subordinates for their legendary autocracy, bowed before the Legion of Decency and the Production Code Administration.

Black traces these developments with an easy authority. His mastery of the voluminous primary sources ensures a thorough description with no significant gaps. Still, one wishes he had stood back more often from his material to add a tincture of analysis. Was it, for example, purely fortuitous that a period of concerted repression of the movies coincided with the worst economic crisis the United States had yet encountered? Can thought control be dissociated from the wider social context with which it is in constant interaction? The book's title and subtitle also are somewhat misleading. This is not a comprehensive study of the subject from its origins to the present. Rather, Black has chosen to limit himself to the 1930s, inarguably the most tumultuous and decisive decade for pressure groups seeking to control the content of films and, if necessary, bowdlerize them. There is an obvious need for a sequel recounting Hollywood's Cold War with the forces of repression over the past fifty years. Given recent utterances by Republican conservatives on the rampant immorality that purportedly continues to prevail in the film capital, it is a conflict still awaiting resolution.

JAMES M. SKINNER
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HADLEY ARKES. *The Return of George Sutherland: Restoring a Jurisprudence of Natural Rights*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 297. \$29.95.

Hadley Arkes advances three propositions in this book about the jurisprudential ideas of George Sutherland,

the English-born student of Thomas M. Cooley and a U.S. Senator from Utah, who served as an associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1922 until 1938. Appointed to the high court by President Warren G. Harding, he often voted during the Great Depression against the more innovative programs of the New Deal.

First, Arkes argues that Sutherland was not as a legislator or jurist the arch-reactionary painted by some liberal scholars. This is not a startling discovery for those who recall that Sutherland supported women's suffrage, postal savings legislation, and worker's compensation in the Senate as well as writing the majority opinion in *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the first Scottsboro case, and *Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.* (1926), a decision that sustained municipal zoning regulations against arguments that they constituted a "taking" of private property.

Second, Arkes proposes that much of the post-New Deal judicial activism in the area of civil liberties and presidential authority traces its roots to Sutherland's jurisprudence of natural rights or what might be described as "the constitution beyond the Constitution." And last, but not least, Arkes asserts that Sutherland actually got it right in cases such as *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923) and *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.* (1936), where the court majority invalidated minimum-wage legislation and federal efforts to regulate the bituminous coal industry.

These last two propositions are put forth with much conviction and enthusiasm by a scholar who seems to believe that the greatest possible threats to human liberty and dignity arise only from government and that the so-called free market should be the final arbiter of virtually all human relationships, especially the economic ones.

I suspect it will take more than Arkes's labored analysis, however, to convince some that the federal statutes struck down in *Adkins* and *Carter* constituted a terrible blow to personal freedom and states' rights. Arkes cries copious tears for Ms. Willie Lyons, fired from her \$35 per month job as an elevator operator in the Congress Hotel as a result of the minimum-wage law, but he never mentions that the Court's own failure to permit the coverage of adult male workers produced the situation he finds so unjust.

To suggest, as Arkes does, that Hugo Black, the strict positivist, represented the constitutional ideals of the New Deal against which Sutherland and later civil libertarians battled, is a naive rendering of post-1937 judicial history. Why is William O. Douglas, architect of *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), not the quintessential New Deal justice? What about Felix Frankfurter, apostle of judicial restraint? Or Frank Murphy and Wiley Rutledge, both New Deal justices, who rejected much of Black's jurisprudence? As John Marshall Harlan II demonstrated so easily, it was possible to anchor important individual rights like access to birth control in the constitutional text without resort to the natural rights mysticism of Justice Sutherland.

Arkes's extended paean to Sutherland's opinion in *U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* (1936) could have been written by White House lawyers who defended Richard Nixon's secret bombing of Cambodia, Ronald Reagan's arms-for-hostages deal, or George Bush's assault on Panama and the kidnapping of General Manuel Noriega. Arkes's concern for individual rights and constitutional balance apparently stops, as Sutherland's did, at the water's edge.

Because of its extended digressions and repetitiousness, the book will win few prizes for literary felicity or economy. Again and again we are told that Willie Lyons, not the Congress of the United States, was the best judge of her own welfare. That is no doubt true, but was Ms. Lyons also the best judge of the nation's? And twice in the space of a few pages we are assured that despite *Curtiss-Wright*, the president probably would be barred by Congress from turning over the American naval fleet to a foreign power! What a relief to know that.

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San Diego

JOHN D. FASSETT. *New Deal Justice: The Life of Stanley Reed of Kentucky*. New York: Vantage. 1994. Pp. xviii, 771. \$35.00.

Among the five New Deal Justices who served on the Supreme Court at least fifteen years, three are legendary: Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas; Robert H. Jackson is well known, particularly for his work with the Nuremberg tribunal; Stanley Reed, who served from 1938 to 1957, is largely forgotten. John D. Fassett has written the first full-length biography of Justice Reed, based primarily on the Reed Papers at the University of Kentucky. Writing from retirement after a career as a corporate lawyer and utility company executive, Fassett, who served as Reed's law clerk during the 1953 term, tries to let the facts speak for themselves, and he piles them up. All major opinions and dissents written by the Justice are thoroughly canvassed, as are many minor ones. Fassett leaves explicit interpretation to the final chapter.

Reed came to the Court an economic liberal, hostile to the judicial activism that was invalidating New Deal measures. As the major constitutional issues reaching the Court shifted from economic legislation to civil liberties, civil rights, and criminal justice procedure in the 1940s and 1950s, Reed's deference to government authority, his belief in judicial restraint, and his preference for protecting what he considered vital public safety and national security interests even at the expense of individual rights acquired new meaning. He now appeared a conservative rather than a liberal Justice, which Fassett attributes to changes in the times rather than in the Justice's own thinking. Fassett also suggests that Reed's low stature with historians stems from the fact his judicial philosophy became out of favor with the academy. Reed's own style and

perhaps his abilities, however, have also served to keep his profile low. He found writing a struggle and therefore was assigned fewer than his proportionate share of opinions. Furthermore, he wrote few noteworthy decisions or dissents, and he relied on this limited output rather than public pronouncements to articulate his judicial philosophy. As one commentator remarked, Reed was "almost as exciting as a mud puddle" (p. 208).

The two most interesting accounts in the book are the story of Reed's evolving relationship with Frankfurter, told through memos the two men exchanged over many years, and the story of Reed's role in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Reed destroyed all his records on *Brown*, but Fassett saved some key documents from his clerkship and was himself a careful observer. Fassett makes clear that Reed, a native Kentuckian, approached the decision from a lifetime spent thinking and acting as "a southern squire." He could not conceive of dealing with black Americans on a basis of equality in his private life. Despite this, he had consistently voted to strictly enforce the doctrine that separate facilities must be equal and he wrote the decision in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) that declared all-white primary elections unconstitutional. But he wanted to draw the line at overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) since he did not believe segregation was inherently discriminatory. To this end, he prepared drafts of a dissent on *Brown*, but finally joined the majority to make the decision unanimous. Fassett, who rarely speculates beyond the evidence in front of him, does not really explain Reed's vote, although he implies the Justice did not want to be the sole dissenter and was convinced by Chief Justice Earl Warren that such a momentous decision ought to be unanimous.

WAYNE K. HOBSON
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Fullerton

PAMELA RINEY-KEHRBERG. *Rooted in Dust: Surviving Drought and Depression in Southwestern Kansas*. (Rural America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xiv, 249. \$25.00.

In *The Great Plains*, Walter Prescott Webb noted that of the three elements civilization rests on (land, timber, and water), two are significantly lacking on the plains. In the six decades since Webb introduced this idea, historians of the plains have largely expended their efforts on examining how the absence of trees and/or water has affected human existence there. Ironically, however, the voices of plains dwellers themselves have often been absent from these studies. Scholars instead have relied on the words of outside observers, from government bureaucrats to novelist John Steinbeck, in assessing the impact of the plains environment on its inhabitants. Pamela Riney-Kehrberg corrects this oversight in her study of a sixteen-county region of southwestern Kansas during the Dust Bowl period. Her work incorporates the views of local

newspaper editors, the oral testimony of area residents, and the personal writings of southwestern Kansans to give a voice to the plains dwellers who weathered environmental and economic disaster. She supplements this material with evidence from census records and government reports to provide an interesting portrait of Dust Bowl life.

Riney-Kehrberg effectively demonstrates the variety of survival strategies that families employed to remain on the land during this period, including the years before establishment of New Deal assistance programs. She lends weight to Mary Neth's argument that women's work in the henhouse and elsewhere was vital to the success of midwestern family farming, even on the "wheat factories" of the Great Plains (*Preserving the Family Farm* [1995]). Riney-Kehrberg's most impressive chapter analyzes the population of five randomly selected townships within the sixteen-county region to determine the factors that caused some families to leave while others stayed. Her analysis of such variables as ethnicity, family size, and farm ownership will undoubtedly prove useful to future historians of the Dust Bowl. This chapter also includes material on the region's Mexican and African-American populations, two groups often neglected in Dust Bowl histories.

Riney-Kehrberg concludes her book with analysis of life in southwestern Kansas since 1940. She discusses the impact of irrigation and manufacturing in the area but curiously neglects the tourist industry of southwestern Kansas, which has capitalized on the postwar popularity of *Gunsmoke* and *The Wizard of Oz* to draw large numbers of visitors to Boot Hill in Dodge City and Dorothy's house in Liberal.

Riney-Kehrberg's exhaustively researched study of plains life in the "Dirty Thirties" makes a timely contribution in the 1990s, as scholars discuss depopulating the region and turning it into a "buffalo commons" and as Congress debates diminishing the welfare state ushered in by the Depression of the 1930s. It is recommended reading for anyone generally concerned with the history of environmental and public welfare policies, as well as those readers more specifically interested in agricultural history, rural social history, and Great Plains studies.

KATHERINE JELLISON
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DAVID W. STOWE. *Swing Changes: Big Band Jazz in New Deal America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 299. \$29.95.

David W. Stowe attempts to explain the interaction of jazz with American culture and society during the 1930s and 1940s. Swing was more than the music and its creators, Stowe maintains. It was not only "text" but "social practice" (p. 9) as well. Fostered by a complex of audiences, critics, and corporations, swing became an ideology and "a way of life" (p. 2).

Stowe believes this "way of life" was tightly interwoven with New Deal America. The emergence of hierarchical big-band swing from the relatively egalitarian small-group jazz of the 1920s reflected, he argues, the rise of bureaucratic, large-scale organizations and "the arrangements worked out among business, unions, and the government under the New Deal" (p. 10). From 1935 to 1945, swing echoed the New Deal's inclusivist, democratic values, its confidence in American exceptionalism, and its openness to the Left and to the less powerful.

Stowe has interesting and original things to say about jazz critics and the Popular Front activities of some writers and musicians. His accounts of the music business and race relations will probably be new to academic historians. But this is a fundamentally flawed and unsatisfying book. The author tries to have it both ways. On the one hand, Stowe seems confident that he knows what the real meaning of swing was. He makes sweeping, unsubstantiated claims about the relationship of the music and culture. On the other hand, he points out that swing had diverse, even conflicting meanings. The significance of swing, we are told, was "up for grabs" (p. 92).

It is hard to see why we should accept Stowe's assertion that swing was connected to the New Deal. He does not demonstrate that connection, particularly because he has so little interest in musicians. The book never asks why particular musicians created the purportedly New-Dealish swing style. Just why did they respond to the supposed bureaucratization of society by creating a supposedly more regimented music? Rather than broaden the definition of swing, Stowe narrows the scope of the term. He barely considers the group of men and women who created the music. Swing musicians apparently had no role in shaping the meaning of their own music. In a remarkable passage, Stowe writes dismissively that "the music was a livelihood, at most a means of personal expression" (p. 49) for musicians. Critics are more important than creators in this book. John Hammond gets more attention than Count Basie or Billie Holiday or Benny Goodman. Duke Ellington, one of the more self-conscious artists of the century, appears mainly because he had the nerve to challenge Hammond's authority in public.

Stowe also writes off the music itself. He analyzes a couple of lyrics but barely touches any of the rest of swing. This neglect of the music allows Stowe to argue that there was no major break between the swing of the 1930s and the bebop of the 1940s. Instead of revolution, there was evolution. But Stowe can make this argument only because he ignores the revolutionary transformation of the music itself and because he discounts the musicians' own sense of a radical break in their world.

A cultural history of music without the music and the musicians is inherently inaccurate and mystifying. As Stowe notes, Benny Goodman observed that swing "remains something you take 5,000 words to explain then leaves you wondering what it is" (p. 3). Stowe uses

many more words than that, but the result is about the same.

MICHAEL MCGERR
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ERWIN C. HARGROVE. *Prisoners of Myth: The Leadership of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1990*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 374. \$45.00.

At last we have a scholarly overview of the remarkable Tennessee Valley Authority. Erwin C. Hargrove delineates three periods in the Authority's history. During the New Deal and World War II, the TVA triumphed over substantial challenges, and David E. Lilienthal's theme of grass-roots democracy became sacrosanct. From 1945 to 1970 the original multipurpose mission shifted to a controlling focus on cheap electricity. Now the TVA relied on coal rather than the river. In the third period, 1970-88, the aging bureaucracy found itself beset with new problems: overexpansion, construction delays, gigantic cost overruns, safety hazards in the nuclear program, attacks from environmentalists and Native Americans, and, worst of all, sharply increasing power rates. The myths no longer worked.

Rightfully bowing to Philip Selznick, the father of TVA scholarship who identified the grass-roots myth in 1949, Hargrove's analysis of institutional belief systems is at times brilliant. These myths, which made the TVA vigorous in its youth, imprisoned it when the times changed, and the contradictions within that mythology became all too apparent. The nonpartisan, autonomous, regional, highly professional Authority could never escape Washington regulation, could never coordinate all other governmental agencies in its region, and could never cut through local politics and institutions to reach the real grass roots. Unfortunately, the belief that it could and did was a matter of faith carefully indoctrinated into an increasingly inbred staff. Even the legend that cheap electricity always increases demand and that power should be produced before a market exists eventually proved untrue. The force of the myths was strong, and as the TVA was becoming just another power company it insisted on its uniqueness and its diverse nature. Perhaps the most powerful myth was the one of success, which made the agency fat, lazy, and totally unprepared for the trauma of its old age.

In the process of putting the history of the TVA into a nicely balanced single volume with a fascinating interpretation, Hargrove has discovered new and significant archival sources. He also has mined an extensive oral history collection to support his own considerable interviewing. Although these materials are described in his preface, it is unfortunate that Hargrove did not take the opportunity to review TVA literature in a bibliographical essay, an addition that would have made his book even more attractive and

useful. Indeed, there is no bibliography of any kind, and in at least one case the publication information in a footnote is incorrect.

Specialists will find a few minor errors of fact and the general reader will spot a couple of obvious lapses. The book does not pretend to be a complete history of all TVA programs, and the agency deserves continuing scholarly scrutiny. Nevertheless, this is an excellent study of the agency's leadership and major policy developments, and it is sure to rank as the best introduction for anyone interested in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

ROY TALBERT, JR.
Coastal Carolina University

JAMES HUDNUT-BEUMLER. *Looking for God in the Suburbs: The Religion of the American Dream and Its Critics, 1945-1965*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 229. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$16.00.

Announcing his "attempt at recovering the mentalité of the era" (p. 1), James Hudnut-Beumler begins to examine the role of religion in American culture in the 1950s through the lenses of suburbanization, scientism, the mass media, and the debate during these years about the American character. The focus of the book shifts away from cultural analysis, however, toward the careful recollection of arguments made by religious intellectuals and other cultural critics about the "return to religion" that characterized the decade. Thus, what begins as an interesting interpretive investigation ends as summary repetition of other people's arguments.

The rhetorical strategy employed by religious thinkers and secular critics alike, Hudnut-Beumler contends, was "the suburban jeremiad." Explicating this genre entails repeating the claims of four secular critics—David Riesman, William H. Whyte, Jr., C. Wright Mills, and Dwight Macdonald—and then retracing the positions of three religious critics of American culture—Will Herberg, Gibson Winter, and Peter Berger. Looking backward, the author sees that "it has been the purpose of this book to argue that the suburban jeremiads represented an attempt of elite religionists" to win the allegiance of American believers away from both popular and churchly religious movements (p. 172). The author then turns his attention to the religious liberalism of the 1960s, recognizing that here, too, the power of the jeremiads lay in their pithy summation of "what was wrong with religion and society in America" (p. 206) rather than in inaugurating the transformation they seemed to envision.

Because the book shifts gears and directions several times, it is hard to see exactly what it accomplishes. A consistent cultural, rhetorical, or intellectual historical approach would yield more insight. The author's conclusion about his subject thus may characterize his method as well: "Though solutions proved elusive, the

suburban jeremiads' formulation of American culture's unfinished business still abides" (p. 207). Nevertheless, the book reminds us of a significant period in American religious history that needs, and will repay, further exploration.

JAMES G. MOSELEY
Transylvania University

KARAL ANN MARLING. *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. 328. \$24.95.

Do not be misled by the main title of this book. It is not about television, at least not directly. The volume actually deals with the visual culture of Americans accustomed to watching television. "Life in the 1950s imitated art—as seen on TV," Karal Ann Marling explains (p. 6). How things looked became extremely important for Americans conditioned by TV viewing.

According to the author, "seeing is absolutely central to the meaning of the 1950s." This book explores "what people looked at in the 1950s, and what [and who] there was to see" (p. 5). Marling views the broader visual culture through prisms of specific individuals, products, and events as they were seen on TV. Seven self-contained chapters focusing on Mamie Eisenhower, the painting-by-the-numbers craze, Disneyland, the automobile, Elvis Presley, *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book*, and the Moscow Kitchen Debate allow the author to analyze the social and cultural significance of fashions, color styles, hobbies, leisure activities, cars, appliances, and a variety of other products.

Marling's interpretations are often fascinating. For example, her close readings of the iconographic significance of baked goods, the importance of hobbies and do-it-yourselfism, the use of colors such as shocking pink, and the effect that television viewing had on everyday life styles adds to our understanding of the post-World War II period.

Yet, despite Marling's insightful analyses of several elements of 1950s visual culture, her study is flawed in two basic ways. The main problem is the book's thesis. The author maintains that television viewing caused the rise of a new visually oriented everyday culture. The new visual culture reflected TV's influence and was in turn reflected on TV.

Although television obviously had an effect on visual culture, the relationship between the two was far more complex than Marling suggests. Visual culture and the new medium of television developed simultaneously, each reinforcing the other. Marling is not convincing when she suggests that phenomena such as bright colors, New Look fashions, and *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* were all results of the new black-and-white television aesthetic. More likely, those phenomena—like television itself—were all part of a new visual culture that resulted from post-World War II desires for spanking new products and visually appealing

consumer goods. Television did not cause the visual culture. It was part of it.

Another problem is the author's impressionistic approach to the subject. Marling never explains why she decided to focus on Mamie Eisenhower rather than Marilyn Monroe. Or, why Elvis Presley instead of Mickey Mantle or Willie Mays? Or, why *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* and not the *Encyclopedia Britannica*? Indeed, a choice of alternate subjects may very well have led to different conclusions. In the end, the reader cannot help but feel that Marling's snapshots of the era's visual culture may amount to little more than a "managed gaze" of the 1950s.

Despite these drawbacks, Marling's volume is still a useful addition to the literature of the 1950s. Through its engaging interpretations of nontraditional forms of evidence, it provides new information about style, material culture, television, and popular culture in post-World War II America. The book should appeal to anyone interested in art history or recent American social and cultural history.

RICHARD AQUILA
Ball State University

T. MICHAEL HOLMES. *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 257. \$36.00.

For all that has been written about the anticommunist crusade that swept the United States after World War II, the Red Scare at the state and local level has received relatively little attention. T. Michael Holmes's book helps fill that void. Holmes surveys the years 1947 through 1953, when Hawaiian anticommunism reached its peak. This is the story, nostalgia buffs may recall, that inspired John Wayne to make the Cold War period piece, *Big Jim McLain* (1952), about a two-fisted G-man fighting Reds in paradise.

Holmes gives the subject more serious—if less entertaining—treatment than did the Duke. After a brief survey of anticommunism on the mainland, Holmes shifts to Hawaii and the efforts of the territorial governor, Ingram M. Stainback, beginning with his Armistice Day speech of 1947, to warn Hawaiians of Communist plans to infiltrate the island. Shortly thereafter, John Reinecke and Aiko Reinecke, two prominent political activists, lost their jobs as public school teachers because of their left-wing views. Then the pamphlet *The Truth about Communism in Hawaii* appeared, an exposé attributed to ex-Communist Ichiro Izuka. Holmes examines the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and its close ties to the Communist Party. Union organizer Jack Hall, a key figure in the book, was, for example, at least at one time a party member. Holmes suggests, if he does not argue the point, that animus toward organized labor helped to motivate Hawaii's anticommunist crusades. Before the wave of Cold War paranoia crested, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) held hearings on the island, the

issue split the territory's Democratic Party, and Hawaii became the scene of one round of Smith Act trials of Communist Party leaders. "[M]ost of it," Holmes writes, "seems to have been driven by a deeply felt fear of an alien threat to the American way of life" (p. xii).

Readers will glean some insights from the Hawaiian experience that are relevant to a larger debate over the nature of anticommunism in the United States. The witch hunts may not have enjoyed broad popular support. Anticommunist candidates did poorly in Hawaii's 1948 elections. Sensing the breadth of public hostility toward communism, political leaders may have exaggerated its depth. What is remembered today as McCarthyism existed independently of Joseph R. McCarthy. According to Holmes, concerns about domestic subversion in Hawaii peaked in 1950, just as the Wisconsin senator was emerging as a national figure. Despite victims such as the Reineckes, anticommunist extremists probably failed as often as they succeeded. Thirty-nine recalcitrant witnesses charged in Hawaii with contempt of HUAC were acquitted, a loyalty oath aimed at suspected subversives at the University of Hawaii had scant impact, and the convictions of Hawaii's Smith Act defendants were nullified by the Supreme Court in its *Yates v. U.S.* decision (1957).

Begun as a dissertation at the University of Hawaii in 1972, Holmes's book suffers from the defects common to the genre: ungainly and self-conscious prose, an uncritical use of sources, and a failure to develop key points and pass quickly over the rest. It should be, nonetheless, a useful and informative book for students of the Cold War at home.

JEFF BROADWATER
Barton College

RICHARD J. ELLIS. *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*. (Studies in Government and Public Policy.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. viii, 271. \$29.95.

Political scientist Richard J. Ellis offers a useful refinement of Fred Goldstein's classic description of Dwight Eisenhower's hidden-hand style of presidential leadership (*The Hidden-Hand Presidency* [1982]). Focusing on what he terms "blame avoidance," Ellis argues that the effective use of lightning rods to divert criticism from the president himself is far more complicated than conventional wisdom would suggest. Of all recent occupants of the White House, Eisenhower was the most effective in using subordinates to preserve his own popularity, yet even Ike was not always successful.

Ellis makes a useful distinction between an aide acting as a lightning rod to deflect criticism from the president and someone whose controversial actions simply make him or her a liability to the administration. Ezra Taft Benson, Ike's secretary of agriculture, exemplifies the lightning rod phenomenon at its best: Benson drew heavy fire from farmers for his policies while Ike's popularity among rural dwellers remained

high. James Watt, Ronald Reagan's interior secretary, however, became a liability when the public blamed both Watt and Reagan for the administration's anti-environmental policies. The key difference, Ellis argues, was that Reagan took a clear ideological stand whereas Eisenhower's own personal views were vague enough to spare him blame.

Equally crucial to an effective lightning-rod approach is the degree to which the president delegates authority. Ike could escape blame easily because he was widely known to give his subordinates free rein; Lyndon Johnson was never able to use people like Vice President Hubert Humphrey or Secretary of State Dean Rusk to shoulder blame because he insisted on taking credit for his administration's successes, making it clear that he was in full control of all policies.

For the historian, Ellis reinforces the uniqueness of Eisenhower as a practitioner of blame avoidance. Ike's desire to stand above partisan politics, his thin political skin, and his apparent lack of strong ideological convictions made the use of lightning rods an effective way for him to govern. But in two areas not even Eisenhower could use subordinates to escape personal responsibility. As Ellis argues persuasively, John Foster Dulles was in fact not a very effective lightning rod, since the public treated foreign policy achievements as presidential in nature; when things went well abroad, both Ike's and Dulles's standing in the polls rose, and both fell together after setbacks overseas. In civil rights, Eisenhower's attempt to use Attorney General Herbert Brownell to deflect the criticism of southern whites ultimately failed; those opposing racial integration blamed both Ike and Brownell for the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and for the Little Rock episode.

Although Ellis tries to extract general rules for presidential behavior from the evidence he presents, his book is most useful as an account of the Eisenhower style of presidential leadership. He moderates some of the more extreme claims of Eisenhower revisionists, particularly in regard to the Eisenhower-Dulles relationship, and provides a sophisticated and convincing analysis of both the advantages and drawbacks of Ike's fondness for using lightning rods to protect his personal popularity.

ROBERT A. DIVINE
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THOMAS H. JEAUVONS. *When the Bottom Line Is Faithfulness: Management of Christian Service Organizations*. (Philanthropic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 236. \$24.95.

Thomas H. Jeavons's book is a labor of love. Jeavons has dedicated his life to administering nonprofit organizations, particularly the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). His book asks an important question: what management styles and organizational cultures have made some service organizations more effective than others?

Jeavons opens with an excellent synthetic history of philanthropy in America. Its interpretations will be familiar to readers of Robert H. Bremner, Merle Curti, and Peter Dobkin Hall, but it reminds us that the majority of volunteers and contributors to charitable organizations in the United States have been church members. Jeavons may exaggerate the importance of philanthropy to our "national character" (p. 5). Americans have varied widely in their willingness to contribute voluntarily or to tax themselves to help the poor at home and abroad. But Jeavons is right to insist that religious organizations are the heart and soul of American philanthropy, despite the larger role that government and secular foundations have played in providing welfare services in the twentieth century.

Religious service organizations face novel challenges, however. Raising funds has become a competitive, high-stakes undertaking, and "the Bible has no chapter on fund-raising" (p. 159). What moral, spiritual, and practical tenets should shape Christian campaigns? A further problem is that many Christian service organizations do not have endowments. Unwilling to leave people in need, they spend nearly all the funds they raise in a given year and trust God to help them meet future financial obligations. Christian service organizations thus risk insolvency or "dependence" on donors who do not share their spiritual values (p. 169).

How best to manage these problems? Jeavons studies seven contemporary Christian service organizations, five of which were deemed "effective" by a poll of religious service organization managers, and two of which were considered ineffective. The key to success is spiritual. He concludes that organizations that place serving Christ above serving others, that care about the morality of means as well as ends, that encourage humility and cooperation among organization members and clients, and that care more about stewardship than economic efficiency, are more durable and capable of helping the needy. The "bottom line" is indeed "faithfulness."

What is troubling here is not that Jeavons finds the answers to his questions about management and fund-raising in his own understanding of Christian faith. His research on contemporary service organizations is not sufficiently historical to make his case. He spends little time on the history of the organizations he studies in detail, which forces him to rely on his estimation of their current traits to judge their success or failure. But might the greater spiritual fervor of successful organizations be a consequence of their success? Might different management styles or organizational cultures have been more successful in the past? Indeed, do the roots of contemporary success or failure lay in the past rather than the present? By failing to compare the history of these organizations over time, Jeavons misses a chance to construct a durable interpretation.

In his opening chapters, Jeavons demonstrates the power of history to help us understand the present. But

his volume's subsequent chapters are ahistorical. The result is an interesting but uneven book.

RANDOLPH ROTH
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Columbus

GEORGE W. BAER. *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The U.S. Navy, 1890–1990*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. 553. \$49.50.

This book is an examination of the ways in which purpose, experience, and doctrine interacted to form and reform the U.S. Navy for a century. Beginning with the strategy of sea control as set forth by Captain Alfred T. Mahan and concluding with the situation at the end of the Gulf War, George W. Baer describes the circumstances that shaped the navy's strategy and its battles with the other armed services and politicians over the way defense dollars were allocated. Drawing on a wide selection of scholarly, technical, and official studies, the author argues that as an arm of the federal government, the navy must not disassociate itself from a broad national policy that is the source of its purpose and strength. Mahan understood this, but his successors have not always been as mindful of the connection.

Baer shows that the realities of World War I at sea meant that the conflict was fought without the battle fleet. Instead, the navy was given a series of missions for which it was not prepared. Following the peace treaty, there was a lack of coordination between diplomacy and naval planning. A war plan was prepared in anticipation of a future conflict with Japan, but Congress never authorized the ships to make it work and the army would not cooperate on the basis of the navy's predictions. After the attack on Pearl Harbor the navy reorganized the Pacific fleet into task forces built around aircraft carriers. Thus, Mahan's doctrine of the indivisibility of the battle fleet and the central role of the battleship came to an end without having ever been used. In addition, the navy turned to a maritime strategy of supporting land operations.

During the early years of the Cold War there was no systematic long-range naval planning. The author praises Admiral Arleigh A. Burke for ignoring contrary advice and endorsing the development of the Polaris missile for nuclear submarines, thereby breaking the monopoly of the air force on strategic deterrence. Under Burke the navy also began planning for counterinsurgency and clandestine warfare and the use of riverine and coastal patrol boats in Vietnam. But in the Vietnam War most of the navy's assets went into attacks on North Vietnam by carrier aircraft. The end of that war found the fleet unbalanced and aging. In the 1970s the navy was concerned about the increase in Soviet ballistic-missile submarines and by the presence of its surface forces in the Mediterranean. Inflation made it difficult to upgrade missile systems and to replace old ships. There was also no integrated naval strategy and a failure to connect missions with national

political considerations. Between 1978 and 1980 navy leaders developed a maritime strategy for deterrence and victory. Offensive carrier aircraft, attack submarines, and assault marines were at the center of this strategy, which had as its goal a 600-ship fleet. Not since Mahan had the navy advanced such a comprehensive doctrine in peacetime, and one that was supported by the president and the secretary of defense. But the end of the Cold War put this strategy on the shelf. The Gulf War was mainly an army and air force affair, and after it the navy again studied its future role. In 1992 a navy white paper set forth plans for the twenty-first century. These plans shifted the focus from fighting a war in the open ocean, as Mahan visualized, to joint operations conducted from the sea.

Although some readers will not agree with all of Baer's judgments or the sources for such, the book is a well-written and useful introduction to a complex subject.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY
Smithsonian Institution

ALBERT E. COWDREY. *Fighting for Life: American Military Medicine in World War II*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1994. Pp. viii, 392. \$27.95.

This fascinating work on military medicine in World War II by Albert E. Cowdrey is one of the few books published in recent years that has effectively integrated oral history with the written records of wartime. The result is a stunning piece of scholarship that will serve both popular and more academic audiences. It details surgery, public health, preventive medicine, and the chain of medical evacuation that tested the physical and mental capacities of its participants. From the battlefield to the convalescent hospital, Cowdrey follows the wounded through the succession of phased evacuations with their supporting structures of men and women, transport, laboratories, bureaucracy, and individual heroics.

The sweep of Cowdrey's pen includes the contrast between the Japanese who had declined to ratify the Geneva accords of 1929 and whose treatment of prisoners reflected a mixture of "indifference and brutality" (p. 48) and the Germans who more frequently fought under the rules of the Geneva Convention. He just as effectively explains the afflictions of malaria (the principal disease faced by American soldiers), diarrhea, dysentery, scrub typhus, exhaustion, and starvation on the soldiers of both sides. Similarly, he notes the opening of a new era in medical transport with air evacuation; the effect of wartime medicine on military segregation; the rediscovery of wound shock, trenchfoot, debridement, and of psychiatric casualties; the introduction of DDT, sulfa drugs, and penicillin; and the massive use of plasma and whole blood to prepare patients for surgery. Most significantly, he details the effective establishment of environmental control over the battlefields of the Pacific, a factor that saved American forces and turned

the power of disease against the enemy. Even with medical advances, under combat conditions the wounded were sometimes brought to medical support units in conveyances reminiscent of the Crimean War.

Cowdrey explains how on the battlefields of Western Europe, medical problems included the challenge of maintaining orderly support and evacuation during the wild advance of George Patton's Third Army and, conversely, evacuating wounded (or, as happened, having medical volunteers stay behind with the wounded) during the German Army's breakthrough of the Ardennes in December 1944. He traces the American advance into the liberated concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald, and Manthausen; the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire* along the Rhine to halt the advance of typhus in 1945; and the organization of prison camps for more than four million POWs. Similarly, he re-creates the totality of war in all its ferociousness in the amphibious assaults on the beaches of Attu, Wake Island, Biak, Butaritari, Tarawa, Kwajalein, Ropi, Parry, Saipan, Peleliu, Iwo Jima, and Namur; the horrible toll of burned and wounded men from kamikaze attacks; and the "planned Armageddon that was to be the invasion of Japan" (p. 315). It is hard to believe that by 1944, medics in the U.S. forces numbered more than 687,000 men and women.

This study is a tour de force. Cowdrey has put together a book that is masterful in its sweep of the subject matter and in its presentation.

JOHN S. HALLER, JR.
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DONALD F. CROSBY. *Battlefield Chaplains: Catholic Priests in World War II*. Foreword by MARTIN BLUMENSON. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xxvi, 301. \$27.50.

The fiftieth anniversary of World War II has inspired many new works on the diplomatic, military, and social aspects of the war. Few book-length projects, however, have focused on the religious aspects of the conflict. Donald F. Crosby's book fills a major lacuna within this category. It is the first scholarly study of the Catholic military chaplaincy during World War II.

Those already familiar with Crosby's *God, Church, and Flag* (1978), a classic work on Catholics and McCarthyism, notable for its exhaustive research, tightly constructed arguments, and dazzling prose, will salute him for turning to this neglected topic. This volume, the first in a projected trilogy on the Catholic military chaplaincy during World War II, is based on a dizzying amount of research compiled from religious archives scattered from Providence to Santa Barbara, thousands of chaplain records in the National Archives, a questionnaire directed to surviving chaplains, eighty interviews, and the usual published works.

Instead of leading a long, dull tour of government and church bureaucracies as they relate to the military

chaplaincy, Crosby transports his readers directly to the front where army, navy, and marine chaplains assisted their men while sharing the same dangers. Chapters are organized around military engagements in the Pacific, North African, and European theaters of war, beginning with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, island hopping in the Pacific, launching the North African campaign and defeat of European fascism, returning to the grueling fight for dominance in the Pacific, and winding up the war with the atomic assault on Japan. An official history could not have done a better job of narrating the stories of these forgotten heroes, such as the hard-boiled marine John J. O'Neill escorting Eleanor Roosevelt around Guadalcanal, Jesuit L. Berkeley Rines versifying his Kasserine Pass wound, James H. O'Neill in the Ardennes composing a prayer to satisfy both General George Patton and himself, and Joseph O'Callahan calming the nerves of survivors on the *USS Franklin* by passing a bottle. Here is social history combining thumbnail sketches of key battles with powerful portraits of men of the cloth under fire.

Several themes emerge from Crosby's campaign-by-campaign account. These chaplains, many of them decorated for their valor, dodged mortars and shells while ministering to the wounded or conducting funerals under fire. In an age of denominational triumphalism, they ministered to all and cooperated with chaplains of other faiths. Minimally trained by the military with perhaps as little as two years in the ordained ministry, they met the extraordinary spiritual needs of fighting men and their bereaved families at home and survived the military bureaucracy.

As effective as Crosby's narrative is in broadening his potential audience to the general reader, the projected second volume will probably be of greater interest to scholars since it will provide sustained treatment of such substantive and controversial issues of the Catholic military chaplaincy as denominationalism, sexual morality, just-war arguments, racism, and conscientious objection within the military.

ANNE KLEJMENT
University of St. Thomas

TONY SMITH. *America's Mission: The United States and the Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. (A Twentieth Century Fund Book.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 455. \$24.95.

"An idea at the back of it: not a sentimental pretense but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to." At times Tony Smith's book reads like this statement from Marlow in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902). America's mission has been to promote democracy around the world, sometimes at great cost both to Americans and to the peoples of lands waiting in "darkness." And yet, in the end, it was this Wilsonian vision that won the Cold War, that ensured democracy would at least have the chance to

be the alternative that survives from all the turmoil of the twentieth century. Filled with telling quotations, the book moves at a pace both teachers and students will appreciate.

The era of mass politics produced, Smith avers, three contestants for world domination: democracy and its two totalitarian rivals, fascism and communism. When Americans picked up the burden of world leadership, they could imagine no other way of organizing a world safe for democracy than by transmitting their own Wilsonian beliefs and institutions to all the others. Sometimes, as in the Philippines at the beginning of the era of American leadership and in Vietnam at the height of the Cold War, things worked out unsatisfactorily or very badly indeed. Smith is frank about the failures: Americans relied on elites and refused to risk the deeper intervention into local politics that would have brought substance to political democracy. In one of many attempts to come to terms with the inner core of Wilsonian beliefs, Smith writes, Woodrow Wilson "was a populist who believed in law and order" (p. 81).

The core of the book concerns the successful reconstructions of Germany and Japan after World War II. Had the United States followed "realist" precepts in devising these policies it might never have succeeded in creating the essential critical mass needed to thwart the communist alternative, for realists failed to take into account the inner forces in international politics (unlike their Marxist opponents, who failed to provide a theory for international relations).

The leading Wilsonian, Smith concludes, was Ronald Reagan, whose aggressive championing of global democracy was matched with a prudent understanding of the limits of military intervention. Victory in the Cold War came because of strains Reagan's policies imposed on the Soviet Union, but these strains, in turn, were the result of the underlying pressures that had been building since the 1940s when America accepted the challenge in Germany and Japan.

A short review simply cannot do justice either to the subtleties of Smith's argument or, it must be said, to questions about its final cohesiveness. Admiral William Leahy complained to Franklin Roosevelt at Yalta that Soviet commitments on Poland were so elastic they could be stretched all the way to Washington without ever technically breaking them. Smith's definitions of the Wilsonian credo might seem similarly attenuated. Post-Cold War books have restored Wilson to a central place in American foreign policy, overcoming a realist bias in the writing of Cold War history. When Reagan said to skeptical advisers that the real liberals were now the conservatives, and the other way around, Smith says, he got it right. We can chew on that one a long time.

LLOYD GARDNER
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New Brunswick

JOHN LAMBERTON HARPER. *American Visions of Europe: Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 378. \$27.95.

In this fascinating book, John Lamberton Harper explores the solutions to "the European Question" offered by three notable Americans during the 1940s in an effort to "unravel the complex skein of American attitudes towards Europe" (p. 2). He admits to the rather arbitrary quality of his choice of Franklin Roosevelt, George Kennan, and Dean Acheson, yet he has chosen well. Each of these men offered a distinct approach to Europe, and Harper, for the most part, has elucidated their "visions" well.

Roosevelt is revealed as a "partial internationalist" intent on establishing an international system founded on the great power regional hegemony of China, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States. With regard to Europe, he was an unreconstructed Jeffersonian who not only wanted to avoid American entanglement but also aimed to reduce severely Europe's role in world politics. In a harsh but persuasive assessment, Harper notes that Roosevelt's vision was fundamentally flawed both because it seriously miscalculated the respective postwar roles of Britain and the Soviet Union and because it relied on his deception of the American public, which expected a more Wilsonian peace settlement.

Kennan also wished to avoid a deep American commitment in Europe, but sharply rejected the Rooseveltian vision. He suffered from no delusions about the Soviets, and, in stark contrast to FDR, he recommended the revival of Europe as a player in world politics as the means to allow the retraction of both American and Soviet power from the heart of that continent. Influenced, according to Harper, by his "Milwaukee-Berlin formation" (p. 212), Kennan preferred three worlds rather than two and hoped to fashion an independent European entity led by France and Germany.

Acheson eventually rejected Kennan's vision, especially under the influence of the West Europeans, who feared being abandoned by the United States. "The least Jeffersonian of Americans" (p. 277), Acheson worked to overcome American isolationism, deemphasized attempts to foster "collective European self-reliance and autonomy" (p. 280), accepted the reality of a divided Europe, and strove mightily to forge the Western alliance firmly linking the United States to Europe. His vision for the most part prevailed and still is in evidence, although its essential element of shared American-European security interests is challenged increasingly on both sides of the Atlantic.

Harper's effort to delineate not only what his three main characters thought "but *how* they came to think it" (p. 2) leads to the problematic part of his book. He includes a chapter on each man in which he seeks to trace the development of his subjects' sensibilities and attitudes and how these influenced each one's vision of

Europe. Although interesting, these chapters are not especially convincing as explanatory devices, especially in Acheson's case.

This book is well researched and draws effectively on the specialized literature on each figure. It is stylishly written, although the surfeit of literary references gives it a slightly affected quality and tells us more about the broad range of the author's reading in American literature than about any of his subjects. This aside, Harper has given us a fine book that could be read with profit not only by historians but also those charged with the formulation of American foreign policy at the moment.

WILSON D. MISCAMBLE, C.S.C.
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GADDIS SMITH. *The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine, 1945–1993*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1994. Pp. 280. \$25.00.

In their understandable eagerness to analyze the Soviet-American confrontation in Asia and Europe, historians of the Cold War have given short shrift to the Monroe Doctrine. In so doing, they have, in Gaddis Smith's judgment, "missed a significant chapter in the history of how Americans thought about the place of the United States in the world and the nature of national security" (p. 4). The original doctrine of 1823 set forth the principles that the United States would block further European imperialism on the American continents, that the United States would avoid joining European conflicts, and that the United States would oppose the extension of any European political system in the Western Hemisphere. Although the Monroe Doctrine was fundamentally an expression of a U.S. sphere of influence, it could be charitably interpreted as a defense of democracy and national self-determination. But, during the Cold War, U.S. policy makers transformed the doctrine, limiting it to a justification for excluding the Soviet Union and "international communism" from the region. With a secure and stable region, the United States would be free to intervene globally.

For Smith, the key document during the Cold War was what he dubs the "Kennan Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. In 1950, Russian expert George Kennan, after touring Latin America, submitted a lengthy memorandum to his State Department colleagues, arguing that democratic institutions were weak in the region and that perhaps only repressive dictatorships could protect Latin America from the communist contagion. Officials in charge of Latin American policy rejected Kennan's harsh interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and even refused to circulate the memorandum. But Kennan's ideas underlay the fawning U.S. support of anticommunist dictators such as Fulgencio Batista, the Somoza family, and Rafael Trujillo, and the covert subversion of popularly elected governments in Guatemala (1954), Brazil (1964), and Chile (1970–73). Once associated with the

protection of democratic ideals and human rights, the Monroe Doctrine had become identified with torture, death squads, and military dictatorships. In Smith's view, the doctrine was finally undermined by the secrecy, hypocrisy, and lying that characterized the Ronald Reagan administration's war against the Sandinistas of Nicaragua. The United States had become like the corrupt European monarchies that President James Monroe had abhorred.

Scholars will probably find little new historical evidence in this survey of postwar inter-American relations. They may, however, be intrigued by the provocative nature of Smith's interpretations, particularly his savage (and appropriate) indictment of President Reagan's Central American policies. But this book should be popular in the classroom. Smith has a breezy, entertaining style. He depicts, for example, Batista's Havana of the 1950s as a place "attracting American tourists eager to get drunk, get laid, and look for Ernest Hemingway" (p. 94). Students can also debate Smith's insight that the Cold War application of the Monroe Doctrine differed little from the Brezhnev Doctrine, the ugly Soviet defense of its Eastern European empire.

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NICK CULLATHER. *Illusions of Influence: The Political Economy of United States–Philippines Relations, 1942–1960*. (Modern America.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 263. \$29.50.

Much of the scholarly literature about the historical relations between the United States and the Philippines tells us that, even after the latter received formal independence in 1946, it remained a dependency of the former; that American policy makers decided the direction of Philippine development, made and unmade Philippine presidents, and exploited the archipelago for the benefit of U.S. business interests. Nick Cullather's excellent book, which examines U.S.-Philippine relations during the period 1942–60, casts serious doubt on this widely accepted view.

Based on extensive research in U.S. and Philippine archives, Cullather's study exposes the limits of American influence with its former colony. Its thesis, simply stated, is that a succession of Philippine presidents consistently thwarted U.S. policy initiatives, particularly ones aimed at reforming the Philippine economy, because their agendas differed from those of U.S. administrations. Whereas American policy makers wanted to promote economic growth and to eliminate corruption in order to insure the stability of the new, strategically important nation-state, Philippine leaders aimed, above all, to reward domestic political allies with economic advantages and to promote the Philippine manufacturing sector, however inefficient, at the expense of Chinese and foreign competitors. Over time, a *modus vivendi* was worked out. U.S. officials

contented themselves with retaining control over key military bases in the archipelago; the Philippine leadership, for its part, had free rein over the economy, using the power at its disposal to enrich favorites. By 1960, twelve years before the onset of the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, the foundations of "crony capitalism" had already been laid.

Cullather explodes a number of myths in this book. He shows, for example, that the close economic ties established between the United States and the Philippines after 1946—including a preferential tariff system—were not imposed on an unwilling Philippine government. In fact, Philippine leaders favored those ties, believing that the country's economic health depended on them. Furthermore, they were approved over the strong objections of the U.S. State Department, which opposed special bilateral arrangements. Cullather recounts, too, the largely successful efforts of the administrations of Manuel Roxas and Elpidio Quirino to resist U.S. efforts to dictate policy. Perhaps his most arresting findings relate to Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay, typically depicted as a creature of C.I.A. operative Edward Lansdale. But, as Cullather demonstrates, Magsaysay adeptly used his close U.S. connections to enlarge his patronage base and gave little attention to land and tax reform programs favored by the U.S. government because they threatened to undermine Magsaysay's alliances with planters, industrialists, and warlords. Even on regional security matters, Magsaysay was anything but a puppet, effectively resisting U.S. pressure to recognize South Vietnam and to grant additional land for military bases. Rather than being manipulated by Lansdale, Magsaysay was a master manipulator.

This is an important book by a talented historian. One of the best scholarly accounts of postwar U.S.-Asian relations, it deserves a wide readership.

GLENN ANTHONY MAY
University of Oregon

WILLIAM J. DUIKER. *U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 453. \$49.50.

The thesis that containment was a flawed concept has been one explanation of why the United States intervened in Vietnam and stayed there so long. The Harry Truman administration initiated containment to counter a perceived Soviet threat to the security of Europe. The application of this strategy to Indochina was flawed, the argument goes, because the threat there was internal subversion, not the Red Army, and the recipients of U.S. assistance were vulnerable post-colonial regimes, not established nation-states.

William J. Duiker's study is a valuable reassessment of containment in Vietnam. Although it adds little new information to the historical record, it is a far-ranging exploration of basic issues. A respected authority on communism in Indochina, Duiker is supremely able to analyze official U.S. response to Asian communism.

He offers thoughtful reflections on numerous questions, ranging from estimating Ho Chi Minh's independence from Moscow and Beijing to deciphering John Kennedy's "Hamlet-like indecision" (p. 307). The author also assesses issues in the postwar debate, such as whether the United States used too much or too little military force. On this question he contends that Washington did not lose in Vietnam but rather Hanoi won, for deep-seated historical and cultural reasons that had little to do with American power.

Duiker argues that containment was not inappropriate in Southeast Asia. In the tension-filled context of the early Cold War, Truman acted prudently when he extended limited assistance to France in Vietnam. "In its ultimate purpose—to buy time for the remainder of the region to stabilize—the United States did achieve its objective" (p. 367), Duiker concludes. In his view, however, the United States exaggerated the global importance of Vietnam and thus locked itself into a larger and bloodier conflict than required.

Duiker faults Dwight Eisenhower and Kennedy for losing the sense of proportion between means and ends. Containment never required total victory, he maintains, and aid to Saigon (without U.S. troops) and negotiations with Hanoi could have bought sufficient time to strengthen the region. Because of their ambivalence about Vietnam, Eisenhower and Kennedy failed to convince Ngo Dinh Diem that there were limits to the U.S. commitment to Saigon, and thus Diem never felt compelled to build a popular base to contain the communist challenge. Lyndon Johnson inherited a bankrupt policy and faced a horrendous political choice: either greatly expand a war that might already be lost or take blame for a disastrous foreign policy collapse.

Duiker acknowledges that much of his analysis is speculative. It is impossible to know how Diem and leaders of other Southeast Asian "dominoes" would have acted if the United States had not intervened. Post-Cold War hindsight makes international communism seem less menacing, and Duiker can see more opportunities for restraint than were apparent to U.S. leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. Duiker's book will not close debate on U.S. policy, but it is a reasoned, nuanced, and constructive critique of both U.S. actions and the lessons that historians and politicians have attempted to draw from those actions.

DAVID L. ANDERSON
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GEORGE C. HERRING. *LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War*. (Administrative History of the Johnson Presidency Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 228. \$29.95.

The thesis of George C. Herring's book is that the U.S. failure in Vietnam was partly the result of President Lyndon B. Johnson's failure to manage the war properly. Herring, whose superb book *America's Longest War* (3d ed. 1996) is a staple of college courses, points

to three reasons why Johnson came to grief. First, there were "institutional imperatives" that drove bureaucracies to do what they knew how to do, rather than to respond with imagination and flexibility to the vexing problems with which the Vietnam War presented them. Second, Johnson and his advisers were prisoners of the "limited war" paradigm, developed by Robert Osgood and others during the 1950s. Limited war required a carefully calibrated strategy designed to find the enemy's breaking point "without mobilization and without arousing popular emotion"; Secretary of State Dean Rusk called it fighting "in cold blood" (pp. 2-3). Finally, the United States failed in Vietnam because Johnson politicized and personalized the war. Johnson's desire to find a politically palatable middle course through a tangled thicket of options prevented him from formulating a coherent strategy essential to success, and his insistence on controlling the decision-making process meant that he would not delegate to the military the authority it needed to design a better approach.

This volume has much to commend it. Herring's critique of limited war theory is devastating, and he demonstrates that the administration's adherence to it made it difficult to intensify the war or, for that matter, to withdraw. Herring's chapters examine, among other things, LBJ's policies on pacification and negotiations, and his handling of domestic criticism of the war. Herring provides a fascinating description of Johnson's curiously understudied policy following the Tet offensive of January 1968, in which he points out that the president leaned toward the hawkish course urged on him by Rusk and Walt W. Rostow. Writing with a precision that readers of his work have come to appreciate, Herring shows that Johnson's inability to articulate a consistent strategy and his desire to fight a limited war against a determined enemy vastly complicated America's task in Vietnam.

Complicated, perhaps, but it is unlikely that Johnson's mistakes of command were primarily responsible for the U.S. defeat. The Vietnam War was not susceptible to strategic solution by the United States. America's problems were in the first instance political—they had to do with the inability of the various South Vietnamese governments to attract popular support, and the skill with which the National Liberation Front was able to do so—and in the second place cultural: the United States was fighting in a place it could not fathom, against a people it profoundly failed to understand. There was no magic strategy that would have produced victory in Vietnam. Indeed, one shudders to think what would have resulted had Johnson allowed the military greater freedom to determine U.S. strategy.

Herring several times acknowledges this. From a "managerial standpoint," he notes, the pacification agency known as Civil Operations, Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) was a success, but neither it nor any similar program ever "came to grips with the fundamental problems of rural life in South

Vietnam" (p. 87). Peace talks faltered because of the "irreconcilable objectives" of the Americans and Vietnamese (p. 90). In the end, Herring admits, "American policymakers . . . took on in Vietnam a problem that was in all likelihood beyond their control" (p. 186). Seen in this light, strategy seems to have been a dependent variable, not one that determined, by itself, success or failure in Vietnam.

ANDREW J. ROTTER
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MORRIS H. MORLEY. *Washington, Somoza, and the Sandinistas: State and Regime in U.S. Policy toward Nicaragua, 1969-1981*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 343. \$69.95.

This study is a sequel to Morris H. Morley's important *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952-1986* (1987). The premise of that book was that, particularly but not exclusively after World War II, the United States pursued policies toward Latin America, and for that matter throughout the international arena, designed to serve its capitalist class. Hence, personalities, party affiliation, and bureaucratic interests mattered little. Each administration collaborated with Cuban dictators, and since 1959, each has been unremittingly hostile to Fidel Castro's revolution.

Because this premise provides the foundation for the present study, one might have expected Morley to stress Ronald Reagan's sordid record of intervention. Yet he treats Reagan in but five pages. The more illuminating question from his perspective, he recognizes, is why the Jimmy Carter administration abandoned Anastasio Somoza prior to his overthrow, in contrast to traditional U.S. behavior, and initially sought a *modus vivendi* with the Sandinistas. Morley answers by refining his theory to distinguish between state and regime. The state, on the one hand, "represents the permanent interests of class power," which are above all "the defense of capitalism and ties to Western markets and linkages to the U.S. hegemonic bloc." Regimes, on the other hand, are "elected or self-appointed policymakers" who "can modify or negotiate operations of the permanent interests but never challenge them without evoking a crisis" (pp. 2-3).

For decades in Nicaragua, this distinction was irrelevant. But when the Somoza dynasty's avarice and disregard for economic development generated an increasing and eclectic opposition in the 1970s, it became a liability. According to Morley, President Carter did not distance himself from and then dump Somoza because of his concern for human rights and liberal principles. Rather, he understood that the U.S. stake in Nicaragua required the survival of the state (and its coercive institutions), not any single regime. The danger was, as in Cuba, Somoza's regime would be replaced by one committed to revolutionizing the state.

When mediation efforts failed, Carter reluctantly jettisoned Somoza to avert this danger. The plan was for the Nicaraguan caudillo to step aside in favor of a more moderate regime that would oblige U.S. permanent interests and a more humanized National Guard that would defend them. But Somoza refused to cooperate until it was too late. Even as he fled, the Sandinista-dominated junta took power and the National Guard disintegrated.

Morley's account of this progression will not cause controversy. His analysis of what followed will. He argues that the confrontational posture advocated by Zbigniew Brzezinski differed only tactically from the strategy of "conditional accommodation" proposed by Cyrus Vance. Vance held that in the long run diplomacy and economic aid would prove more effective than force in containing or reversing the revolutionary process because they would bolster elements in the regime opposed to a fundamental change of the state. Carter at first agreed. When, however, the radical Sandinistas consolidated their power and reached out to the Cubans and Soviets, he reverted to coercion, thereby laying the groundwork for a smooth transition to Reagan.

This analysis, rich as it is, is unlikely to persuade readers unsympathetic to it. Morley gained the release of many archives, but none document high-level decision making. This shortcoming is especially serious. Not only must he rely heavily on interviews, including confidential ones, but also he cannot provide evidence connecting the thinking of the business/financial and policy-making communities. Furthermore, he attributes Carter's shift to strategic, not economic considerations. Thus, his premise remains a theory. No historian of international relations, nevertheless, should dismiss it.

RICHARD H. IMMERMAN
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CANADA

G. A. RAWLYK. *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775–1812*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 244. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

This book traces the history of radical evangelicalism in both the Maritimes and central Canada in the period from the American Revolution to the War of 1812. During these decades, G. A. Rawlyk argues, a form of religious enthusiasm distinguished primarily by an overriding concern with an intense new-birth experience swept through these two regions and impressed a distinctive stamp on the religious life of British North America. The author analyzes this important movement through the lives of the evangelical leadership—revivalists such as Henry Alline, William Black, Freeborn Garrettson, Harris Harding, and Nathan Bangs—as well as the religious practice of the radical rank and file. Indeed, the chapters that exam-

ine popular forms of evangelical worship—the rituals of camp meetings, believers baptisms, and long communions—are especially fascinating.

Rawlyk's substantial contribution to the study of religion in Canada and especially his work on Maritime revivalism is well known to scholars in North America. This book at once builds on his previous work and pushes his insights in new and provocative directions. Here Rawlyk sets out not only to retrieve this form of radical revivalism but also to place it within a comparative North American framework. Drawing on the insights of a wide range of recent scholarship, he concludes that this radical religious fire burned much more brightly and with a much purer flame in Canada than in the United States, where it had to carry, as Nathan Hatch has argued, the baggage of civic humanism, republicanism, and possessive individualism.

Rawlyk has always been something of an *agent provocateur* in Canadian scholarship, demanding that traditional historians take religion seriously and that historians of religion reach beyond their own frontiers to gain fresh insights and engage new and substantial questions. This book will certainly fulfill these goals, for it will undoubtedly stoke several scholarly fires and kindle intense debates about both methodology and interpretation.

The book opens up the study of evangelicalism itself. To date most scholars in Canada have studied evangelicalism in relation to Victorian culture and focused especially on the relationship between this form of religious belief and the threats posed to it by a number of intellectual trends in the modern world. Rawlyk sees in the evangelical paradigm of conversionism, revivalism, biblicism, activism, and crucicentrism far richer religious possibilities, arguing in this case that these elements combined to create a pure evangelical religion, unalloyed by the impurities of moderation, respectability, and accommodation. However pure this religion may have been, the same evidence suggests that such radical evangelicalism may also have been inherently unstable. Put simply, the Canada fire seemed to consume everything in its path. Given free reign, the Antinomianism of the new-birth experience even burned through the constraining power of the moral law, leading one to question the commitment of this form of evangelicalism to biblical literalism—the doctrine that would become the cornerstone of the evangelical praxis of a later generation.

The comparison Rawlyk draws between evangelicalism in Canada and the United States will also stir up considerable controversy. Here one can only applaud the way he has challenged scholars in both Canada and the United States to take the border between the two countries seriously. As he shows, communities that shared a good deal put similar religious materials together in very different ways. The differences between New England and the Maritimes are particularly well drawn, especially in light of the persistent interchange between these two regions. At the same time

the differences the author sees between revivalism in central Canada and America are less convincing, for in this case Upper Canadian camp meetings seemed to move in much closer step with those of the burned-over district on the other side of Lake Ontario.

Rawlyk concludes his book by looking forward to what would become of this radical evangelicalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Here he laments the fact that evangelicalism in British North America became a more moderate and respectable force as a broad alliance of mainstream Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists came to dominate religious and moral life. Although this may represent a movement away from the unalloyed power of radical evangelicalism, was it also, as Rawlyk argues, another example of secularization? Was the imprint of religious declension set in the early nineteenth century rather than a hundred years later? Rawlyk pushes the debate over secularization in this direction, but he also helps to affirm that the relationship between religious belief and social thought is extraordinarily complex, that orthodoxies of any kind are far from stable as religion shapes and is reshaped in relation to the world around it.

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DAVID G. BURLEY. *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*. Buffalo, N. Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 309. \$39.95.

In this book David G. Burley investigates bourgeois class formation in the emerging small city of Brantford during the period 1830–81. To this end, he focuses on change in self-employment in business as a social activity. Burley combines “an analysis of an objective feature of class with its subjective awareness.” In a context where “men and women were in social motion, advancing and falling,” “persistence in self-employment, rather than self-employment itself, was a precondition for the formation of bourgeois identity. Class was a process of becoming, not being. Thus, Burley moves cautiously from objective phenomena (the relative numbers and attributes of the self-employed, rates of persistence in this condition, the role of credit and debt in capital accumulation, and life-course trends in capital accumulation) to the subjective (the ideology forged by experience).

The Brantford case study provides a dynamic, historical model that exemplifies processes at work more widely in British and North American society. As a developing frontier town during the period 1830–60, Brantford offered more access to self-employment than longer established communities elsewhere. This was part of its attraction for immigrants. After 1860, however, structural and demographic factors reduced local opportunities for self-employment. First, railway transportation gradually integrated Brantford into a

larger economy. In response the local economy shifted from commerce to industry, developed industries with economies of scale, and raised the capital requirements for business. Consequently the proportion of businessmen in the adult male population declined. Second, established businesses increasingly filled the positions the local economy offered. New businesses faced a lack of room at the top and were more likely to fail. Thus, for many in Brantford, wage work became a permanent condition rather than a first step to self-employment, except for those who migrated to a frontier community. In this fashion Brantford replicated the history of self-employment in longer established British and American communities. It exemplified, in other words, a dynamic spatial and temporal process.

Those who persisted in self-employment developed a self-legitimizing ideology. They believed it was superior to wage work because it offered “manly independence,” a class and gender identity. Success in business was seen as a function of good character (manifest in shows of honesty, reliability, and self-help). This perspective stigmatized those whose businesses failed and encouraged them to leave town. Because success in business was available to those of good character, it was seen as unexceptional. The successful were to respect those who aspired to self-employment; “live and let live” was their credo, not the elimination of rivals. Finally, deference to success, not class difference, was the appropriate basis for political life.

Popular support for this ideology was conditional on continued access to self-employment for those who had yet to attain it. After 1860, however, Brantford was unable to meet this condition. Capital accumulation and the destruction of rivals became increasingly necessary for business survival. The upshot was a crisis for the hegemony, class identities, and gender identities of self-employed men.

Burley's case-study approach may inflate the crisis. As access to self-employment contracted in established places, it opened up in developing frontier areas. Thus, system-wide opportunities helped to sustain the ideology of self-employment in particular places. Similarly, immigrants drew from experience in their places of origin, not just local experience, when developing that ideology in Brantford. Burley may also understate the flexibility of tradition. To accept that self-employment could “no longer in the 1870s be widely realized,” Burley concludes, “was to deny the very self-identity of men who had succeeded.” One might counter that people routinely adjust their norms to accommodate new experience. In Burley's study lenders, for example, gradually made assets rather than character central to appraising credit risk. Finally, the book overstates the identification of the Liberal Party with community particularism and the politics of the past. To be sure, the national state, which the Conservative Party dominated, undermined community particularism. Yet, as

Burley acknowledges (p. 220), so did the provincial state, which the Liberal Party controlled.

GEORGE EMERY

University of Western Ontario

GORDON DARROCH and LEE SOLTOW. *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census*. (Social History of Canada, number 51.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 280. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Historical demographers, despite their best efforts, mingle awkwardly with Canadian social historians. There are a few who can travel in both crowds, but generally talk of "multiple regression analysis" and "Gini coefficients" elicits stilted responses among less quantitatively inclined historians. This is unfortunate because, as Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow demonstrate, a sophisticated statistical treatment of sources such as the manuscript census provides rich insights into mid-Victorian Ontario society. At the same time, however, historians suspicious of their entire enterprise will have reasons to retain their doubts.

Darroch and Soltow use the census of 1871 to examine important questions of nineteenth-century social structure and mobility. They use a random sample from across the province to examine real property acquisition and ownership and its relationship to ethnicity, religion, and literacy. Their sophistication is best revealed in the treatment of life-cycle events. The substantial rate of land ownership, and especially the age-specific rate for men over forty, convincingly suggests that a competency in land remained a highly realizable goal for rural Ontarians.

But does this effectively put to rest the notion of a growing crisis of land acquisition during the "critical years" of the 1860s? We already know that farmers were able to respond with relative success to changing markets (as R. M. McNinnis has demonstrated in *Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture* [1992]) and to demographic challenges (as shown by David Gagan in *Hopeful Travellers* [1981]). It is also not surprising that a sense of crisis would be obscured in a province-wide survey based on a single census. Darroch and Soltow do not in the end account for the absolute decline in population in older farming districts such as Peel County through the 1860s. For many, land ownership came to mean scraping a living from marginal land to the north. Although Darroch and Soltow acknowledge the difficulties of attaining property in the growing cities, they make no clear analytical connection to developments in the countryside. Finally, and most incongruously, they examine the unimpressive record of emigrants to the northern American states without clearly addressing the push factors from Canada. Because immigrants' success seemed to have depended on the material resources they were able to bring with them, their failure would seem to indicate the inaccessibility of property in Canada. The problem here is

compounded by Darroch and Soltow's difficulty differentiating emigration from Ontario from that of other regions of Canada, resulting in a chapter on migration that is at best inconclusive. Together these factors suggest a considerable problem (if not, in Darroch and Soltow's lexicon, a "crisis") that their thesis of successful adaption and social stability misses.

Most frustrating is the lack of social context in the study. As Darroch and Soltow point out, this "is not a study of wealth in all its forms" (p. 3), but only of specific forms of real property. This weakens their claims about the extent of social inequality. In an era of growing industrialization, railways, banks, and factories receive almost no mention in this study; urban property holdings receive relatively cursory treatment. Although a sense of social transformation can only emerge obliquely from the study of a single census, some recognition of the changing character and meaning of property and inequality would be appropriate. Otherwise the "critical years" remain a mystery. Farmers, by supporting the acquisition of Rupert's Land, or later joining farmers' organizations such as the Dominion Grange, articulated political solutions to an increasingly insecure future for their sons. In the cities, workers in the nine-hour movement did not act as if an escape to rural independence was a realizable option. It is not necessary to suggest that the door had been slammed shut on independent proprietorship to argue that industrial capitalism had altered the future in ways not considered in this study.

JAMES NAYLOR

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LATIN AMERICA

ROSS HASSIG. *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. x, 337. \$40.00.

Rome was not built in a day, nor was Mexico Tenochtitlan. The most recent in his apparent trilogy of works (1985, 1988) on Aztec political economy, Ross Hassig's volume visits Mesoamerican beginnings to trace the groundwork (literally) and the historical foundations of imperial entrepreneurship over the course of 3,000 years. An interpretive study based on an exhaustive survey of essentially secondary works in archaeology, epigraphy, and art history, this book is an unparalleled temporal and cultural catalog of Native American armaments. As in classic military history, war successes not unexpectedly determined the reach of empire as well as the duration of its political fortunes.

At different times and at different locales, four distinguished ethnic states in particular held sway in Mesoamerica. Hassig attributes the rudiments of empire-building to Olmec populations along the Gulf Coast, with incentives for empire not so much political as economic. Coveted exotic trade items—like feathers, cacao, and precious stones and minerals—were

reason enough for traversing hundreds, even thousands, of miles.

But why war? From the beginning, apparently, warriors were necessary for attacking and subjugating territories, and then for securing trade routes once an alliance was established. Thus, we know of the advent and practicability of the *atlatl*, bows and arrows, clubs, darts, knives, spears, and swords; cotton armor, helmets, and shields; battle standards, field maneuvers, and fortifications; and military intelligence, titles, offices, and orders. Depending on the era, the enemy, and the terrain, some weapons and tactics furnished greater advantage than others.

Early on, two innovations from the La Venta Olmecs were decisive to the advance into the periphery: the tortilla, which meant that more food and goods could be carried by more soldiers and porters longer and farther, and the sling, as a weapon-match for semisedentary challengers not yet inculcated with the more formalized arms and battle strategies of their neighbors. Later, foreign bows and arrows would serve much the same purpose.

Hassig generates fascinating statistics regarding human carrying capacities, distances by foot travel, and requisite caloric needs among the empires' ready and able male populations. Climate and harvest times, too, influenced when and for how long men could participate in the campaigns. (According to his evidence, war and empire were male prerogatives, females having secondary or tertiary roles at best.) Simply recollecting the tedious, tortuous eight-hour drive by automobile from Mexico City to Oaxaca prompts appreciation of the stoicism of Mesoamericans who made careers of trekking their landscape over the centuries.

Obsidian was the fuel for empire for the peoples of Teotihuacan. Tula, a Toltec industrial center with obsidian manufacture still important, produced a treasure of other wares that were traded probably as far north as the present U.S. Southwest, east to Yucatán, and south to Guatemala. The Aztecs capitalized on Mesoamerican traditions of war and trade to create the largest and most formidable of martial systems to date. Even more importantly, theirs was a tributary empire, with regular shipments from subject and trading partners burgeoning Mexico Tenochtitlan's coffers, real evidence of Aztec hegemony.

An empire fared better if the state relied on power rather than force for economic protectionism. No Mesoamerican ethnic entity possessed enough military prowess to maintain absolute political control over a vast trade network. The more successful, Hassig deduces, were not kinship-based aristocracies but heterogeneous elite meritocracies that offered economic rewards and social advancement for its warriors on the homefront and at a distant entrepôt. Locals prospered as well, making an alliance worthwhile. Competition from concomitantly developing ethnic states, however, threatened trading relationships, and the empire, lacking the military manpower to hold any outpost permanently, began to contract.

Hassig finds that imperial systems were neither exclusive nor static; that it was not just Teotihuacan or Mexico Tenochtitlan but rather a complex of regions made more complicated by the participation and interaction of a multitude of polities at various levels and times. Accordingly, Hassig suggests that the fall of the Aztecs in large part can be attributed to political disorganization in the Mexico Tenochtitlan system, and not so much to Spanish ships, cannons, guns, steel weapons, horses, and war dogs. Yes, but would the great numbers of ethnic states have been so quick to join Hernando Cortés if he and his few hundred men had been on foot, wearing loin cloths, and carrying only indigenous weapons?

Hassig has made another major contribution to our understanding of the context of Mesoamerican civilization. Although he offers occasional comparisons of indigenous military practices with medieval Europe, more preferred would be parallels with Mississippian and Andean populations whose empires shared similar American ecological and technological limitations and potential. Perhaps that is what follows?

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LUIS MARTÍNEZ-FERNÁNDEZ. *Torn between Empires: Economy, Society, and Patterns of Political Thought in the Hispanic Caribbean, 1840–1878*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 333. \$50.00.

Comparative history is no easy task, not even regarding societies that share much common ground. This work, therefore, is a daring one. In encompassing three distinct societies in a period of sweeping transformations, Luis Martínez-Fernández has rendered a valuable service to Caribbeanists. For one, although Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic shared a common colonial past up to the late eighteenth century, after then their trajectories seemingly began to drift apart. But this was so only on the surface, according to Martínez-Fernández. Overarching historical forces, originating from afar, were dictating the Hispanic Caribbean's political and economic destiny throughout the mid-nineteenth century.

The author identifies three phases of imperial encroachment on the Hispanic Caribbean. During the first phase, in the 1840s and 1850s, the United States became increasingly dominant in the region, politically and economically challenging European powers. The second stage was signaled by the Civil War crisis, wherein the United States retreated from the Hispanic Caribbean and European powers regained part of their lost control over the region. Finally, at war's end, the United States regained its dominant position, this time unhampered by the internal dissensions that previously marred its policies toward the Hispanic Caribbean. Thus, claims Martínez-Fernández, the United States imposed its "hegemony"—"defined simply as preponderant influence and domination" (p. 234), a definition that might raise some eyebrows—on the Hispanic

Caribbean at an earlier stage (namely the 1840s) than traditionally accepted by students of U.S. expansionism.

Martínez-Fernández shows the Hispanic Caribbean's increasing economic gravitation toward the United States, moving away from the orbit of the European powers. By the mid-nineteenth century Cuba and Puerto Rico endured a "dual colonialism"; though Spanish colonies, they were commercially dependent on the United States. This also became the case for the Dominican Republic in the long run, notwithstanding its sovereign status. Along with economic trends, Martínez-Fernández has made a commendable effort in forcefully reintroducing political history to Hispanic Caribbean's historiography. Race relations and abolitionism (arguably the emblematic political issues of the moment), annexationism and antiannexationism, reformism, separatism, *caudillismo*, liberalism, and conservatism all find their due place in this work. In complex and often contradictory ways, political tendencies also reflected the growing polarities between empires.

For almost two decades Caribbean historiography has been moving away from what could be regarded as the vantage points of the powerful and rich, be it either social classes or nations. Martínez-Fernández departs from this tendency, focusing on geopolitics, the mighty nations' vantage point *par excellence*. He is, thus, rejuvenating the oldest Caribbean historiographical tradition (not coincidentally, it goes back to Christopher Columbus, the first known geopolitical interpreter of the region). Herminio Portell Vilá (Cuban), Manuel A. Peña Batlle (Dominican), and Arturo Morales Carrión (Puerto Rican) are among its most renowned practitioners. Mainly concerned with the policies and conflicts of imperial powers and their "reverberations" on the Hispanic Caribbean, their work can be dubbed history of the "grand design" type.

In line with this tradition, in Martínez-Fernández's work the "empires strike back" with full potency. Therefore, the "imperial forces" of the North Atlantic, especially the United States, make internal processes in the Hispanic Caribbean pale as mere "reflections" (his term) of the "grand designs." This interpretation is somewhat surprising given the historiographical tendencies during the last decades. Although not negating the dominant position of the North Atlantic powers, this historiography has pointed out the subtle ways in which Caribbean societies have responded to imperial designs. For the "grand designers," from Columbus to the cold warriors (and beyond), these might be merely the "dust of history," to borrow from Fernand Braudel; for the peoples of the Caribbean, it is otherwise. Granted, in the long run their responses have not impeded the dependency and subordination of the Hispanic Caribbean. But, perhaps, even their defeats have "reverberated" back, altering the "grand designs" of the powerful. After all, hegemony is not static; it is, rather, a contested terrain. Besides being torn between

empires, Caribbean societies, Hispanic or not, seem to be torn between contrasting historical narratives.

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FERNANDO PICÓ. *El día menos pensado: Historia de los presidiarios en Puerto Rico (1793–1993)*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Huracán. 1994. Pp. 198.

In this book, Fernando Picó presents a broad outline of the uses of prisons and other penal spaces during the last 200 years in Puerto Rico, in which he intersperses succinct institutional historiographies with his own ethical indictments of carceral practices past and present. It is also an inventory of convict life during this period, partially drawn from the eloquent and compelling interviews—and moral debts—Picó accrued while teaching in a local penitentiary. At the same time, he reads abundant island and federal archival sources through the conceptual lenses of the French *Annales* school and U.S. labeling theorists.

Crime and social unrest among the so-called non-traditional sectors of the colonized population in Puerto Rico are only recently being examined from historical perspectives. The number of studies is still paltry: Blanca Silvestrini (*Violencia y criminalidad en Puerto Rico, 1898–1973* [1980]), Mariano Negrón-Portillo (*Cuadrillas anexionistas y revueltas campesinas en Puerto Rico, 1898–1899* [1987] and *Las turbas republicanas, 1900–1904* [1990]), Juan Baldrich (*Sembraron la no siembra: Los cosecheros de tabaco puertorriqueños frente a las corporaciones tabacaleras, 1920–1934* [1988]), and my own (*"Subject People" and Colonial Discourses* [1994]). Picó's book builds on his already extensive research of the past two decades, focusing on what he calls here the history of those "marginalized by hegemonic discourses" (p. 17). Although thematically analogous to his previous work, this current study is not as in-depth as his *Los gallos peleados* (1983) or *1898* (1987), falling somewhere between his also somewhat ethnographic *Vivir en Caimito* (1988) and the essay collection *Al filo del poder* (1993).

Although an obviously preliminary work, this book is problematic in several ways, beginning with the uses of Michel Foucault. In a central passage denouncing the failure of Puerto Rico's prisons in meeting their purported goals (pp. 70–71), Picó basically restates Foucault's critical summary (in the "Illegals and Delinquency" chapter of *Discipline and Punish* [1975]) regarding the way nineteenth-century European prisons had been famously censured but without mentioning Foucault's analysis in this chapter. Picó need not agree with Foucault but it would have been more interesting and enriching if he had addressed (critically or otherwise) Foucault's older investigation—or even made reference to it—as it directly pertained to this portion of Picó's work.

This brings me to my second objection: the problem of replicating Eurocentric perspectives. Although Picó

repeatedly acknowledges the colonialist circumstances of his object of study, he also tends to equate—either conceptually or through the historical illustrations he borrows—penal experiences in the West with Puerto Rico's social context. Notwithstanding their similarities, there are a number of important differences between the disciplinary production and lived experience of criminal social subjects among Western populations and the ways in which this unfolds with respect to the colonized. This distinction has been suggested already by the historical research of, for example, Martha Knisely Huggins, David Trotman, Stanley Diamond, Issa Shivji, Donald Crummey, Steven Spitzer, Gyan Prakash, and, particularly, the Subaltern Studies Group of India.

Finally, even though Picó begins (pp. 19–20, 49) with a radical-abolitionist position on the prison, he subsequently oscillates between that stance and the more traditionally liberal goal of “humanizing” penal establishments (pp. 80–81, 114, 167–68, 192). On the one hand, Picó advocates the elimination of what he persistently portrays and documents as an inherently brutal institution. On the other hand, he calls for what amounts to brutality “with a human face”: a “kinder, gentler” brutality.

Despite such limitations, this brief study is a significant contribution to the new Caribbean historical inquiry in general, particularly to Puerto Rico's social history. To date, it is the only book-length summary and historical analysis of prisons and of felon experiences on the island.

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SUSAN EVA ECKSTEIN. *Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 286.

MARIFELI PÉREZ-STABLE. *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 236. \$23.00.

Both of these books reflect the diminished hopes held by scholars for the Cuban Revolution. Susan Eva Eckstein argues that the Havana regime is best understood not as a revolutionary movement but as a party-state attempting to steer Cuba toward both material and ideological goals with neither of the two getting the upper hand. If for Eckstein the Cuban government is in many ways like a bourgeois state, for Marifeli Pérez-Stable, the state is Fidel Castro, a man who once made a social revolution but who now stands in the way of any attempt to democratize the process of governing Cuba. Pérez-Stable's book is as much a lament as a critique.

Pérez-Stable examines the old republic finding many of the weaknesses documented by other authors: economic dependency, mediated sovereignty, frustrated nationalism. But she sees also the possibilities within

the old regime, does not dismiss its reforms (under Gerardo Machado and the Auténticos), and speculates that a dependent bourgeois Cuba might have made its way into a more just society without social revolution. Still, the Batistato was clearly moving away from such a possibility. More important, it confronted in the charismatic Castro a program of social justice that attracted mass loyalty that in turn overwhelmed the old class of wealth holders in a frenzy of popular expectation. That the regime became “socialist” rather than radical-reformist was caused less by the island's “underdevelopment” and more by the mass mobilization that made the new government far more powerful than any previous one. “Socialism” was a way for the regime to keep its power and, with ties to the Soviet Union, Cuba's longed-for independence from the United States.

Pérez-Stable traces the lack of democracy to the regime's belief that vanguard party guidance would bring *conciencia* to the masses, thus opening up a vast, unused human potential. Although the government was quite flexible in shaping (and reshaping) the economy to deal with ever-increasing structural and human weaknesses, it never wavered in its commitment to its commanding position in the realms both of real power and of ideology. Sometimes with Soviet advice and sometimes against it, the Cuban version of state socialism and vanguard party control were set in place. It is true that the welfare of the masses often (but not always, as Eckstein will tell us) guided the regime and that an impressive system of state welfare was constructed, but entities outside the party were never allowed, only advancement within the given state-party structure. This latter path provided for a degree of upward social mobility (at least in the years of economic health) that was unheard of in modern Latin America. The regime's political rigidity, however, allowed no opening for citizen alliances (formal or informal) and thus, when the state lost its capacity to maintain social welfare, no way of challenging it was available.

We are now well into that time of declining welfare, and the absence of extra-party formations is painfully obvious. The collapse of the Soviet Union and of Comecon came when Cuba was at the height of its dependence on that bloc. The result was a rapid decline in living standards—made more painful by the obvious wealth of the exiles in the United States—and a regime now inured to the use of ideology as a form of social control. Pérez-Stable ends with a lament that the once-popular regime is risking all of its accomplishments by refusing to allow any political space to the growing opposition and to the alienated majority.

Eckstein's work is more theoretical and structured. It is concerned with the shallow nature of studies of “communist” states, which are seen to be hegemonic over civil society and rigidly governed by ideology. Rather than finding an effective authoritarian state, Eckstein discovers that the Cuban government was required to deal with many forces beyond its control:

the pressures of the international market, Soviet strictures, and even the ideological recalcitrance of the Cuban masses. In dealing with each of these problems, the Cuban government was often, despite its rhetoric, surprisingly flexible. Economic policy was alternately statist, market driven, and, in the recent crisis, even precapitalist. Moreover, according to Eckstein, many policies produced unintended consequences (such as rising material expectations among the masses) that presented new problems for the regime and led to further shifts of direction. Ideology drove certain policies (such as the early efforts to assist revolutionary movements in Latin America) but more often it was employed to retain state control of the island's political arena and its command economy, and to gain more room for maneuver within the international political economy. The greatest inconsistencies arose when the Cuban government found that the social programs that were the source of its legitimacy contradicted the need for the fiscal controls that were the source of its economic and political power.

Eckstein sees the Cuban Communist Party as a special kind of bureaucratic mechanism, one that provides special mobility to those who accept the authority and wisdom of Fidel. Yet she finds Castro a proponent, at times, of administrative decentralization. Castro is likewise inconsistent on the subject of democracy; favoring it at each of the levels of power (local, regional, state, party) except the highest, while at the same time willing to create a host of policing units in the effort to curb Cubans' attempts to promote their own rather than the state's (that is, the "revolution's") welfare. One of the great ironies of recent policy is that the state is engaging in blatant market operations of the kind that it abhorred in its citizens.

Eckstein's work is complex, refusing to write off socialism and yet taking an unblinking look at its Cuban incarnation. She joins Pérez-Stable in regretting that the social gains of the revolution were not allowed to extend to the political sphere and that, as a result, Cuba risks losing both its democratic and its socialist possibilities.

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PAULA J. PETTAVINO and GERALYN PYE. *Sport in Cuba: The Diamond in the Rough*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 301. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Soon after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, the new leadership made a number of decisions about the ways to project the Cuban presence globally. Cubans have long been mindful of the limitations inherent in living in a small country, with a small population, with limited resources. The particular Cuban genius has been in identifying those endeavors where participants of all countries are subject to the same rules, and

where indeed all compete equally. The 1920s chess master José Raúl Capablanca comes to mind, so does the prima ballerina Alicia Alonso, among many other Cubans to have achieved world fame.

The leaders of the Cuban Revolution understood this reality, and they chose sports as the means of claiming a place of international prominence and prestige. The story of sports and the Cuban Revolution has been the subject of much discussion in the last thirty-five years. But only with the appearance of this volume does the full rendering of sports in Cuba receive the attention it merits.

Paula J. Pettavino and GERALYN PYE examine the place of sports in Cuban society, not only as a form of organized international competition but also as an activity of mass participation. In the former category, as Pettavino and Pye aptly demonstrate, Cuban successes have been nothing short of spectacular: in track, in boxing, and, of course, in baseball.

Not as well understood, however, has been the importance of sports inside Cuba, and specifically the creation of a sports culture that serves to join almost all Cubans in a common endeavor. It is in this discussion that Pettavino and Pye make a particularly important contribution, for they skillfully demonstrate the ways that ideology and sport intertwine and fuse. Introduced into the schools, from the elementary school curriculum to the university, sports serve as a means of social cohesion and national integration. It is based on mass participation, men and women, young and old, in the cities and the countryside, and it is from the ranks of these inclusions that the athletes for international competition are chosen.

Pettavino and Pye have made an important contribution to our understanding of socialist Cuba in a particularly insightful and original way. This will no doubt become the standard reference book on sports in Cuba for years to come.

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WENDY KRAMER. *Encomienda Politics in Early Colonial Guatemala, 1524-1544: Dividing the Spoils*. (Dellplain Latin American Studies, number 31.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xiv, 293. \$47.50.

Notwithstanding the loss of many valuable sixteenth-century Spanish manuscripts, these surviving documents in Spanish and Guatemalan archives still offer a rich source of information. Many of these documents have seldom been read with care by modern historians. Wendy Kramer's excellent work on early Guatemala reflects her careful study of many of these papers and complements the growing collection of books on post-conquest Central America.

Other historians have dealt with the importance of encomiendas in the region, but not with the same intense concentration. Although the author states that she has not written a social history, her findings are an

important contribution to our knowledge of the conquest society, 1524–44. Her focus on the division of spoils, in the form of *encomiendas*, tells a great deal about those men and their roles in the conquest and early settlement of Guatemala. As a rule, those who had distinguished themselves in battle were naturally rewarded with the best *encomiendas*. Even so, most of the *encomiendas* in Central America were quite small and poor compared with those in Mexico and Peru. Not surprisingly, those close to Pedro de Alvarado fared well and counted themselves among the elite of Guatemala.

Kramer's most welcome offering is her meticulous care with her tables listing the ancient towns along with their modern names, the *encomenderos* to whom they were assigned, the length of their tenure, the numbers of tributaries, as well as the amount and nature of tributes paid. Chronological tables also indicate the governors and their assignments of *encomienda* towns. Despite the fact that Alvarado had the title of governor for seventeen years, he was absent from Guatemala about half that time.

Kramer has found much of interest in the underused *Probanzas de méritos y servicios* in *legajos* listed under *Patronato Real* in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville. In addition, she has made good use of the *Justicia* section in the AGI, especially from the *pleitos* concerning *encomiendas*. Instead of simply listing the names of the various files used, she conveniently identifies each document with a description of the contents.

Making good use of the original sources, Kramer has noted numerous errors (notably by Salvador Rodríguez Becerra, *Encomienda y Conquista: Los Inicios de la Colonización en Guatemala* [1977]). She also reveals misleading correspondence from high officials; for example, in a petition dated January 19, 1590, the *cabildo* of Santiago de Guatemala suggested that the *encomienda* system was not established in Guatemala until Indian slavery was legally abolished in 1542 by the New Laws. In fact, as Kramer points out, *encomiendas* were introduced in Guatemala in 1524. Even the indefatigable Silvio Zavala, an authority on *encomiendas* and Indian labor, in 1938, as a young scholar, accepted that the first *encomienda* in Guatemala was assigned there by Pedro de Alvarado in 1536. Rodríguez Becerra incorrectly indicates the date to be 1535.

Of considerable interest is the author's case history of the early operation of the important *encomienda* of Huehuetenango. Information for this kind of study is scarce and scattered. Kramer is probably correct when she observes that records were likely left obscure on purpose in order to hide violations of tribute assessments and the abuse of Indian labor, both of which were widespread.

Five appendixes give further information about the structure of *encomiendas*, including sample titles to

their assignments. This is an important book that should be consulted by all scholars in the field.

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CHRISTOPHER H. LUTZ. *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 346. \$37.95.

Christopher H. Lutz's fine book traces the demographic and social evolution of Santiago de Guatemala, Central America's most important colonial center, from its founding until 1773, when a devastating earthquake forced the capital's relocation. The author begins by describing Pedro de Alvarado's conquests, the establishment of Santiago (after one false start), and the brief era of indigenous slavery. The second chapter focuses on the city's peripheral Indian *barrios*, giving detailed information on their size, ethnic composition, internal government, and relationship with the Spanish "republic." Lutz, using criminal court records, paints a grim picture of life in the *barrios*, where "abject poverty, ethnic rivalry, and alcoholism ... combined to create a fertile environment for crime" (p. 42).

The next three chapters form the heart of the book and tell its central story: the decline of the Indian *barrios* and the triumph of the racially mixed *gente ordinaria*. Lutz charts the dramatic growth of the mulatto and mestizo populations; the former constituted Santiago's single largest racial category by 1740. High intermarriage rates among the *gente ordinaria*, the integration of *naborías* (nontributary Indians) into the *casta* group, and—by the eighteenth century—a growing number of *casta*/Spanish unions all led to the creation of a "burgeoning 'middle strata' of mixed descent" that was "increasingly homogenized in both socioracial and cultural terms" (p. 157). Even the Spaniards' phenotype began to alter through miscegenation and "passing." These trends foreshadowed the development of the *ladino*/Indian dichotomy that would become so central to Guatemala in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As the *casta* population grew, it spilled out from the central city into the Indian *barrios*. The miscegenation that inevitably followed meant that many Indian parents would have mestizo children. Meanwhile, numerous *barrio* residents, eager to escape the burdens of tribute and forced labor, fled to Santiago's Spanish sector and adopted Hispanic language and dress in a deliberate (and often successful) attempt to change their racial status. As a result, by the eighteenth century most "Indian" neighborhoods were Indian in name only. As early as 1716, the middle-sized *barrio* of San Francisco boasted only two complete families of tributaries. The decline of the indigenous population was also visible in the economic sphere: in chapter 6,

Lutz demonstrates how the *castas* insinuated themselves into the city's commercial system, aided by official toleration of their black-market activities.

This story in its general outlines will be familiar to students of Spanish-American urban history. But a rapid summary hardly does justice to Lutz's accomplishment or to the complexity of his argument (for example, his sustained comparison between Santiago's central and peripheral parishes). The rewards of this book are found in its detailed exposition and analysis: Lutz combines exhaustive statistical evidence with in-depth case studies to lay bare, as never before, the racial dynamics of a colonial city.

As a demographic study, this is a model for future efforts in the field; as a social history, it is somewhat less successful. *Castas* appear throughout the book pursuing strategies for socioeconomic mobility, but the Indians emerge as a passive, victimized group, largely lacking agency (except in their ability to cease being "Indian"). Perhaps the impact of epidemic disease and Spanish divide-and-rule tactics did make the Indians acquiescent; or perhaps, as Lutz himself suggests in the conclusion, historians seeking a more thorough understanding of accommodation and resistance in multiracial societies must move on to investigate ritual kinship, patron-client relations, and other mechanisms of mediation and control. Any such study, however, will be greatly indebted to Lutz's pioneering work.

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DAVID MCCREERY. *Rural Guatemala 1760–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 450. \$49.50.

In this book David McCreery asks us to change how we look at eighteenth and nineteenth-century Guatemala in important ways. The most obvious one is putting the rural world at the center, which certainly makes sense for Guatemala. The organization of the book in two parts, before and after "the coffee revolution" of the 1860s, privileges that event as a turning point and implicitly stresses the continuity between the colonial and national periods up to that moment. The choice of the 1860s (rather than the advent of the Liberal regime in the 1870s used in traditional periodizations) moves the focus from political actors to economic events.

Instead of a discussion of land tenure and labor policies as legislated in Guatemala City, McCreery provides a well-documented analysis of practices at the local level. As a result, the institutions that regulated labor organization and land tenure are not presented as fixed models determined by laws, but as the malleable product of a constant negotiation between the Indian communities, the landowners, and the state. The author depicts resilient communities that displayed great ingenuity to take advantage of temporary weaknesses of the system, but in the end "the ability of the Indians to maintain protective autonomy, and even allowing for indigenous mechanisms of brokerage and

resistance, depended on both the demands of the political and economic elite and the condition of the cash economy" (p. 326). It is within these parameters that the story unfolds.

McCreery uses his extensive research in the main Guatemalan archives (church and land records, court cases, and newspapers) to give us a nuanced picture. In fact, he delights in finding complexity where others have found simplicity. In this book neither the state nor the elites or the Indian communities are monolithic entities of like-minded people with uniform endowments of good or evil. The careful analysis of land and labor institutions shows their intricate and paradoxical complementarity. As long as Indian communities owned land, something that they highly valued, their members had little desire to work for others, but that meant that hacienda owners relied on coercion to obtain their labor. Any arrangement was regulated as much by custom as by law, and its enforcement varied depending on the region and on the flow and ebb of outside pressures.

McCreery's most original contribution is his interpretation of the impact on Indian communities of the introduction of coffee cultivation and the Liberal Reforms associated with it. Bringing the whole range of greys to a period often painted in harsh contrasts, he changes the picture altogether. For him coffee exports had "uneven and contradictory effects on the rural population" (p. 332). Where others see the privatization of corporate land legislated in the 1870s as a wholesale transfer of land away from communities, he finds many who used the new laws to strengthen their hold on land. Where others see a violent process, he sees a relatively peaceful one in which the government even helped communities to hire surveyors to facilitate titling. As a result of the land-labor paradox, at the same time that land became private property, the high labor demands of the coffee industry energized non-market forms of recruiting labor. This state of affairs did not end thanks to the heroic efforts of enlightened legislators. Due to population growth, by the 1940s Indian communities were chronically short of land and large numbers of Indians had entered the labor market. With abundant cheap labor, landowners did not see the need to defend the old labor institutions.

It is difficult in this short space to do justice to McCreery's nuanced view of rural Guatemala. Suffice it to say that this book will be the standard reference in the field for decades to come.

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EUGENIO PIÑERO. *The Town of San Felipe and Colonial Cacao Economies*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 84, part 3.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 1994. Pp. x, 189. \$20.00.

Readers will find much to interest and frustrate them at the same time in this book. Eugenio Piñero exam-

ines the development of the colonial cacao economy in Caracas in general and its impact in particular on the region and town of San Felipe. He traces the changes that the cacao economy experienced over time. In the seventeenth century two markets stimulated the regional economy: a legal one with Mexico, primarily the Veracruz market, and an illegal but lucrative one with the Dutch in Curaçao. This relationship changed with the establishment of the Guipuzcoana Company and its repressive tactics. As cacao production expanded in the eighteenth century the company's needs and those of the Dutch made Europe, not Mexico, the most important market for the province of Caracas. Using the staple thesis model, Piñero concludes that the study of the San Felipe economy suggests that the cacao trade generated strong income multiplier effects and backward linkages that benefited the local economy to the extent that "this export-led region [*sic*] economy hardly depended on any extra provincial source to please local demand" (p. 146).

This study offers some interesting insights into the colonial cacao trade and the international and inter-colonial market exchanges that shaped it, the workings of a regional economy, and the intricacies of the brokering system that allowed growers, merchants, and shippers to trade in this valuable commodity. This is, however, an uneven study. A more substantive discussion of the primary sources would have helped readers understand how those sources shaped the questions pursued and those ignored, as would a better synthesis of the relevant secondary literature (there is a curious omission of Robert Ferry's study on cacao prices in *Essays on the Price History of Eighteenth-Century Latin America* [1990]).

The author identifies patterns and relationships familiar to economic and social historians of other areas of colonial Latin America but refrains from drawing broader, comparative conclusions about his findings (other than emphasizing the analytical utility of the staple thesis and the economic self-sufficiency of the region). Such comparisons would have made this work more useful and sharpened the author's own analyses and conclusions. A telling example is the author's discussion of the multiple economic interests and positions held by members of the Caraqueño elite, which he argues was a function of frontier society and the cacao economy (p. 124). The patterns he identifies are recognizable among elites in colonial Latin America in various regions and economic enterprises and certainly not restricted to frontier zones or the cacao trade. There is a potentially revealing description of rural society and life in chapters 4 and 5. The author argues that "cacao allowed for people of all walks of life to enjoy wealth forbidden to their own kind in other economies i.e. sugar cane plantations. Slaves, poor whites, Amerindians and women possessed cacao haciendas that made their living comfortable" (pp. 136–37). How the author defines "comfortable" is not stated, and the evidence for this, while suggestive, is thin and not well integrated. Particularly tantalizing

also is information on the presence of female rural entrepreneurs and growers in the cacao trade but which passes without critical comment.

This study is also marred by poor editing: the possessive apostrophe is missing in most cases, there are infelicitous phrases such as "Spanish society did not characterize itself for social mobility" (p. 124), and an extraordinary mistranslation of *obras pías* as "pious workers" (p. 86, although correctly translated later on p. 119). Many of the tables are difficult to interpret and their information could have been demonstrated to much greater effect in graph format. In sum, one is left with the distinct impression that this study was published prematurely.

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MARIO RODRÍGUEZ. *"William Burke" and Francisco de Miranda: The Word and the Deed in Spanish America's Emancipation*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1994. Pp. ix, 589.

The result of many years of research that originated, Mario Rodríguez tells us, around 1975, this book establishes several insightful historical links in the period from about 1800 to 1812 between the Venezuelan "Precursor" of Independence, Francisco de Miranda, and some leading British intellectuals and political figures. Although it contains fewer revelations into the murky world of revolutionary conspiracy than the more satisfying book by Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach, *La Gran Bretaña y la independencia de México* (1991), this volume further increases our knowledge of the role of British sympathizers in the encouragement of rebellion in Spain's American dominions, specifically Venezuela.

Rodríguez's work raises the reader's estimation of Miranda, during his many years in England, as a lobbyist and devotee to the cause of independence, but also, perhaps unintentionally, makes it clear how frequently Miranda let wishful thinking influence his plans. Miranda does not emerge as a great mind, although he certainly had the knack of attracting the support of other people with great minds, no small achievement in itself, and his tenacity in the face of adversity warrants him, as ever, a place of special honor in Latin American history. Besides, he is simply one of the most interesting characters that the history of any country has to offer, even if he did not possess quite the global significance Rodríguez suggests.

As a way of illustrating the linkages between Miranda, British intellectuals, and evolving British policies toward the Spanish empire, Rodríguez chooses to focus on a London journalist who wrote in support of Spanish American independence under the pseudonym "William Burke." The same pseudonym appeared as the author of various articles in Caracas in 1811–12, particularly during Miranda's ill-fated First Republic. Rodríguez argues that the London "William

Burke" was James Mill, noted Scots intellectual, future parliamentary radical, father of John Stuart Mill, and close friend of Miranda. In Caracas, the name was used by Miranda's propaganda team and, Rodríguez believes, by Juan German Roscio, member of the cabinet under the Caracas Junta Suprema. Despite all the effort involved in uncovering the identity of the users of the pseudonym, however, Rodríguez never entirely makes clear how Miranda influenced them, outside of supplying Mill with data about South America, although he does help reveal a wide network of British supporters of Spanish American independence who also opposed Britain's alliance with Spain in the Napoleonic wars. Parts of the detective story are fascinating.

The dominant impression a reader gets of this book, however, is that at nearly 600 pages, with no bibliography, it is frequently disjointed, unnecessarily complex, and employs far too many words for effective expression. Almost half the total text is direct quotations, and the tangled English prose of the early nineteenth century seems to influence the author's own voice. Self-indulgent usages abound, including a tendency to conclude sentences with one, two, or three "etceteras," as if the reader should know what the author wants to say. What appear to be pet names are employed for various historical characters (Dr. John Allen is Dr. John; Archbishop Narciso Coll y Prat is Narciso of Caracas; F. S. Constancio is Dr. C.; John Robertson is Colonel John). Exclamation marks pepper the pages. Opposition to Miranda is dismissed as "irresponsibility" (p. 409), and the demand of some Venezuelans for federalism is called destructive and useless. Adherence to the U.S. model, in this book as in so many others written by U.S. authors, is assumed to be a universal cure-all.

In the end, Rodríguez in his devotion to Miranda as "the first 'liberator' of Spanish America" (p. 506) and to Herbert Eugene Bolton's "Greater American Revolution" thesis, makes Miranda and "William Burke" out to be the foremost proponents of independence, literally without parallel, with virtually no comparative reference to other countries or independence movements. Although this is claiming too much for Miranda's group of British supporters, it still leaves us, despite Rodríguez's assertions to the contrary, with a profoundly flawed Precursor.

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RAÚL GARCÍA HERAS. *Transportes, negocios y política: La Compañía Argentina de Tranvías 1876-1981*. (Colección historia y cultura.) Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Sudamericana. 1994. Pp. 259.

This book is a study of the century-long interconnections between politics in Argentina, specifically Buenos Aires, and the Anglo-Argentine Tramway Company. The company was founded in the late 1870s, reached its apogee around 1914, and subsequently

entered a long period of decline until its formal extinction in 1981. Raúl García Heras, whose study complements others on other British enterprises in Argentina led by the railways, attempts to use the Anglo-Argentine Tramway Company to develop a broader perspective on the Anglo-Argentine connection in investment and trade that strongly conditioned Argentina's rise and decline as the wealthiest nation in Latin America.

The book employs a conventional periodization of Argentine history after 1870: the *belle époque* before 1914, the disruptions of World War I, the partial recovery of the 1920s, the Depression and World War II, the presidencies of Juan Perón (1946-55), and the highly unstable period after 1955 that by 1981 was entering crisis and fundamental redefinition. All the chapters have a similar general structure and content. García Heras summarizes the history of the company in each period, reviews its relations with the governing authorities and power sources (national government, municipal government, congress, and political parties). He examines labor relations in the tramway company and discusses the growing challenge to this mode of transportation from buses, automobiles, and, to some extent, suburban railroads starting in the 1920s. The broader themes of the book are the conflicts in Argentina between liberal internationalism and economic nationalism that shaped the political environment in which the company operated, the rivalries between British and U.S. capitalism epitomized in the competition between the increasingly obsolescent tramway and the eventually triumphant automobile, and finally the relationship between a Latin American government and one of the early multinationals; in 1907 an international conglomerate based in Belgium known as SOFINA (Société Financière de Transports et d'Enterprises Industrielles) took over the Anglo-Argentine company.

García Heras diligently collected material for this book in Britain and the United States, as well as in Argentina. These sources have enabled him to flesh out some of the details of Argentina's political history in greater detail than hitherto has been done. An example is his account of the attempt during the late 1930s to establish a coordinated transport system in Buenos Aires known as the Corporación de Transportes, whose history provides insight on the development of economic nationalism. The British Foreign Office archives enable García Heras to provide a more detailed and precise account of British policy toward Argentina during the crucial era of World War II and the early postwar period (although the general policy trends are already well known). As the author acknowledges, he was unable to locate the archives of either the Anglo-Argentine company or of SOFINA. These are unfortunate handicaps in a book that purports to be a case study of a company that formed part of a conglomerate, although occasionally, such as in his analysis of company paternalism toward labor before

World War I, García Heras has managed to surmount these difficulties.

Overall, this book lacks punch and originality. The pre-1914 chapter (García Heras's opportunity to discuss the role of British investment capitalism in liberal Argentina) is thin, comprising only around thirty pages. The account of World War I is conventional; in the 1920s others have examined Anglo-American rivalries in the Argentine market; the account of the Depression similarly devotes considerable space to what is already known. At best, the book has a few useful nuggets: the Anglo-Argentine's relative success with paternalist measures toward labor; the adverse political environment of the 1920s toward foreign business, which is here defined more clearly than previously; the impact of electricity shortages in Buenos Aires during World War II. The relative smallness of the Anglo-Argentine Tramway Company in terms of total British interests in Argentina, and the uncertainties in Britain as to whether it was a truly British enterprise, reduced the company to a minor player on the stage of Anglo-Argentine relations.

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MARIANO PLOTKIN. *Mañana es San Perón: Propaganda, rituales políticos y educación en el régimen peronista (1946-1955)*. Buenos Aires: Ariel Historia Argentina. 1994. Pp. 348.

The rise to power and the regime of Juan Perón (1943-55) are well understood as the most decisive historical transition in twentieth-century Argentina. Perón himself, along with Eva Perón, are rightly seen as among the most intriguing and colorful political figures in modern Latin America, who have provoked a vast literature in Argentina and abroad. Although these subjects still await comprehensive treatment in a single book, in recent years it has become increasingly difficult to find new topics and angles, or even nooks and crannies, worthy of more research.

This book by Mariano Plotkin is not intended as the standard general work on Peronism, but it succeeds in unearthing some of its relatively unknown or underresearched aspects. Plotkin aims to describe the development of the mechanisms used by the regime to promote political consensus and mobilization: the myths, symbols, and rituals employed to strengthen its legitimacy; and the techniques of Peronist bureaucrats to invest the persons of Perón and his wife with charisma, this term being correctly understood as a quality that is manufactured rather than being innate or preordained.

Within this general framework of consensus, mobilization, ritual, and charisma, Plotkin examines several specific issues. Among them stand the regime's appropriation of symbolic anniversaries such as Labor Day, May 1, to promote support, and its invention of new anniversaries led by "Loyalty Day," October 17, to

commemorate the mass march of workers to support Perón in 1945. The latter event saved Perón's career, made him the prime candidate in the election of February 1946, and therefore paved the way for his two presidencies. In both cases there was a marked trend, which grew more intense around 1948, to harness the anniversaries to the regime's need for ritualized displays of mass support. A second subject is the role of the state in organized charity, particularly through the Eva Perón Foundation, which was designed to coopt the unorganized marginal population, complementing the regime's control over the labor unions. Plotkin provides numerous illustrations of the expanding functions of the state in the transitions from liberal pre-Perón Argentina to first populist and later dictatorial Peronist Argentina. The curious title of the book, "Tomorrow is Saint Perón's Day," refers to one of the regime's innumerable stratagems, in this case the pseudocanonization of Perón, to promote externalized expressions of endorsement combined with quasi-religious devotion.

The book contains numerous interesting and informative details. Examples are the careers of now forgotten Peronist ideologues such as Oscar Ivanissevich, one of the more imaginative ministers of education; the financing of the Eva Perón Foundation; the resistance of the labor unions to a state-controlled social security system; and Perón's failed attempt to coopt the intelligentsia. In ways that others have emphasized, Plotkin interprets Perón as a leader with totalitarian orientations, particularly in his efforts to annul expressions of public opinion, but he distinguishes him from the archetypal fascists. Peronism, for example, contained numerous liberal features such as a pluralist institutional system, and unlike Nazism or Italian fascism never sought to destroy them; the regime's core support consisted of workers as opposed to the conventional fascist core clientele of non-working class groups.

The most original sections of the book examine the regime's policies on education, particularly in the elementary schools, and the attempt to infiltrate, and ultimately to impose, *doctrina peronista*. Argentines who attended school during the early 1950s readily recount the absurdities and pernicious expressions of these campaigns, but Plotkin is the first to analyze them systematically. He illustrates in some detail, for example, the rewriting of the school textbooks, beginning around 1948, in ways that deified Argentina's leaders and fostered the myth of a regime of cosmic accomplishments. The second novel feature of the book lies in its examination of Peronist policies toward women headed by Eva Perón's sponsorship of women's suffrage in 1947. Rather than pursuing a feminist agenda, the Peronists recycled stereotypes of Catholic origin about women. This approach, however, (together, one should add, with more substantive concessions to working women), gained Perón two-thirds of the female vote in the elections of 1951.

This well-written and researched book revives the

long debate over the extent to which Perón's system followed an inherent natural progression, determined by the original political ideas of its leader, or alternatively was shaped by exogenous circumstantial forces, particularly Argentina's economic failures after around 1948. Plotkin favors the former interpretation, but he therefore leaves unanswered questions concerning the timing and the content of the regime's transitions: the erosion of populism toward the end of the 1940s and the emergence of the openly dictatorial forms of the early 1950s.

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YOUSSEF COHEN. *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries: The Prisoner's Dilemma and the Collapse of Democracy in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 186. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$14.95.

This monograph by Youssef Cohen, a political scientist, attempts to explain two breakdowns of democracy in postwar Latin America: the Brazilian coup of 1964 and the Chilean coup of 1973. In both cases, the author finds that rational-choice explanation plus the operation of the prisoner's dilemma explain why moderate reform proved impossible in these two countries.

Most historians will have no quarrel with Cohen's rejection of determinist explanations that he labels as "structuralist." These turn out to be primarily economic and much influenced by Marxian analysis. Historians will also appreciate Cohen's vigorous argument in defense of individual agency in these political processes.

When it comes to applying his theory, the picture is less clear-cut than the author would like. The argument turns on the role of the "moderate right" and the "moderate left." Both sides are said to have been ready

for compromise, if only the other side had renounced its extremists. Is it so clear that the moderates were prepared to accept "moderate" reform? Especially on the Right, the rhetoric was frequently disingenuous. Even more disingenuous was the belief by the moderate Right that they would be handed political power by an intervening military. In Chile, many Christian Democrats honestly believed that the generals would hand power over to them, with former President Eduardo Frei returning to office. In Brazil, the moderate Right had more reason for their illusions, which were only destroyed by the "coup-within-a-coup" in 1968. Thus, a close analysis of political reasoning by the key actors makes the rational-choice analysis seem much more murky than Cohen's confident matrices would suggest.

An issue on which political rhetoric of the time is often unreliable is land policy. In both Chile and Brazil, landowners constituted a powerful element among conservative political forces. In Brazil especially, the debate often was unrealistic and reflected little more than political posturing. In Chile, the question of ownership of irrigated land, for example, was not susceptible to any easy solution. In neither case is it clear that a viable "moderate" solution was within reach, and in neither country has any program of social reform emerged in the decades since the military seized power. What has happened to all the "moderates?" Could it be that they were never as committed to reform as Cohen would suggest? They seem to have had little trouble in adjusting to an increasingly inegalitarian system that the military reinforced.

Historians will find this exercise useful, but they are also likely to be cautious as to the manner in which it has been applied to these cases.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

SIDNEY J. LEMELLE and ROBIN D. G. KELLEY, editors. *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*. (The Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1994. Pp. viii, 373. \$18.95.

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SELWYN R. CUDJOE and WILLIAM E. CAIN, editors. *C. L. R. James: His Intellectual Legacies*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1995. Pp. x, 476. CLoth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I am delighted to see my friend Patricia Limerick re-entering the real world with her "Turnerians All" article in the June issue [*AHR*, 100 (June 1995): 697-716]. After building her professional life on making a punching bag of Turner's Frontier Thesis, and hoping that her substitute "Frontier Antithesis," incorporated in *The Legacy of Conquest* (1987), might "stand for the ages" (p. 708), she now concedes that Turner was himself "the author of the Frontier Antithesis"! She even provides a paraphrase of the Antithesis, largely in Turner's words, in which Turner speaks of the need to devote greater "attention to Indians, to federal involvement in western expansion, to the factor of aridity, and to the desirability of a comparative history that avoided the trap of national exceptionalism" (p. 701). Yet Limerick asserts that Turner "never brought the Antithesis together in one essay" (p. 699) and produced no full-scale studies of any of these subjects, an oversight she explains not by lack of time, opportunity, or desire but by fear of potential damage to "the foundation of his career, his prestige, and his sense of personal achievement" (p. 703). Limerick even goes so far as to set up an abstraction, "the doctrine of presentism," which she charges Turner "betrayed," and which, more mysteriously, "betrayed him" (p. 705). Limerick, as a devotee of the "robber baron" theory of American nineteenth-century development, thinks it sufficient to ridicule Turner's suggestion of a persistence of ideals and aspirations from frontier society to industrial society by citing, *ad hominem*, "these improbable latter-day pioneer idealists: John D. Rockefeller, Marcus Hanna, Claus Spre-

ckels, Marshall Field, Andrew Carnegie, and E. H. Harriman" (p. 707). I wonder if she would ridicule, with equal relish, twentieth-century examples such as Bill Gates and Michael Eisner?

The heart of her essay (hidden within the postmodern historian's arrogation to herself of the right to give words convenient meanings) is her *mea culpa* in which she attempts to "'share' Turner's 'pain'" by condescendingly asserting, "As Turner knew and as I now know (and it seems to have caught us both equally by surprise), the present turns out to be even more complicated, muddled, and more maddening than the past" (p. 709). Limerick cites the election of 1994, California's Proposition 187, hostility toward Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt's efforts to reform government policies with regard to western lands, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War as events she, and historians generally, failed to foresee. One is not surprised that the revolutionary events she describes were a shock within the groves of Academe, home of Liberal Orthodoxy, but all historians do not worship at that shrine, and some of us were not surprised by any of those events.

Limerick would have done well to devote more of her essay to what Turner actually said and not to the abstractions that she attributes to him. For example, Limerick repeats the common notion that Turner's "1893 essay paid little attention to Indians" (p. 699). In fact, there are references to Indians scattered throughout Turner's essay: on one page, the word "Indian" appears ten times. Not only does Turner speak of "Indian wars," "Indian power," "Indian country," "Indian areas," "Indian Territory," "Indian trade," "Indian society," "Indian life," "Indian frontier," "Indian guides," "Indian trails," and "Indian clearings," but he clearly acknowledges the influences the Indians had on the white settlers. Yet Limerick and her fellow revisionist Richard White, as represented in the recent Newberry Library exhibit to which they both contributed (see *The Frontier in American Culture*, 1994), persistently charge Turner with assuming that the West was an "empty continent" waiting to be filled by peaceful white settlers. No one claims that Turner attributed an importance to the Indians equal to that accorded by later historians (among whom I include

myself), but it is incorrect to assert that he ignored Indians.

Turner, living before the age of political correctness, did not accord space according to the ethnic or gender identity of the actors because of their existence, victimization, or presumed virtue. Rather, he allocated space according to his view of the importance of the individuals, groups, and events dealt with, an allocation of space in which he, like his successors, was—it goes without saying—influenced by his own race, class, gender, and times.

Does Limerick's present effort mark another stage in her progress down the "sawdust trail" toward acknowledgement of what John Mack Faragher, in the "Afterword" to his *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (1994), speaks of as the historian's obligation to pay "close attention to antecedents"? Last year, after years of pronouncing anathema on the term "frontier," Limerick recanted and, in the catalog cited above, "announce[d] . . . a breakthrough in my thinking"—influenced by her inability to convince foreign scholars of the negative character of the "frontier"—as a result of which she accepted this Holy Word of the western "Old Believers." Now she absolves Turner posthumously of his "invincible ignorance" and compliments him for anticipating many of the themes of the "new western history." What's next: complete rehabilitation of the Great Satan and an honored place at Limerick's side?

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN
Smithsonian Institution

PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK REPLIES:

My friend Wilcomb Washburn pitches into the sport of writing letters to the editor in the same spirit with which little boys push sticks into ant hills. And yet, after many rounds of swarming out ready to fight, I have at last figured out what Dr. Washburn has been trying to tell me. The statements from "Turnerians All" that enrage him are, in fact, statements heavy with irony. In the future, I will try to publish two versions of every article and book I write: one complete version and one version with irony and humor carefully removed from the path of the irony-impaired.

PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK
University of Colorado at Boulder

TO THE EDITOR:

In "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas," Earl Lewis places me, allegedly on the basis of having read "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery," among what he calls the "near total autonomists" (*AHR*, 100 [June 1995]: 772). He then contradicts himself, arguing that such scholars, "careful not to exaggerate," found that slaves had "created a *degree* of autonomy" (*italics mine*). It would be interesting to

know how careful historians could fashion a "perspective the polar opposite of Elkins" (p. 772). Students of slavery, moreover, will want to know where in *Slavery* Stanley Elkins states that the institution "generated only Sambos" (p. 773). So often does Lewis play fast and loose with work cited that one wonders how much of it he has read.

It is regrettable that he thinks slave genius can be revealed through mere "approaches" or "sketches." Indeed, he writes that historians of the "antebellum period produced detailed but one-dimensional sketches of black slaves," who were "Sambos, Nat Turners, economic actors, or active participants in a Marxian-Freudian psychodrama" (p. 773). But the "juxtaposition of the four approaches reveals a people who molded themselves into being," we are told, "through their relationships with whites, reds, and one another" (pp. 773–74). Such depths of superficiality compound problems associated with Lewis's strange lumping of the overlord, an enslaver and architect of near-genocide, with his victims in so-called "overlapping diasporas."

Unaware of the ancestral wisdom revealed in sacred dance and song and tale, principal means by which ethnic differences were bridged in communities of Ibos, Ashantees, Bakongos, and other Africans on the plantations of the South, Lewis would have been wise to have avoided playing authority.

But he attempts to judge my book *Slave Culture* (1987), the first hundred pages of which are devoted mainly to slave ethnicity, of which he claims some awareness. Be that as it may, he must assume complete responsibility for the assertion that "later scholars would criticize [Stuckey's] perspective," in *Slave Culture*, "as predicated on the false assumption of a biological 'race'" (p. 773, n. 27). It should be noted that Thelma W. Foote, who alone of the "later scholars" is identified, committed no such libel in an astonishingly unscholarly piece that Lewis cites as evidence against *Slave Culture*.

Earl Lewis needs to explain himself on the matters raised in this letter.

STERLING STUCKEY
*University of California,
Riverside*

EARL LEWIS REPLIES:

In writing "To Turn as on a Pivot," I attempted to do three central things. First, I sought to review one hundred years of scholarship in the *AHR* as it related to African-American history. Second, I hoped to connect the *AHR*'s contributions to broader efforts in the field. Third, I wanted to raise informed critical questions about past and future trends in research and argument, and to puzzle through the question of how we understand the processes by which various African peoples became African Americans.

Given the journal's longstanding interest in slavery

and enslavement, one of my central concerns became the slavery historiography. In the essay, I attempted to examine seriously the range of scholarship on slavery in light of my overall goals and in view of the space provided. There was no way to tackle this area without acknowledging the changes in the historiography since 1950, which explains my engagement with Stanley Elkins. In my several readings of Elkins, I understood him to be talking about the psychological make-up of human beings trapped in a system that had the qualities of a total institution. In conversations with colleagues, I have not found this reading either exotic or idiosyncratic: Elkins emphasized the psychological damage done to African peoples by slavery.

In reviewing subsequent scholars and scholarship, I detected a spectrum ranging from Elkins's damage thesis on one end to a group I labeled the "near total autonomists" at the other end. This group I read to be saying, among other things, that despite the harshness of slavery, African peoples carved out a degree of psychic and social space. They were not simply damaged people. Given the stark contrast to what I read as Elkins's central point, I viewed this latter group as his polar opposite on a spectrum of possibility.

As for Sterling Stuckey's own place in this historiography, I read and interpreted his work as more in keeping with the arguments put forth by this latter group. Does he fit comfortably in this group? Perhaps not. Certainly, the issues he engages in *Slave Culture* cross the temporal boundary between slavery and freedom. But it was not my intent to caricature or pigeonhole. My two references to his work reflected my utmost respect for him as a scholar and student of African and African-American history and culture. In fact, my mention of the article by Thelma Foote was an attempt to illustrate the importance of his arguments for the next generation of scholars, even when and where there is disagreement.

Perhaps the most serious of Stuckey's comments is his reference to my citation of the Foote article. I certainly did not include it to injure his academic standing. Foote's essay appeared in a noted and reputable historical journal; to have ignored it would have been a breach of professional responsibility. Moreover, she raised a question about the social construction of race, which is a topic of discussion among historians. Thus when I used the phrase "later scholars," I was using it in a figurative sense. Any discussion of how African peoples became African Americans invariably includes a discussion of the meanings of race—as construction and reality—as I detail in several places in the essay. It was Foote, however, who directly engaged Stuckey. In one sense, therefore, a more apt phrasing may have been "a later scholar." Here, I do apologize for any ambiguity.

Sterling Stuckey has asked me to explain myself. I have accepted his invitation.

EARL LEWIS
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

The 1994 review of Holocaust films [*AHR*, 99 (October 1994): 1244–50] makes a good point about "the professional crisis over representing and narrating" (p. 1249). The reviewer, Elazar Barkan, insists "There is relatively little evidence available of life in the [Warsaw] ghetto . . . only two films that have survived . . . Nazi propaganda" (p. 1246). But a film called *Nuremberg* recounts the character of the life destroyed in explaining how the guilt for that destruction was determined.

From what I could tell, the National Archives and Records Administration *Nuremberg* films AVA 02601VNB1 apparently were utilized neither for *Schindler's List* nor for the *AHR* review. *Nuremberg* (1946) is in the public domain, produced by the United States Department of Defense, and circulated by the National Technical Information Service, National Audiovisual Center, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, VA 22161 (1-800-788-6282). Like the trials, this seventy-six minute film is presented as documentary evidence of the atrocities committed at concentration camps and elsewhere. Judging from over twenty years of student reactions, that contemporaneous record, *Nuremberg*, both narrates and represents well.

RAYMOND J. JIRAN
Thomas Nelson Community College

THOMAS PRASCH REPLIES:

It is not entirely clear how much a relatively short documentary produced by the U.S. government about the Nuremberg trials could really tell us about the social history of the Warsaw ghetto before its destruction by the Nazis. Although I have not seen the film, I must assume its principal focus is on the trials themselves and on the questions of culpability for the Final Solution that they sought to resolve. It is Elazar Barkan's point that Warsaw ghetto life is almost entirely undocumented on film; how that life was destroyed, and by whom, is not in question. Thank you nevertheless for the suggestion.

THOMAS PRASCH
American Historical Review

TO THE EDITOR:

This is a brief reaction to your review of *The Madness of King George* published in the *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1225–26.

The film, your reviewer tells us, makes "repeated suggestions that the king would have stayed sane had he led a more 'normal' private life, by taking mistresses instead of remaining faithful to his wife" (p. 1226).

It seems that this film is repeating an ancient thesis

demolished a quarter of a century ago by Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter in their *George III and the Mad Business* (1969). In reviewing this work, the *American Historical Review* was among the first to point out—in the words of W. A. Moffett, of the University of Massachusetts—that “the authors have finally laid to rest Guttmacher’s utterly pervasive, utterly erroneous picture of George III as a weak and unstable neurotic beset by a severe manic-depressive psychosis, a ruler whose sexual frustrations led to breakdowns and whose pathological inability to face reality had far-reaching consequences . . . [C]learly it will henceforth be imprudent for any historian to offer conclusions about the king’s personality—and its impact on politics—based on any such simplistic notion of neuroticism.” *AHR*, 76 (June 1971): 777.

Was the reviewer of *The Madness of King George* familiar, I wonder, with Macalpine and Hunter’s path-breaking study? These authors suggested that the king was suffering from porphyria, a hereditary metabolic disorder. This hypothesis is buttressed, interestingly enough, by the discovery that collateral descendants of George III in the twentieth century have been diagnosed as porphyriacs.

JOHN ANTHONY SCOTT
Holland, Massachusetts

THOMAS PRASCH REPLIES:

The film *The Madness of King George* itself takes note, in a sequence of closing texts, of the hypothesis that porphyria caused George’s madness, and it notes, too, the recurrence of porphyria among members of the royal family after George III. In the film, no less a figure than George himself, once his sanity had returned, dismisses as nonsense the suggestion that sexual repression caused his madness.

Writer Alan Bennett is more interested, however, in meanings than in causes, and he recognizes that, whatever the cause of George’s madness, it can have a number of meanings. Thus Bennett constellates around the episode of madness a series of meanings: the shifting meaning of Englishness in the wake of the loss of the American colonies, the redefinition of the monarchy in relation to both the public and to the newly powerful prime minister, and the modern notion of self. As I noted in my review, this undoubtedly collapses a number of long-term trends into a brief episode, but such is the way of historical films. Bennett also draws on George III’s family history, especially the well-known Hanoverian habit of rebelliousness of the princely son, to give context to the king’s madness. To viewers in Freud’s century, this father-son conflict is bound to resonate as oedipal; to George himself, it echoes Shakespeare’s *King Lear*. But this is its form, not its cause. Bennett is certainly not guilty of positing a “simplistic notion of neuroticism” to George III, nor did I intend to suggest it in my review.

Also, part of Bennett’s plan is a series of allusions

that serve to underline the contemporary issues suggested by the film. As the context in both film and review makes clear, references to the idea that George’s madness may have resulted from his not having mistresses function as a wry commentary on the contemporary politics of family values. A few wry allusions, however, do not make for a causal explanation. Bennett suggests no such causal linkage, and I did not intend to do so, either.

THOMAS PRASCH
American Historical Review

TO THE EDITOR:

Let me get this straight. Did you reject any scholarly articles making an original contribution to knowledge for the October 1995 issue of the *American Historical Review* and then publish a review of a Mel Gibson movie? Will the new management of the flagship journal of the American historical profession also review Harlequin romance novels with that “I can’t believe it’s not butter” guy [Fabio] on the cover on the grounds that their stories are often situated in the past and provide the main knowledge about the past to one group of readers?

JOHN S. HILL
Erdenheim, Pennsylvania

THOMAS PRASCH REPLIES:

With *Braveheart*, Hollywood spent millions of dollars promoting a wildly inaccurate reconstruction of the past as historical truth. It does not seem unreasonable that the *AHR* should devote a few pages to correcting the film’s misrepresentations. Indeed, it must be the responsibility of historians to insist on a respect for the historical record by filmmakers who claim to represent the past.

Historians also must recognize the pervasive influence of film on contemporary ideas about history, an influence unequaled by media such as the historical novel. When Elizabeth Ewan accepted the offer to review *Braveheart*, she noted that, because of the film, she was going to be correcting students’ misconceptions about the Scottish middle ages anyway. The film review section provides a forum to share our professional evaluations of historical films with our colleagues as well as our classes.

As to whether scholarly articles have been rejected to make room for film reviews: the *AHR* routinely publishes reviews as well as original scholarship. Once a year, it includes reviews of films. Ewan’s piece fully meets all the criteria for scholarly reviewing. I stand by my decision to review *Braveheart* and my selection of Ewan as a reviewer.

THOMAS PRASCH
American Historical Review

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing this letter in response to the review of my book by William R. Scott in the *AHR*, 100 (June 1995): 972–73.

When I first considered the possibility of writing the book *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936–1941* (Baton Rouge, 1994), I thought long about a possible conflict with or duplication of a project I heard had been in progress for about a quarter of a century, William R. Scott's master's thesis at Howard University in 1966 and his PhD dissertation at Princeton in 1971. However, after an examination of those two academic efforts, I was shocked to find that neither had included the results of a serious investigation of the readily available and highly relevant primary documents in the National Archives in Washington where he studied and not far from Princeton, nor had he conducted appropriate interviews of many of the key participants who *still* reside in the Washington, D.C., area! And sadly, neither does the book that Scott authored in 1993. Obviously, therefore, serious questions can be raised about both methodology and content of his book. Unlike Scott, however, I will not use this medium to promote my volume; instead, readers of both volumes should be able to discern the difference between the two.

JOSEPH E. HARRIS
Howard University

WILLIAM R. SCOTT REPLIES:

In my recent review of Joseph E. Harris's book, there is a single reference to my own work on the same subject. Regrettably, Harris has misinterpreted the reference as purposefully self-serving. He has also assailed my study of the subject, *The Sons of Sheba's Race: African Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War* (1993), as a fatally flawed work.

I wish to assure Harris that the brief reference in the review to my own research was not selfishly motivated. Its intent was simply to signal to other scholars the existence of another published source on the same topic whose content both encompassed and extended beyond information presented in the Harris study.

It is a fact that my review of Harris's *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia* was not favorable. Aside from the book's expert exploration of the role of the Ethiopian Research Council and the Ethiopian World Federation in the pro-Ethiopian campaign, I found little else to praise. My broad dissatisfaction was not driven, however, by bias but by what I sincerely believe are shortcomings of the study.

A dominant defect of this book is duplication. The study typically covers ground previously explored by other historians but without the provision of notably expanded information or interpretation. For instance,

Harris's account of early encounters between African Americans and Ethiopians essentially duplicates data in other studies he cites of the two groups' initial interactions. Likewise, the author's outline of Ethiopian missions to America and black emigration to Ethiopia mostly replicates other acknowledged work. Even more critically, his treatment of African peoples' responses to Italian aggression in Abyssinia—the book's main topic—basically parallels other research and analyses. The result is, whatever is generally original about the book is hard to discern.

The book's brevity was equally bothersome. As was previously observed, this is a surprisingly short work, whose text spans a scant 160 pages, including footnotes. Harris's synopsis of the subject constitutes a stark sketch of a subject of substantial proportions. The author skims swiftly over the story, summarizing scores of events in several continents with slight concern for detailed description and definition of black reactions globally to the Abyssinian conflict. In the end, and to its detriment, the book excludes a vast body of data critical to comprehension and appreciation of the world black response to fascist aggression.

For instance, there is bare mention of the Ethiopianist intellectual tradition that decisively affected African-American responses to the Abyssinian conflict. It fails as well to discuss seriously the alienation, nationalism, and militancy of African Americans during the Depression that contributed significantly to U.S. black protests against Italian imperialism. The Hamitic controversy, the dispute over the Ethiopian's racial identity, which caused much strife during the conflict and gravely undermined African-American support of the Ethiopian cause, is only casually addressed.

In contrast to Harris's previous works, his new book simply falls short of the high standards previously set by this distinguished scholar of Africa and the African diaspora. In this instance, Harris has written a study that suffers from insufficient research. Unfortunately, he has produced a minimalist portrait of a monumental event in modern black history that projects little new light on the matter of African-American identity and Pan-Africanism. As for his analysis of my own book, I would simply urge scholars to read both studies critically to evaluate their individual worth.

WILLIAM R. SCOTT
Lehigh University

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of James Goodman's *Stories of Scottsboro* (*AHR*, 100 [October 1995]: 1322), Robert P. Ingalls writes, "The significance of Goodman's contribution transcends the Scottsboro case. His deliberate 'experimentation in the writing of history' is enormously successful in creating a form that does 'justice to the richness and irresistible power of the past.'" I thoroughly disagree; the one thing Goodman notably fails to accomplish is justice to the past, or to the present.

Bluntly, if present-day rape-shield laws had been in effect in Alabama in the 1930s, not only would the Scottsboro boys have been executed, the "shielded" testimony would have proved their guilt!

It was only through the Communist-led International Labor Defense (ILD) that the boys' lives were saved and the case appealed to the Supreme Court twice for precedent-making decisions. Again, it was the ILD's attorneys and publicity campaign that exposed to the general public the intense racism in the Alabama judicial system and that the semen found in the two white women had come from their white boy-friends, with whom they had journeyed from Chattanooga as hoboes on a freight train.

Furthermore, Judge James E. Horton knew the boys were innocent, for Dr. Marvin Lynch told the judge in private what had occurred. The doctor was called to examine the women who had each just been "raped" by six young blacks, who had threatened the women at knife point and with a gun. Dr. Lynch was shocked to find the women giggling. He asked them directly, "Those boys didn't rape you, did they?" The women laughed. Goodman finds this crucial story so inconsequential that he fails to mention the doctor's first name and places the story out of chronological order.

If Goodman had been an "old-fashioned" historian, in his introduction he would have had to refute explicitly the feminist lie, so popular during the Clarence Thomas hearings, that "women do not make up stories." With an introduction, Goodman would have had to question if justice could have been obtained at Scottsboro under feminist rape-shield laws. Goodman would have had to note that the run-off primary in Alabama, far from being the "racist" gimmick alleged by Jesse Jackson and the Justice Department under both Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton, had originally been enacted to make it more difficult for members of the Ku Klux Klan to win elections.

Had Goodman been an old-fashioned historian, he

would have had to give more credit to the Communists, who, with their international connections, made the nation and the world aware of racial injustice in the South. Thus, when Communists stoned American embassies and consulates in Berlin and Dresden, demanding freedom for the Scottsboro boys, President Herbert Hoover's State Department had to inquire about the case. Before Scottsboro, how many southern rape cases were discussed in the White House? The Communists led Scottsboro protests from South Africa to China, from Ghana to France. They even organized a Scottsboro-civil rights march on Washington in 1933 (three decades before a much larger march).

Goodman, in attempting to appease feminists and other politically correct elements, may reveal some stories, and some trivia, about Scottsboro, but by juggling the chronology and evading crucial themes, Goodman has lost many of the important lessons of Scottsboro.

Ingalls concludes, "Other historians would do well to consider Goodman's study as a model for how to construct their own stories about the past." I view Goodman's book as a model of evasion about the past to appease the politically correct of the present—a model to avoid.

HUGH MURRAY
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

ROBERT INGALLS REPLIES:

Hugh Murray's letter brings to mind the observation of Jakob Burckhardt: "In works of general history there is room for differences of opinion on fundamental premises and aims, so the same fact may seem essential and important to one writer, for example, and to another mere rubbish, utterly without interest."

ROBERT P. INGALLS
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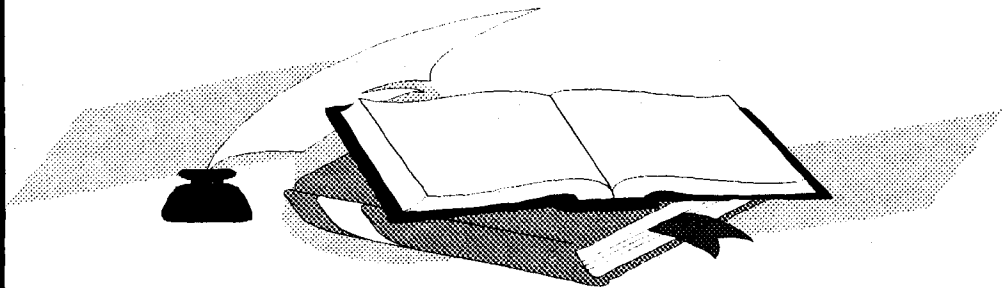
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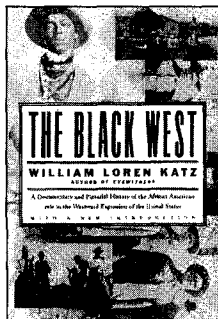
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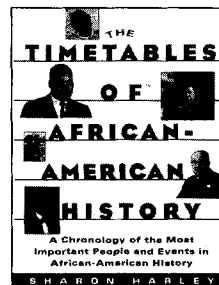
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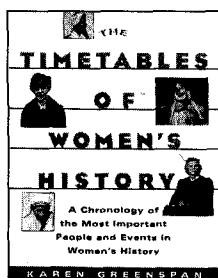
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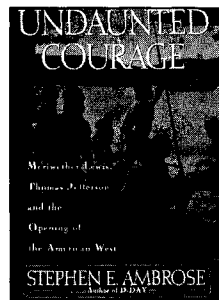
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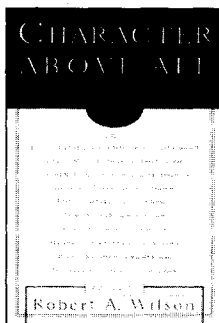
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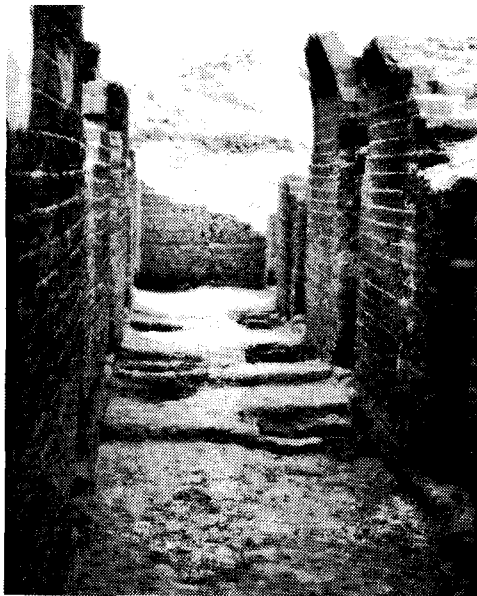
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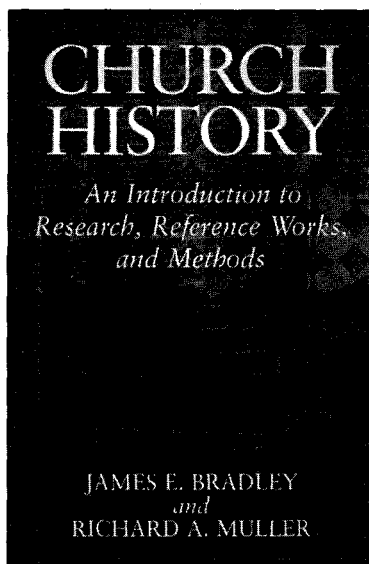
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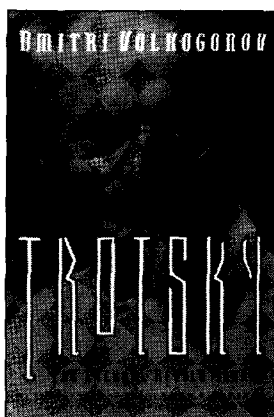
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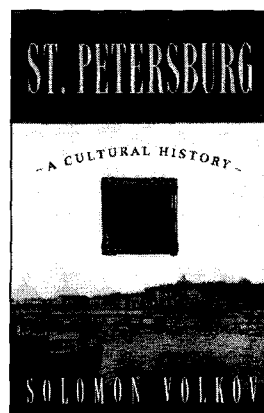
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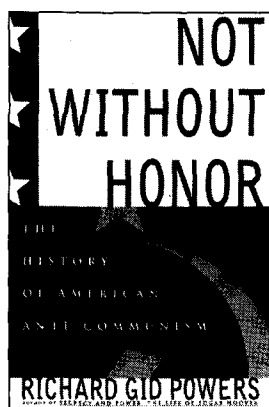
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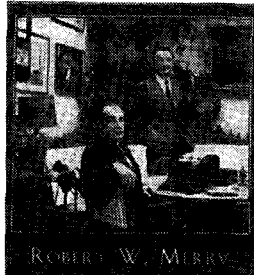
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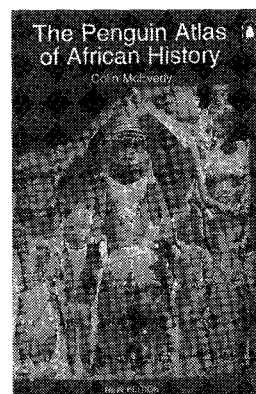
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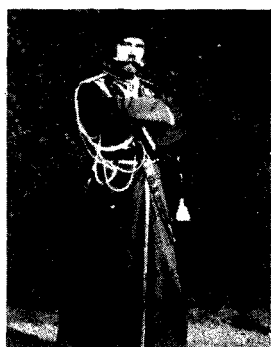
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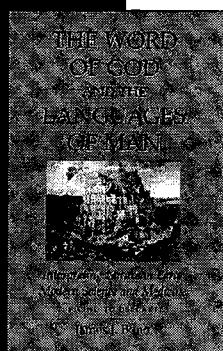
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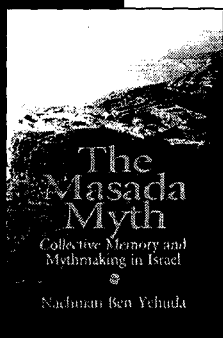


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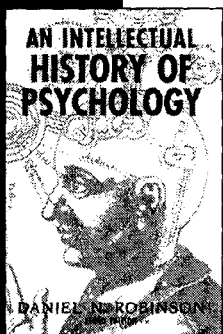
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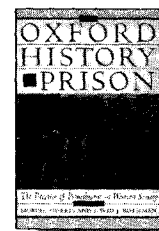
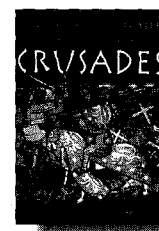
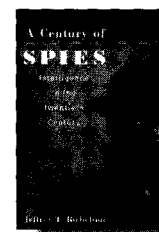
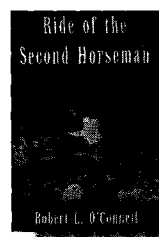
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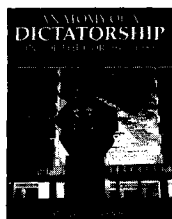


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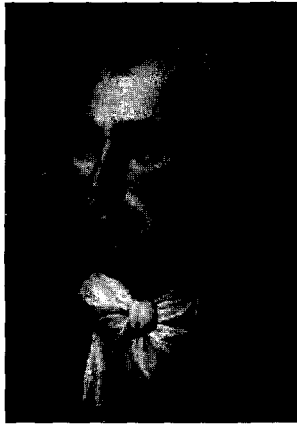
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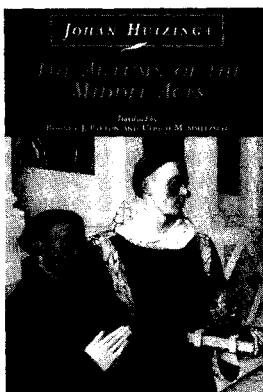
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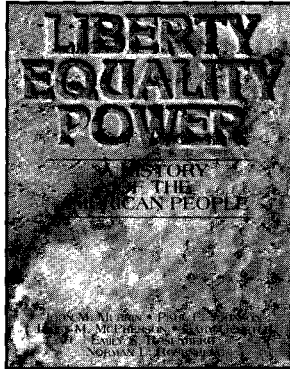
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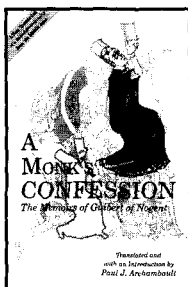
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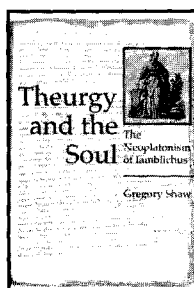
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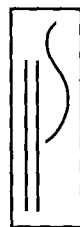
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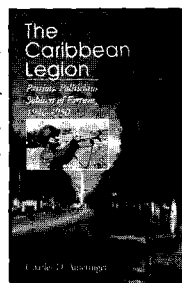
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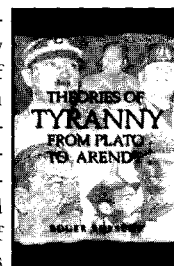
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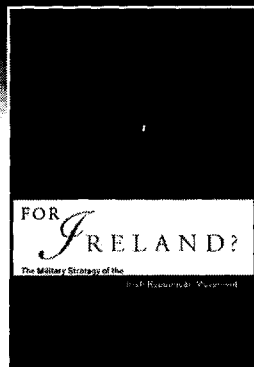
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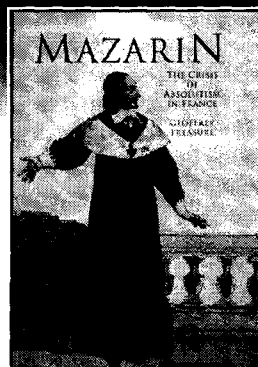
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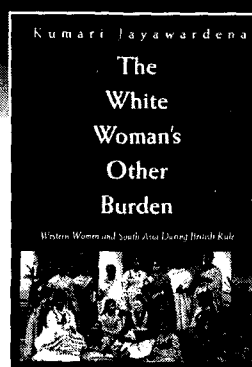
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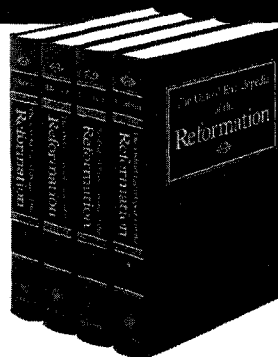
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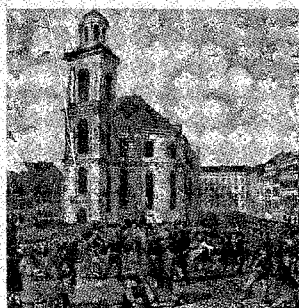
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